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THE

AMERICAN REGISTER;

OR

SUMMARY REVIEW

OF

HISTORY, POLITICS, AND LITERATURE.

VOLUME I.

Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύταν κόσμει.

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D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the District of Pennsylvania.

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ERRATA.

Page xii, line 13, read *or* for "and."

xii, line 37, read *Mr. Say* for "Mr. de Say."

xx, last line, read *enlistment* for "recruitment."

xxx, lines 4 & 9, read *Steuart* for "Stuart."

xxx, line 12, read *reprinting* for "reprint."

5, 1st col. line 1, read *droits réunis* for "droits réunes."

36, 2d col. line 1, read *under* for "and."

236, 1st col. line 27, read *Louis XIV* for "Louis IV."

315, 1st col. line 24, read *citric* for "nitric."

354, 1st col. line 28, read *cui* for "cur."

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

BY THE EDITOR.

CIRCUMSTANCES above the control either of the Editor or Publisher of this Work, have deferred the appearance of the first volume for some months beyond the period originally indicated. It was thought well, moreover, to begin the year with the premices of an enterprise which is designed to provide for the public a stock of history and literature of something more than temporary interest. The contents of the present volume will, I trust, be acknowledged to have this character, although they may not seem to support its title, according to the usual composition of books of the same denomination, or to correspond exactly with the schedule of the prospectus. I had reserved to myself, however, in the prospectus, a latitude of choice as to topics and arrangement, and I soon discovered that the scope of the semi-annual volume would not properly admit of all the common ingredients of a work of the kind. Several of these I have, in consequence, withheld for the next volume, which will be in the nature of a sequel to the present. Together they will more fully realize the idea of a Register.

The materials of the second are for the most part collected, and it may be put to press without delay, should the public be disposed to extend to the undertaking the degree of patronage required by the interests of the Bookseller. It will offer as the first article, *French Affairs* from the battle of Waterloo up to the present time: The interval between that great event and the re-establishment of the Bourbons in Paris, although short, is scarcely less curious and instructive in its history, than any other particular period of the French revolutionary annals. The next volume will contain, besides, an abstract of the condition and politics of the principal powers of Europe;—a review of the proceedings of the fourteenth Congress:—a synopsis of English and American literature;—a chronicle drawn from domestic and foreign sources;—a necrology, &c. &c.

For the present volume, as respects the history of Europe, I have selected as my theme the country which has of late almost monopolized the attention of mankind; and, in preference to more recent events, that vicissitude of its fortunes which if not, in itself, the most wonderful, is the most imposing as well as decisive. I found in my hands authentic materials for the history of the restoration of Bonaparte, and of the last desperate struggles of the imperial government: The impressiveness of the subject so remarkable for the display of character and rapidity of action, led me to reduce them into the shape of a regular narrative. The cause of truth, too, appeared to demand something that might serve to counteract the gross misrepresentations which have been palmed upon the public, in a work entitled " Letters from Paris by an English gentleman." This work is ascribed to Mr. Hobhouse, the author of the Travels in Albania; but I yet find it almost impossible to persuade myself, that the accomplished and sagacious scholar who wrote these admirable travels, could have produced a tissue of falsehood, inconsistency and ribaldry worthy only and properly characteristic of a Barrere or of a slavish pamphleteer of the *palais-royal.* I hold myself bound, in pursuance of my first steady aim of serving my native country by exposing French jacobinism in all its frauds, to improve every fair opportunity of dispelling, by facts, the illusions industriously spread concerning the character of Bonaparte, his co-adjutors and their institutions. The man is chained—inextricably I hope —to the rock of St. Helena,* but his name is dangerous as the rallying point, the watch-word of a foreign sect who know their own credit and the success of their designs to depend on his reputation, and who, therefore, labour indefatigably to invest it with the effulgence of the most philanthropic heroism. Borne along by testimony in all respects irresistible, I shall pursue him closely, in the next volume, from Paris to his present residence. It behooves every writer of cotemporary history however humble the grade, who is at the same time a friend of truth and of his fellow-men, to treasure up whatever may conduce to exhibit in the full deformity of his spirit and career, the most audacious and mischievous of the impostors of this or any age.

" Stamp we our vengeance deep and ratify his doom."

No honest mind can fail to rejoice at the downfall of a government of organised falsehood and hypocrisy, which, with the language the most beneficent and consolatory always in its mouth, incessantly fomented the passions and fortified the institutions

* *Prometheus vinctus,* or rather the man of Prometheus formed out of the slime of the earth, to whom Minerva gave the cunning of the fox, the ambition of the peacock, the ferocity of the tiger, the strength of the lion, and the pusillanimity of the hare. The mythological composition has been completely realized in the history of Bonaparte.

most destructive to the human species. Not content with its own race of imposture, it had sought to enlist and train in the same profligate career, all the youth, even the most tender, of a large empire. We cannot but shudder when we find,—as the French gazettes of the particular period show—the boys of all the schools including even the primary, brought forward with addresses to the emperor written for them by his stipendiaries, and full of adulation, oaths, and bravados; at the same time that the poor infants either really or (what would be still worse) feignedly, surrender with many flourishes of sentiment their weekly allowance of pocket-money as a patriotic donation! The regents of the polytechnick school of Paris,—themselves conspicuous members of the government of Bonaparte,—state formally, in their official report of the last year, that he and his colleagues had laboured to heat the minds of the youth of all the schools and give them a direction favourable to their views. " Ceux qui se trouvoient à la tête du pouvoir cherchoient à exalter les opinions de la jeunesse de toutes les Ecoles, et à leur donner une direction favorable à leurs vues." We need not be surprised if, while the administration of France under the Bourbons ceased to be homicidal and invasive, it was marked more or less by *Charlatanerie* and deception, and this not merely because it was in the hands of the creatures of Bonaparte. One of the ablest of the late French writers remarks, in allusion to the principles both of obedience and rule among his countrymen—" the habits of the government of Napoleon remain to us like a species of instinct, of which, it is to be feared, we shall, for a long time and blindly, follow the impulse."

Neither I, nor any American in my situation, can prefer the cause of the Bourbons, from any other motive, than a conviction of its greater eligibleness with a view to the happiness of France, the tranquillity of Europe, the cause of liberty every where, and the prosperity of the United States. Under the peculiar circumstances of France divided within, threatened from abroad, I can see no *anchorage* for her, however exposed or mortifying it may be, but the old race of her monarchs, who certainly carry with them no inconsiderable part of her population, and who, while they reign at all, deprive the allied powers of the pretext which they may want, of totally overwhelming her by their hostilities. Where else could the vessel of the state be moored to save her from being beaten to pieces by tempests of every description? Which of the great military or civil leaders is it that could unite the people; or propitiate the foreign powers? and who will pretend that without perfect union at home, France could successfully resist those powers?—Remove the Bourbons, and we should witness a scene upon a mighty scale of horror, similar to that of the raft which bore the crew of the French frigate Medusa; an infuriate mutual butchery, while the elements were exerting their utmost force to consummate the tragedy;—to bury all in a common ruin.

With the Bourbons, Europe is not likely to be soon again involved in war;—the substitution of any other rule in France would be the signal for general hostilities. Whatever may be the dispositions of the Bourbons, whatever they may do to establish despotism at home,—a worse than that of Bonaparte it is not in the power of man to establish,—they cannot assail nor affect the cause of liberty abroad, as did their predecessors with unwearied malignity and awful power. The United States have had sufficient experience in their relations with all the revolutionary governments of France—the Imperial especially—to know that they cannot but gain in the exchange for that of a Bourbon, whether as to the light in which their institutions may be viewed and treated; the freedom of their commerce, and the community of policy and effort between them and France as respects the British power. The Bourbons, if they do not relish our republicanism, cannot at least hope, and will not, therefore, intrigue, to injure it; they are compelled by every motive of necessity and expediency, to open a wide door to trade, and to abstain from depredation on the commerce of other nations; they may be willing, obliged, to keep up certain appearances as to England, but they *must* view her in secret with jealousy and dislike; they must be disposed to promote the prosperity, particularly the commercial—of the true maritime rival of England, and to ripen the sympathy of interest into one of feeling, its surest auxiliary.

We have, on the other hand, from the same cause, a direct concern in the growth of the French navy and commerce; consequently, in the peace of France, in the subordination of the military spirit in that country, and, if the remarks made above are just, in the continuance of the Bourbon government. Without an express knowledge of the fact, I yet cannot doubt, but that our cabinet has received from the French, assurances in unison with this theory; assurances very different in their sense and drift from those of Bonaparte; connected with no schemes of action impracticable for our united faculties, and pernicious to ourselves in the execution.

But to return to the contents of the present volume. The translation from the French of Mr. *de Say*, as well as that of the Report of the French Minister of Finance, I owe to the Honourable Eligius Fromentin, of the Senate of the United States, a gentleman of a truly classical education, enlightened mind, and most independent character. He attaches more importance to the pamphlet of Mr. *de Say* than I am myself disposed to allow it, at the same time that I think it merits attention and preservation. It is, indeed, in its very errors—which are many both of fact and speculation—curious as the production of one who is placed by general opinion at the head of the French writers on political economy. The flippant, emphatic, doctrinal tone, the distension of small particulars into teeming causes, the misapplication of postulates, the loose-

ness of discussion which mark the writings of Mr. de Say, belong to the whole modern French school of economists. The refutation of his fallacies is to be found complete in the English journals, and present experience sufficiently disproves his statements relative to exchanges, the sale of British goods on the continent, &c. I shall have occasion in my next volume to show, what must be at once evident to all who attend to the present bibliography of England, how much he is mistaken in his ideas respecting the diminution of the number of serious readers in that country, and the general decline of English literature.

Mr. Brackenridge, who has arranged the article on the Florida question, is the author of the well-known "Views of Louisiana," the most valuable work of the kind, along with the Geographical Tract of Mr. Darby recently published, which our literature has as yet produced. I am entirely convinced from a patient investigation of the subject, that the claims of the United States to West Florida are just under the treaty of St. Ildephonso, and this point Mr. Brackenridge appears to me to have satisfactorily established. As an impartial enquirer he has stated, in their full force, the arguments which have been employed to overthrow the American title, without entertaining, himself, a doubt of its validity.

The United States will have serious feuds with Spain, and are likely, as far as the temper of their government can now be understood, to pursue the true policy in the case,—a course of moderation accompanying a resolute maintenance of their rights. The dispositions of Spain are hostile, but she wants the means and the spirit to wage open war.

She suffered a cruel and still rankling disappointment by our acquisition of Louisiana. She had parted with it, chiefly for the purpose of interposing the power of France between us and her Mexican empire. It is this corrosive recollection which animates her, more than any calculation of present loss, in the controversy concerning West Florida. Without absolute necessity, the United States will not, however, we may presume, admit of a rupture with any power. War is a vicious circle; it is a strong eddy. Who may ultimately be the parties to it, can never be foreseen at the outset. War, says a wise statesman, never left where it found a nation.

I had hopes of collecting some authentic information, for my readers, concerning the origin and progress of the insurrections in South America. But so contradictory are the accounts from that quarter, so inaccessible the sources of full or correct information, that I have preferred being silent on the subject, to running the risk of scantiness or inaccuracy. What may be safely inferred from the past history and condition of the population of South America, what seems to be generally admitted, is, that they are by no means ripe for republican institutions. Whether they will ever be qualified to enjoy them, I very much doubt; but of this I

am sure, that they can adopt no government of their own which will not be preferable to the sway of the old Spanish cabinet. Self-government in any shape exalts the being by inspiring self-respect; revolution, anarchy if you will, generates energy, and has within it some seeds of improvement; but the colonial system, the domestic government of Spain, quenches all the fire, breaks all the springs, deadens all the fine susceptibilities, of the human character.

When I think of the government of Ferdinand, I have before my imagination on one side an "adored monarch," embroidering, to the passionate delight of his people, a robe for the Virgin Mary; on another, the Intendant of Valentia expiring on the rack; General O'Donoghue writhing under the state-tourniquet; the ardent patriots of the Cortes who sustained, unshaken through a long agony, the fortunes of their country and of Ferdinand himself—perishing in dungeons, as their recompense, or dragging an iron chain at the galleys.—I am oppressed, in touching on this subject, with a more intense emotion of indignation, I may say—grief, as I have, among these victims, a friend to whom I am warmly attached, and to whom the esteem of the world is eminently due. I allude to Don Augustin Arguëlles of Oviedo, who took the lead in the Cortes, particularly in the formation of that liberal constitution, the irremissible sin of himself and his colleagues, for which they are now suffering the vengeance of the doltish tyranny they would have corrected. Augustin Arguëlles, whom I found in London, in 1807, studying, as in the best European school of speculative freedom, the principles of good government, with a view to the service of Spain, would do honour to any nation by his enlarged and various knowledge, especially in the science of political legislation; by his elegant taste, his enlightened liberality, the suavity of his nature, his elevated disinterestedness, and his patriotic ardour which led him to devote himself wholly to the cause of his country;—and—yet, he who would have died a thousand times to rescue her, has been condemned as a traitor to serve for ten years, and now serves, as a common soldier at Ceuta, strictly watched and, though always of a delicate constitution of body, severely tasked!

If ever there was a case in which we should "obtest heaven and whatever justice or feeling there is yet on earth,"—if ever there was a catastrophe ominous to the principle of patriotism, blighting for all public virtue, it is that of the patriots of the Spanish Cortes. Were their case susceptible of aggravation, it would be from the circumstance, that the judges chosen for such of them as were condemned with any forms of law, before whom they were dragged as rebels, as traitors, as the vilest of criminals, were men who had concurred in betraying Spain into the hands of France, who had deserted the cause of Ferdinand, and even fought under the banners of Joseph.

The speeches which I have caused to be extracted from Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, will, as they have never before been published entire in this country, prove an acceptable and solid present to the American people. The speech of Mr. Grattan—the first of Irish orators and the true model of Irish patriots—furnishes, perhaps, the most exquisite specimen of his manner, as well as a most instructive commentary on a great crisis in history. Those of Lord Wellesley and Sir James Mackintosh are of particular importance to us, as they treat both historically and argumentatively of our own affairs. I am delighted with the discourse of Sir James Mackintosh on "the peace with America," not only because it recalls the full-flowing eloquence of the days of Burke and Pitt, but as expressing so powerfully the sentiments which I have myself always felt with respect to the spirit and mode of the British hostilities on our coast. They were, in truth, wretchedly unworthy of the British name; and grossly impolitic, as they tended, without yielding any national profit, to give new vigor to our party-rancour on one side, and to unite us all, ultimately, in obstinate and desperate efforts of resistance and revenge: *et jam una vox omnium, magis odio firmata quam præsidio.* The conflagration of hamlets and rustic dwellings, the spoliation of tobacco-warehouses and farm-yards, occasionally the plunder of a church and the dilapidation of a school,—these the only hostilities attempted by a considerable fleet for many months in succession, and emblazoned to the British public in the shape of a diary from an admiral,—are truly recollections of shame for a nation, who had selected the lion and not the wolf as her ensign-armorial. The destruction of the public edifices of Washington was a proceeding which cannot be too strongly detested and deplored. It was equally at variance with true dignity and sound policy. It savoured of the most ignoble resentment and malice. If we could not be seriously injured, we were to be stung and degraded. "The king of France," said his minister M. de Vergennes, in council, "is sufficiently great not to stand in need of humiliating any people." *Le Roi de France est assez grand pour n'avoir pas besoin d'humilier personne.* So should a British minister or general have thought with respect to his own mighty nation.

The late war between this country and Great Britain is fruitful in salutary lessons to both parties. It has taught the latter, among other things, that a nation does wisely, as well as an individual, never to despise a determined adversary. It teaches her, in the deeds of which I have just spoken,—and the memory of which I would not have revived, but for the sake of the admonition,—it teaches her how far the indulgence of sinister jealousies and petty animosities interpolated, as it were, into her councils by small minds, may reduce a nation habitually lofty and magnanimous, below her proper level, and exhibit her at variance with her own principles.

The speech of Marquis Wellesley stands as a demonstration and memento of the influence of a spirit foreign to her general history and character, in her negotiations at Ghent. She set out with pretensions exorbitant and inflammatory, instead of fulfilling the obligation which Heaven seemed to have imposed upon her in raising her to such a height of power and glory—that of furnishing a splendid example to mankind of temperance and conciliation. She exacted what,—if it could have been granted—would have finally redounded to her greater prejudice, as a source of incurable hatred and discord between the two countries, through many generations. Moderation is always the best policy even in a victorious enemy, a character which she could not claim. An exceedingly humiliating or injurious treaty can never be faithfully received, while there remains a possibility of eluding its execution, or of recovering sufficient strength to break through its stipulations. How much Britain lost by her conduct at Ghent, I shall not here enquire, but I do not believe it too late to effect what she certainly ought now to desire, a cordial reconciliation. If, by a more adroit or energetic policy, she could have, in the late war, materially affected our national weal, the opportunity is now irrevocably lost. She can no longer hope to defeat or arrest, by any exertion of her force or dexterity, our solid aggrandizement. She is viewed with an evil eye by most of the nations of Europe. She will require a powerful auxiliary, and should seek it among her descendants here; at least she should beware of enlisting us, from any want of generosity or magnanimity, in the number of her enemies.

The unexpected felicity of the issue, will not, I trust, make the American people disregard the instruction, of the war. We ought not, in our complacency at the present state of things, lose sight of the just terrors by which we were agitated, the straits to which we were reduced, the dangerous extremities with which we were seriously threatened. Our government must now know, that, when war is in question, it is not enough that external circumstances be favourable; there should be adequate preparation at home; organized internal resources with which to meet casualties and the vicissitudes of fortune abroad. It is better to seem to overlook or sacrifice rights of some importance, studying at the same time to improve your means of vindicating them, than to embark in an undertaking greatly disproportionate to your strength, and which must end by laying bare your exhaustion and impotence.

We ought to be satisfied with the Peace; and allowing, for argument's sake, that the war was originally prudent and just, the American cabinet would be liable to no reproach, nor could the nation lose in consideration, by the terms accepted. There is no great people either of ancient or modern times, in whose history are not to be found even several instances of an oblivion of rights or pretensions for which they made war, in consequence of a sud-

den revolution in the general order of things, or an unavoidable train of reverses. There is scarcely one of the great modern wars of which the conclusion does not exhibit a wide variance between the points adjusted and those originally adduced as the motives of the contest. England, France, Spain, Austria, nave all, in turn, after being the aggressors, sought peace, nearly in the guise of suppliants, and to obtain it, gladly consented to wave the pretensions of their manifestos; this, too, without derogating from their authority and credit. The estimation of a people is not impaired by an accidental miscarriage; but depends upon the real extent and productiveness of their resources; the tried spirit and prudence of their counsels. Circumstances are to regulate governments, and in making peace when peace is necessary, they are to consider not what they have, abstractedly, a right to demand, but what they are able to obtain. The merits of a treaty are to be tested by the relative situation of the parties at the time it is made; by the evils which it may avert, as much as by the advantages it may secure.

Judging from the debates and measures of the present Congress respecting the regular force and military academies, I must fear that one of the most striking lessons of the war has been lost on that body;—a lesson taught by our revolutionary contest, and confirmed by universal experience. To be powerful and secure, we should have a good military organization of the regular kind; a well-trained standing army, officers technically educated, fortifications scientifically constructed; our political constitution and our treasury can bear them. Circumstanced as we are, we could have nothing to fear for our liberties from quadruple the force now retained, and in the event of war for which common sense bids us be always prepared, the adoption of a liberal plan of the sort would be discovered to be a real economy.

The formation of good officers—that is to say, men regularly educated in the sciences and the dispositions appropriate to the military art,—is a leading feature of this system. For this purpose the military academies providently recommended by the executive, are indispensable. If rightly constituted, they would yield a rich harvest of capacity not only for the military, but for every other branch of the public service; and of intellectual light for the refinement and illustration of the national character. The number proposed cannot, certainly, be deemed too considerable, when the question is dispassionately examined. We are sadly wanting in officers of the stamp to be produced by the military academies. We could not do better, in a country which professes to depend mainly upon its militia for the protection of its liberties both from foreign and domestic aggression, than to distribute throughout the nation, men of sound military education and martial spirit, who might effectually train, lead, and animate their fellow-citizens, and make perfect our assurance of defence. We

should, therefore, in fact aim at a surplus of such men beyond the exigencies of the regular force. We should, indeed, so small is the number of well constituted seminaries of liberal learning among us, improve eagerly every opportunity of multiplying them in any shape; accept every chance of increasing our slender stock of scientific intellect.

It has been roundly stated in Congress that those of the pupils of the military academies who might not enter into the army, would lose their academical acquirements or find them an impediment to success, in the business of civil life; in short, that their studies would be useless or detrimental to themselves and of no emolument to the state. I feel ashamed of this suggestion in the mouth of a member of the " great council of the nation," and I can best answer it with respect to the pupils themselves, by recalling an observation of the celebrated Dutch pensioner De Wit, who when asked towards the end of his eminent political career, what had gone with the mathematics upon which he had bestowed so much time and labour in his youth, answered, *that they had passed from his memory into his judgment.* We have, perhaps, beyond all other countries, room for an application profitable both to the individual and the state, of the branches of knowledge which should be taught in military academies: We want besides military engineers, engineers of mines, of canals, of roads and bridges, geodætical, hydrographical engineers, &c. &c. If even there was no scope for such application, the possessor could be at no loss, in this country, for an honourable pursuit which would yield him a decent subsistence, and he must always be, in any profession, a public good. His education would have any tendency other than that of impairing the elasticity and independence of mind, natural to an American.

The Polytechnick school of Paris is the proper model with certain qualifications for the institutions in question. In a late report to Louis XVIII. concerning the origin and constitution of this school, the regents,—savans and politicians of the first order,—hold a language which it is well worth our while to note. " Of " the pupils of the school"—say they—" who have engaged " in the several branches of public service, a part have furnished " professors not only to the school itself, but to various establish- " ments for instruction; several of them have contributed to the " progress of French industry, by applying the fruits of a com- " prehensive education to the exercise of arts and manufactures; " many occupy high stations in the public administration. We " may say with confidence that the Polytechnick school has very " effectually served the sciences by the profound enquiries to " which most of the professors and the most distinguished pupils " have devoted themselves. They have enriched the academical " Transactions with important memoirs: The journal of the school " itself forms one of these Transactions, and has an honourable

" place in the libraries of the learned. Many of the members of " the school have won by their labours, occasionally even by their " discoveries, the honour of being admitted into the most cele- " brated societies of Europe. The whole number of the pupils " sent forth may not be employed in the several branches of the " public service. But, it is easy to perceive, and we have already " experienced, the advantage of the annual dispersion throughout " the various professions of society, of a number of individuals " of solid and extensive education, whose attainments are still " useful to the state, although the possessors may be engaged in " the private walks of industry.

" It is not in France merely that these advantageous results are " appreciated. Foreign nations and governments have testified " their esteem for the establishment, and adopted it as a model " for similar ones undertaken by themselves."

Sovereigns and governments alone can raise up institutions for education of the amplitude and mechanism required to give energy and efficacy to all the human faculties. Without such institutions we cannot, in the United States, expect to display that perfection of individual and social being, which the European nations have nearly attained, and which we are, in other respects, beyond the rest of the world, privileged to reach. It is to the *national* government that we must look for the means of becoming the rivals of Europe in the pursuits which give most honour and happiness to our species. The state-governments have not the ability, and are not likely to have the inclination, to create those means. We are a great commercial and are to be a great military people,—only through the Federal system; we can become a literary and philosophical people by the same agency alone. All these qualifications are necessary to constitute national greatness upon the scale which suits our unrivalled opportunities. We must be Greece, Rome, and Carthage at once, or, what is more, modern Italy, France and England in the same frame.

We have no universities or colleges in the proper sense. All our institutions of the name are imperfect or mutilated. General Washington, though not himself learned, knew how to value a *university* in the European meaning, and foresaw that this grand desideratum was to be supplied only by the comprehensive wisdom of Congress, and the opulence of the federal treasury. The particular motives of irresistible force which he has alleged for its creation under these auspices were, I doubt not, subordinate with him and merely subsidiary to his general views of its absolute indispensableness. The measure has been presented to Congress in some of its true aspects by the President, and recommended to the same body in the report of its committee on the subject, with much ingenuity and eloquence. The competency of the treasury to the undertaking, as well as to other domestic improvements, seems to be universally admitted.

And who can hesitate to acknowledge that this is the most important and pressing of all such improvements? It is this upon which the rest must depend for their proper execution; to which we must look for the spirit which will desire and urge,—the knowledge which will devise and guide future improvements *ad infinitum*. The expansive, positive utility of the abstract sciences,—so admirably shewn in the Address of Cuvier to the French Institute, which I have purposely inserted in the present volume—may apart, escape common observers; but all must be sensible of the paramount value and efficiency, no less than grandeur and beauty of those sciences as exhibited in a military academy both in the theory and application, and in a *university* still further, in the association with polite literature and the fine arts.

"National glory," says an illustrious English orator,* "is the "most valuable possession of a people: the smallest portion of it "is worth a whole Archipelago of sugar islands." There may be triteness, but there is not the less truth, in the remark, that the brightest and most durable national glory is that which results from a pre-eminence in science and literature. The triumphs of a people, in this field, are fully worth those of its arms: its works of genius and learning yield as rich a harvest of reputation, as its military conquests. Greece shines as brilliantly through Homer and Plutarch as through the heroes whom *they* have immortalized: England through Newton more than through Marlborough. Academies and laboratories are, in fact, ultimately as *lucrative*, as they are productive of renown, to a nation.

The sovereigns, and wealthy individuals of Europe are at this moment performing acts of the most splendid munificence in favour of literature and science; the emulation of liberality and patriotism, in erecting and endowing institutions for education on the broadest scale, was never more active in that quarter; and the conviction seems to be universal that pride and patriotism could not be more beneficially exerted. Hungary, Transylvania, Servia, *Siberia*, all are eager in the culture of the sciences and letters, and in the formation of permanent magazines of knowledge. It is time for our federal government which possesses the political attributes, to be invested with the graces, of sovereignty—those I mean, which result from the patronage of objects distinct from the material. We have, in our national capacity, done almost nothing for the cause of science; the military academy at West Point—such as it is—is the only trophy of Congress and the federal trea-

* Mr. Wyndham. There is a collection of his speeches in three volumes, which cannot be too highly valued. So much sound sense, wit, eloquence, pure English, are rarely to be found in the same compass. His speeches on military organization, and the debates of the British Parliament generally on this subject, deserve the attention of our legislators previous to the adoption of a militia-classification, or a scheme of recruitment.

sury—in the sense in which all civilized, christian sovereignties seem of late to set no bounds to their ambition.

Is the federal government dispensed from entering the lists of beneficence and honour by an all-efficient eagerness in the people and the state authorities to win for themselves the palm; to pay, themselves, the tribute due to their own greater prosperity, and the glory of the American name? The very reverse.—The proneness of all is towards monied institutions, and the grosser pursuits:—the state-authorities think only of banks, or if they turn their attention to the matter of education, their views are confined to what the transactions of common life or the professions as a means of livelihood, may exact. With respect to individuals, there is, perhaps, not one of the very many opulent persons spread throughout these States, who can be cited as a patron of letters. The current of taste, feeling, habit, desire, sets in another direction.

In every institution of the kind under consideration, you furnish an *alterative*. The federal government must take the lead in administering the remedy, or the disease will grow inveterate. Indeed, as the federal government almost monopolizes the emoluments of taxation, it alone can be supposed to possess the means sufficient for a large Foundation. Neither the states nor individuals can be expected to furnish ample endowments. The lights necessary for the proper organization of a learned corporation are, if not within or immediately about the federal government, more especially at its command. A well-constituted national university, perfect as it easily might be in its general frame and details, would induce the desired improvement in the structure of the academical institutions which we already enjoy, and prove the fruitful mother of many others of better arrangement.

Under the auspices and supervision, and in the immediate vicinity, of the federal government, a great literary foundation would best fulfil its vocation and flourish in its proper estate. All the members of it, professors and pupils, would be under excitements and restraints which, obviously, could not, elsewhere, be found. Emulation would have springs peculiar to the situation, and of the utmost power. All deficiencies might and would be supplied, and degeneracies prevented. On the other hand, the government, particularly the legislative branch, may, without disparagement, be expected to improve in the new atmosphere which would be created for its leisure hours. The neighbourhood of a body of learned professors, of a numerous society habitually employed in scientific and classical enquiries, of an active system of encyclopedical instruction, must prove an advantage which would soon be distinguishable in the tone and temper of our political legislation. There could be no difficulty in concentrating much of the best learning and genius now employed or dormant elsewhere throughout the United States, and, as Europe is cir-

cumstanced, we have but to hold out suitable encouragement, to attract what is most brilliant and profound, from that quarter. Indeed, had we, or could we be brought, to offer very moderate rewards, we might become to the world what Athens was to Greece, the chosen asylum of talent and excellence both in the sciences and the arts.

Since Washington has been definitively consecrated as the metropolis of the American nation, it should, pursuant to its character, be made the great focus of knowledge. The people must desire to see their government, in the seat of deliberation, surrounded by all human lights; for there is none which may not minister to its purposes. They must desire, too, for the general glory, the utmost embellishment of their Capital, even in material decoration. A noble edifice devoted to science, on the immediate theatre of the federal system, would be a signal homage to that system, which would bear the proper evidence with posterity, in favour both of our national spirit, and of the elevation of our views. Those who wish that our federal system—the present American nation—should make an impression upon distant ages akin to that which the ancient republics have produced among the moderns,—and there would be something abject and contracted in the absence of this ambition,—must concur in ornamenting the national capital with massive and tasteful monuments. Architecture is one of the most imposing indications of national magnificence; and magnificence is generally and properly received as an indication of greatness. The remains of the temples of Greece, and of the amphitheatres of Rome, would be enough of themselves, to make the nations who reared them objects of our admiration. The magnificence, the taste, the public virtue, the speculative philosophy of the Greeks and Romans, are every thing;—their wealth, their tactics, their victories, their conquests merely as such, almost nothing, in the sober, unsophisticated judgment of posterity.

The tendency of a national university in contact with the government, to foster a *federal* spirit, is too evident to be denied. This spirit would be strongly imbibed by the pupils, and by them constantly diffused throughout the states. *State* patriotism, as contradistinguished from *federal*, General Washington would have exploded, at least in the management of the national concerns. The framers of our constitution dreaded it as the bane of their fabric, and they divested the states, as far as possible, of all that could strongly engage the fancy or affections of the people. But they have not succeeded in their object. We have seen *state* and even *district* attachments predominate in the federal legislature. We have felt the *federal* system, in times of difficulty, to be but weak as a bond of union, and an incentive to persevering national exertion. We know, that several of the states, under a heavy pressure, and in a season of dismay, were ready to make it the

first sacrifice to party-resentment combined with the hope of separate security. The multiplication of the states weakens its force; the magnitude of several of them threatens it seriously. The Mississippi territory now soliciting admission into the union, has an extent of surface sufficient to make a great *power*, and great powers are not of a temper to remain long yoke-fellows under any *national*, or indeed merely *federal* system.*

To shield our constitution from this and other perils which might be specified, no means within its competency, should be neglected to strengthen its influence. The national university must be wretchedly misshapen which would not be the best

* The following extract from a newspaper contains what is sufficient to awaken some apprehensions concerning the *perpetuity* of the union, or at least, of the Balance of Power in the West.

MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY.

We notice the second number of a publication in the Natchez papers, addressed to the people, on the subject of admitting that territory into the union as an independent state. The writer, with considerable force of reasoning, attempts to prove that it is unwise in the people to desire to be admitted as one state, and that it would be impolitic in Congress to permit them. He states, the territory contains upwards of one hundred thousand square miles, equal to about sixty millions of acres.

Which immense size the writer contrasts with some of the largest states in the union;

	Square Miles.	Acres.
Virginia has about	70,000	44,000,000
Pennsylvania	48,000	28,756,000
New York	44,530	23,100,000
Massachusetts and Maine	47,000	30,080,000
Kentucky	50,000	32,000,000
Ohio	30,000	19,200,000

Before drawing conclusions and pointing to the consequences of a further increase of the inequality of sizes of the states composing the union, he brings into view some of the smallest states;

	Square Miles.	Acres.
Vermont has	11,060	7,078,000
New Hampshire	9,480	6,057,200
Rhode Island	1,739	1,112,960
Connecticut	4,674	2,991,360
New Jersey	8,320	5,324,800
Delaware	2,000	1,200,000
Maryland	14,000	8,960,000
Massachusetts proper	7,000	4,638,000
Making in 8 states	46,260	37,962,720

Thus we find the Mississippi territory almost doubles the whole of the 8 states last mentioned, and is more than double the size of any two states in the union, except Virginia.

The representatives of the states, we should presume, will never agree that a state should include the whole territory. If the division be once made, there is very little doubt but within a short time two states might be added to the union; without it be divided we do not imagine it ever will; we have not forgot how the attempt miscarried last winter. For many reasons we wish success to those aiming at state sovereignty in this quarter of the union, but we should be very unwilling to see the whole territory in one. Tennessee and Kentucky would be but pigmies near such a giant.—*Clarion.*

possible nursery for the spirit, and oracle of the principles of Republicanism. At Washington,—the federal government, the great factor and guardian of republicanism, would be constantly before the eyes of the principal youth, the future guides of the people, for their study and veneration. The federal system would be visible to them in its action, and unfolded to them in its true theory, as the real depository of the *sovereignty*, and representative of the majesty, of the American people; as the supreme head of the *American* commonwealth, created, not by the states as bodies politic, but by the people at large in convention; as the paramount jurisdiction to which the states (divested by the decree of the people and their own concurrent abdication, of all the solid attributes of sovereignty,) *swear* and owe fidelity; which *guarantees* to them a republican form of government, *protects* them from invasion, &c.—which is the keystone of our whole arch of empire. The pupils would be habituated to view the states, in the proper, constitutional light, as local authorities reserved for the purposes of municipal legislation and domestic convenience; of aid and nutriment to the federal system, and not of control or opposition, and much less of destruction, except in an extreme case when the people at large might choose to employ them as the most suitable engines to undo their *joint* work. It was the intention of the immediate architects of the constitution, and it is evidently the drift of its first commentators, that we should regard ourselves not as an aggregate of states or bodies-politic, but as one commonwealth and nation. The *American nation*, and not the multifarious republic, would be constantly in the view,—the national weal, and not that of any particular member of the *union*, would be fixed in the hearts, of the *Alumni* of the nation, as those of the university might be styled.

Such an institution would not only serve to spread throughout the states *federalists* in the just acceptation of the name, but might be made to furnish a race of *legislators* and *administrators* in the sense in which they will be hereafter more particularly required. A faculty of law calculated to afford these is unknown to us, and could be easily formed. We might see taught in a proper way, the *jus naturale et gentium*, not so much in the meaning of Grotius and Puffendorf as in that of Cicero; that is to say, Jus non ex duodecim tabulis neque ex edicto prætoris, sed ab intima pene natura deductum." We should have the principles of the Roman and English law, the spirit of laws; political economy, and the American political, international, and municipal code, expounded and studied as they should be to make real *jurisconsults* and statesmen.

The scheme of a national university would naturally embrace a school of theoretic diplomacy. The diplomatic character requires, in order to be any way perfect, an extensive technical acquaintance with modern diplomatic history, with our statistics, with the

statistics and mutual relations of other states, besides a knowledge of our and their constitutional forms and principles, and of foreign languages. All this calls for a course of systematic instruction on these heads, which we cannot hope to see established, any more than the faculty of law of which I have spoken, but as parts of a national university situate at Washington.

He must be, indeed, ignorant of history and human nature, who does not know that the prosperity, even the fate of nations may depend as much upon negotiation as war. It is incredible what some of the European states have effected by means of a diplomatic agency combining general knowledge with experience. The annals of Europe from the middle of the seventeenth to that of the eighteenth century are full of its achievements and triumphs. According to its particular character, whether accomplished or otherwise, the most brilliant successes in arms may prove utterly barren or but poorly productive, as the most signal disasters may be greatly mitigated, or wholly counteracted, in their natural effect. The harvest of war is blasted or secured, as the negotiator is more or less qualified for his momentous charge. A consummate ambassador would be worth more to us than a consummate commander, and might save us many campaigns. We have embarked in treaties and diplomatic communion with the leading members, and have, from necessity, ourselves become a member, of the great Christian commonwealth of nations. We have, in reason and policy, no option left on this score, and we must be prepared for the warfare of the cabinet as we would be for that of the field—with European science and tactics and experimented skill. The plenipotentiary of the American people is, too, their *representative* abroad, and by him are we, for the most part, judged. It is easy to see what he ought to be, viewed in either capacity. One of his essential functions is to keep his government fully apprized of the plot, action, characters, the underplots and *asides* of the particular drama of his residence, following at the same time, the movements of the great theatre of Europe, to furnish a better explanation of the whole. How various should be the acquirements, how many the means of observation, of the one upon whom this task is devolved!

Great Britain, since the subversion of the French despotism, has become the power against whose force and designs we shall have especially to struggle. The nations of the European continent are jealous of her maritime ascendancy;—they must suffer by her depredations, and will therefore be always disposed to second us in our views of defence, or to employ us as instruments of their own views whether of the same kind, or of envious aggression. It is through them that we may accomplish more than we can hope to be able, for some time, to effect by our military prowess. We may, by address, without entangling ourselves in formal alliances, make their dispositions serve as our best auxi-

liary. For this purpose, however, those dispositions should be constantly and sagaciously watched, as well as the concurrence of circumstances. With the same view, we should have a constant insight into their mutual dispositions and relative position, and a knowledge of their cabinet-intercourse respecting the common object. Great Britain should be convinced that the American government had put itself in a situation always to interpose the continent between them, and this conviction would operate as the most effectual restraint on her jealousy and cupidity.

To these ends, an extensive and regular chain of diplomatic posts would be necessary, which must be found less costly than war, though we should allot to our foreign agents the means now wanting to them, of appearing in a manner not absolutely unworthy of all national dignity. It would not be enough to extend and methodize our system of diplomacy—if system it can be called—upon a plan which this is not the place to suggest; but we must provide for a better choice of missionaries. It is not by means of men, who,—to say nothing of the nature of their studies and pursuits up to the moment of commencing their *new* career—do not even speak or understand the languages of the continent, that our government can be kept as it were in the centre of European affairs, and effectually served in the great object of turning those affairs to account. What we have lost by the strange composition of our diplomatic corps we may not be able to ascertain, or would not, perhaps, acknowledge, if it were shown, but as our foreign relations must inevitably assume a character of the utmost importance and complexity, the future will exact that description of intellect which is produced by special training—and this can never be complete under any other auspices than those of a national university.

It will be perceived that I have confined myself in the present volume to a cursory notice of the literature of the European Continent. I have been obliged to reserve for the next, the particular account which I intended to give, of English and American literature. The press of England has yielded an abundant harvest, for the two last years, in all departments of knowledge; much that is profound and practical in the physical and mathematical sciences; and still more in the moral; in general literature and classical erudition. The inventory presents excellent histories, many highly interesting and valuable books of travels, didactic treatises on the conduct of human life, works of fiction of consummate merit, the most splendid specimens of typography upon the largest scale, besides an incalculable mass of criticism of which no small portion is characterised by learning, acuteness, and good taste. Editions have been more copious and expensive than formerly, to a degree that indicates an increase both of appetite and means for the acquisition of the sources of knowledge. In variety and utility, the productions of the British press for the

few years past will, I am satisfied, be found, upon examination, greatly beyond those of the Continental nations during the same period.

In this country we cannot as yet be properly said to have a literature of our own, and the state of criticism among us scarcely deserves consideration. I could cite, however, several original works of a recent date which fulfil their promise and are substantially nutritive; such are the three discourses of the Hon. De Wit Clinton; the Statistics of the Hon. Timothy Pitkin; the views of Louisiana by Mr. Brackenridge, and the geographical tract of Mr. Darby already mentioned, the Picture of Cincinnati by Dr. Drake, which is, in fact, an able picture of the state of Ohio, and furnishes much curious information respecting our western country in general; the works of John Taylor of Caroline, Virginia, praiseworthy under some points of view and very exceptionable under others; the Sketch of the Botany of South Carolina and Georgia, by Stephen Elliot, pre-eminent among all the publications concerning American Plants, for scientific exactness, and practical utility, &c. &c.

We have had books of much more lofty pretensions than these, but of little real achievement; for instance, the vain-glorious rhapsodies of Mr. Ogilvie under the abused title of Philosophical Essays, and the portentous "System of Universal Science" of Mr. Woodward—an undertaking greatly above the acquirements and opportunities of the author, as must be evident, upon the face of his volume, to every scholar. The Germans, the proper heroes for such an enterprise, have done all for the classification of human science, that could well be compassed or desired, in its imperfect state; and the American who may be disposed to emulate their labours, might wait at least until we are fairly involved in the labyrinth, before essaying to provide us with the clue. The truly erudite must smile when they find the author of this "System of Universal Science," declaring,—and with him the reverend gentlemen of Philadelphia who have so lustily puffed his attempt, and whose kindness he has duly reciprocated in the body of his book—that it will pay, or lighten the heavy debt of gratitude which the Western owes to the Eastern hemisphere, on the score of science!

It is this kind of empiricism on the one hand, and presumption on the other, which arrests our solid advancement, perverts our relish, and degrades us from our true level in the eyes of Europe.

We have had now and then a volume of poetry always below mediocrity, and a few romances or novels too contemptible to be remembered. Our Parnassus is fruitful only in weeds, or underwood at the best.

> "Prose swell'd to verse, verse loit'ring into prose."

I would much prefer that our taste and intelligence should be

tested by the English works reprinted among us, although these, too commonly, have been trumpery and insignificant. Our booksellers seem to have been governed by the panegyrics of English reviews, and the success of a book as evidenced by the number of editions; without making allowance for the influence of venality or party spirit in those panegyrics, and the circumstance that, in so vast a reading public as the British, no kind of trash can fail to have a great number of eager consumers. Hence we have been inundated with what could have no other than the worst of effects on American taste, and must either produce or pamper an intellectual chlorosis.

Recently, however, in Boston—where from early impressions and a natural action and re-action between the community and the neighbouring university, a more general and keener relish for solid literature has always prevailed—English works of the higher order have been selected for re-publication, and the example has been followed in our other cities. The booksellers deserve much credit, who have given us such food as the Tacitus of Murphy and the Herodotus of Beloe; Eustace's Classical Tour, Dr. Clarke's three last volumes of Travels, Salt's Travels, those of Ali Bey, the Sermons of Horsley, Allison, Jeremy Taylor, the Essay of Malthus on Population, and of Hamilton on the National Debt of England, the Elements of Criticism of Lord Kaimes and of Philosophy of Dugald Stewart, the novels of Margaret Cullen, and of that Shakspeare of Novelists, the author of Waverly, &c. &c.—A complete edition of the writings of Cicero in the original is now passing through the press at Boston in a neat form, and on the score of the text, exceptionable only for being too servile a copy of the edition of Ernesti.

I find announced as about to be immediately reprinted, a number of solid, instructive works, among others Ferguson's Astronomy by David Brewster, to which I should be glad to see added Charles Hutton's Course of Mathematics for the use of academies.

Our establishments for education are but ill supplied with the best elementary books in the physical and mathematical sciences, and are still more destitute with respect to judicious compends in the walks of history, and moral and political philosophy. The plan of the French government of devolving upon a committee of many conspicuous savans and literati, the task of digesting a library of rudiments to be common to all the schools, was excellent in itself, though conceived in a spirit eminently noxious. An association in England, or this country, of persons well qualified in knowledge, taste and reputation, for the purpose of providing abridgments in aid of the usual course of English education, would be fully worth any manufacturing company that could be imagined,—and rescue our youth, to a certain extent, from the quackery to which they are a prey.

Mr. Dobson of Philadelphia has issued proposals for an American edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, as it is re-appearing at home under the management of Macvey Napier, Esq. with all the new lights which the most eminent of the British philosophers can communicate. The dissertation on the progress of the moral sciences prefixed by Dugald Stewart to the first volume—which alone I have had an opportunity of inspecting,—is an inestimable accession, and worthy in the execution of the acknowledged head of elegant literature and inductive pneumatology.* I do not myself consider the republication of encyclopædias among us, in the present stage of our literary advancement, in our actual chrysalis state, if I may be allowed the metaphor, as at all desirable, and I have seen with much regret, though with equal satisfaction at the liberality of the effort, that money expended on the enormous compilation of Rees, which might have been so much more usefully bestowed on good elementary treatises, and the separate labours of the great masters. If there be any one of the encyclopædias needful for our private libraries, it is certainly the unrivalled one of which Mr. Dobson now proffers the supplement.

An adventurous and very intelligent bookseller of New York, Mr. Eastburn, has engaged in a scheme for reprinting a series of the classical, *canonized* prose writers of England, from the reign of Elizabeth down to the present century. We shall have healthy palates, and robust constitutions of mind, if our literary purveyors will, to hazard a homely phrase, pursue this scent. Mr. Eastburn includes in his bill of fare, Lord Verulam's

* His dissertation is entitled "A general view of the progress of Mathematical, Ethical and Political Philosophy, since the revival of Letters in Europe." What does this great authority say on the subject of "*Systems of Universal Science?*" After speaking of Bacon's classification, he proceeds thus: "Nor must it "be forgotten to the glory of his genius, that what he failed to accomplish re- "mains to this day a desideratum in science;—that the united talents of "D'Alembert and Diderot, aided by all the lights of the eighteenth century, "have been able to add but little to what Bacon performed. After what I have "said, it will not be expected that an attempt is to be made, in this essay, to "solve a problem which has so recently baffled the powers of these eminent wri- "ters, and which will probably long continue to exercise the ingenuity of our "successors.

"How much remains to be previously done for the improvement of that part "of logic, whose province it is to fix the limits by which contiguous departments "of study are defined and separated? And how many unsuspected affinities may "be reasonably presumed to exist among sciences, which, to our circumscribed "views, appear at present the most alien from each other! The abstract geometry "of Appollonius and Archimides was found, after an interval of two thousand "years, to furnish a torch to the physical enquiries of Newton; while in the far- "ther progress of knowledge, the etymology of languages has been happily "employed to fill up the chasms of ancient history; and the conclusions of com- "parative anatomy, to illustrate the theory of the earth. The strictures which I "am about to make on the classification of the sciences proposed by Mr. Locke, "will afford an additional proof of the difficulty, or *rather the impossibility*, in the "actual state of logical science, of solving this great problem, in a manner calcu- "lated to unite the general suffrages of philosophers."

works, Dryden and Milton's prose, Burton, Clarendon, Newton's Principia, Bryant's Mythology, and, besides much other provision of equal succulency, the Political Economy of Sir James Stuart, a work of which I have long lamented the scarcity in the United States. It is richer in luminous views, in pregnant maxims, and applicable political arithmetic than the Wealth of Nations, and has suffered an injustice in being so much neglected for the latter. Were the members of our Congress more familiar with Sir James Stuart, we should have from them another and juster, and perhaps unanimous language on the subject of banks and currency.

Mr. Eastburn embraces, also, in his plan, the reprint of good translations of some of the most celebrated French authors. We have but little French literature even in our public libraries, and the study of it is not common, although the rudiments of the French language are generally taught in our schools. The diffusion of the best French authors *in the original*, would be most desirable, and may be finally induced by that of attractive versions. During the last or preceding session of Congress, a measure was proposed, but unfortunately rejected, which would have greatly contributed to the enlargement of our literary horizon: I allude to the motion made for exempting from duties all books in foreign languages imported into the United States. As our booksellers republish no books of this description, they could sustain no injury from the exemption; the cheapness of them when duty free, would cause them to be readily purchased, and our gentlemen would themselves obtain them from abroad for their libraries. As the case is, the treasury derives little or nothing from this source; and its loss, if the exemption led to a considerable importation, would be more than compensated by the gain to the taste and understanding of the nation. The treasury might, likewise, well dispense with the duty on imported English literature, and, by its abrogation, no real injustice would be done to the American bookselling trade. Books printed in England, are there so enormously dear, that our booksellers could furnish them to us cheaper in the reprint, and secure an ample profit, although they should be privileged from impost. We extend special protection to our other manufacturers, because they are liable to be undersold, and because we seek independence on English looms and spindles. But there can be no parity of reasoning in the present question. Were the addition made by the duties to the expense of importation removed, English books would be attainable for a much greater number of individuals, and our general readers would not be, as they now are, almost entirely at the mercy, for their intellectual food, of the booksellers, who, when their own taste is good, are but too apt to undervalue that of the public, and provide accordingly. Of the *good* books which almost daily appear in London, the proportion republished in this country is yet, even

under our improved system, far from being considerable. I may be, perhaps, taxed with a little extravagance or professional vanity, but I must avow, that I deem sterling foreign literature quite as valuable as sterling foreign gold, and hold it to be as much the duty of Congress to give free access to the one as to the other.

I view the undertaking of Mr. Eastburn with particular interest, because it may absorb much of the loose money which now goes to the purchase of trifles in literature, and not because the good English authors are altogether rare in this country. They are accessible in our public and in many private libraries, in the English editions. Our principal bookstores are, in general, not abundantly alone, but substantially furnished, and this remark is not to be confined to those of our Atlantic cities. I was astonished in a recent tour through our western country, at the number, magnitude and solid composition of the establishments of this kind, which I found there. They presented in their comparative excellence and prosperity a contrast at first unintelligible with the establishments for liberal education all meager and languishing. From the contents and general appearance of the bookstores in Kentucky and Ohio, you would be led to feel easy with respect to the progress of knowledge in those states; but in inspecting the schools, you are alarmed lest the population should immeasurably outgrow the means of instruction; and their intellectual fall far short of their numerical weight in our national councils.

The apprehension vanishes, however, in a great degree, before the activity, the emulation, and the sagacity which characterise our tramontane brethren. The force with which the mind *vegetates* among them can be best illustrated by the growth of their plants in a virgin loam. All the faculties knit, spread, and luxuriate, as it were, vigorously and wildly as the branches of their sycamore. This intense vitality of the intellect when fed by science, and the knowledge of mankind, must give the most splendid results. We may judge from the specimens of the ore which we have seen in congress, what the metal will be after sublimation. I must confess that I was lost in admiration at the prospects which open in that quarter upon the pride of human intelligence and power: it is a perspective of which the magnificence can be credible only to those who have made their examination at leisure upon the spot, and with a recollection of what history relates as to the adolescence of the mightiest communities mentioned in its annals. At a distance there is hardly a suspicion entertained of the promise, I should say rather, the impending maturity of the West. It is a great empire lying as it were in ambush for mankind, and destined to explore all parts of the intellectual World.

Liberal education, by which I mean the systematic tuition of the sciences and classics—is there exceedingly backward, but the

rudiments of mere English education are almost universal. That only real modern improvement in the matter of education —the only possible one perhaps—the Lancastrian method, has been adopted with avidity and is pursued on a large scale. I have seen, at Cincinnati on the Ohio, which dates only a few *lustres* back, four hundred children assembled upon the Lancastrian plan in a brick edifice constructed for the purpose by subscription among the inhabitants of the town, and much superior in all respects to any one of those devoted to the same object in our Atlantic cities. Lexington and Louisville have also considerable schools of the kind. The cheapness of provisions and living generally, in the western states, renders this mode of reclaiming the mind from the brutishness of absolute illiteracy, proportionably cheap, and thus sets out, in higher relief, the beneficence of the invention. It may be, barely, and has been, I would say, impiously, made a question in other countries, whether the poorer classes should not, with a view both to their own and the general weal, be excluded even from the threshold of education; but the happier condition of things, in the United States, and especially in the West, admits by no possibility, of such a question in reference to any portion of our population; and here again, therefore, does the Lancastrian system appear to greater advantage than abroad, in realizing what is here only an undisputed good.

I may be indulged further in this kind of digression to remark, that the peculiar circumstances of this country—the unparalleled facility which obtains here of acquiring, by means of a small monied-capital, a competent fortune with all its comforts,—will give, among us, unrivalled efficacy to the institution of *Savings' Banks* twinborn in the new bounty of Providence to the labouring poor, with the Lancastrian system of instruction. We shall see, in the West particularly, what cannot happen in Europe, the small gatherings of this scheme, which, like the Lancastrian, unites so much simplicity with such comprehensive utility,—we shall see these gatherings not merely shielding old age from the miseries of extreme want, but swelling, under the influence of the facility I have just mentioned, into ample estates, which will seem to restore the balance of justice in favour of humble industry, and in some sort vindicate the ways of God to man. If the greater dangers to which the morals of the poor are exposed abroad, make these two plans—which are the best of auxiliaries to those morals,—so far, particularly estimable there, the more considerable results to which they must, in other respects, lead, in this country, recommend them with greater force to our favour.

We cannot contemplate, without lively pleasure, the attempts already made in some of our chief cities, to organize *Savings' Banks*. They deserve the utmost zeal of philanthropy, and should be found every where by the side of the Lancastrian schools. In the two plans when perfectly executed and managed—and the ease

with which this perfection may be realized, is a leading-feature of the excellence of each—there appears to me an *optimity* as to the great end of correcting the usual effects of that necessary evil, the inequality of fortunes in civilized society.*

I have ventured to insert in the present volume an extract relating to an important period in the early annals of Russia. It is made from an outline of the history of that country, which I have completed as far as the commencement of the reign of the emperor Paul. Russia is, in my view, by far the most considerable power of the other hemisphere, and the object of deepest concern to mankind. She rests on the broadest and most solid foundations; she is the most subtle in her policy, and is boundless in her ambition. She gravitates,—if I may be permitted to speak thus,—upon the rest of Europe. While other powers have been playing the game of fast and loose, she has constantly made great acquisitions, and has never relaxed her hold. Alternately the ally and the enemy of all, she has curtailed and enfeebled all except England. She had an arm for Asia, mutilated Persia, and menaced India at the same time that she co-operated in the dismemberment of Sweden, Prussia, and Austria. From the year 1721 to 1811, she acquired by cession an additional population of nearly eleven millions,—the greater part within less than half a century. About five millions of these were the gain of the three partitions of Poland, and she has just obtained near four millions more by the appropriation to herself of the fragments of that unfortunate kingdom which Bonaparte had connected under the title of the Duchy of Warsaw. Her policy in respect to Poland has never wavered for ages. It exhibits an appalling and almost incredible continuity of usurpation, diversified by the blackest fraud or the most sanguinary violence as the invariable object required the variation of the means. At length the iniquitous pursuit is completely successful, and that, too, under the auspices of a war undertaken to emancipate Europe, and of an emperor styled the new Titus, or Antoninus.

Russia, as we now know by official statements, *wrested* the Duchy of Warsaw from the congress of Vienna; it was, indeed, already her prey in the hands of the Arch-Duke Constantine, before time was given for the formality of a cession on the part of the congress. We may easily divine with what feelings they acquiesced in this consummation, which presents Russia as the

* A very satisfactory exposition of the plan of Savings' Banks is to be found in a late number of the Edinburgh Review. Several useful tracts on the subject have been published in Great Britain. The best are of the following authors—The Rev. Henry Duncan, of Rutwell in Dumfrieshire, Scotland;—Edward Christian, of Gray's Inn, London—Professor of law, and the commentator on Blackstone; Barber Beaumont, Esq. a director of one of the Institutions. It would be a good deed to reprint among us the Essay of Mr. Christian or of Mr. Beaumont, both of which are full and clear. I have seen also two or three anonymous Essays on the same subject of much merit.

mistress of the course of the Vistula, as conterminous with central Germany, upon the flanks of Hungary, Moravia, and Bohemia, reinforced with several millions of the most warlike population in Europe, which she is already organizing into large armies, at the same time that she reigns in the Caspian and Euxine seas, has a strong footing in Persia, and thirteen hundred leagues of contact with the Chinese empire from west to east.

I cannot refrain, though I may seem to wander interminably, from carrying my reader back to the celebrated debate in the British parliament, of the year 1792, respecting the British armament of that period against Russia. It is particularly worthy of remark in connexion with what I have just said of the new attitude of this power, and with what I am going to quote from the parties to the debate of 92,—that the object before them, which formed the knot in the jealous negotiation then pending between England and Russia, was the acquisition by the latter of the mere waste territory between the Bog and the Dneister.

Lord Grenville—of the ministry—said, "that Russia had been "long actuated by the most ambitious views, and was the only "power truly formidable to the peace of Europe; that one of her "objects was to be a maritime power, and that England had "thought it her interest to watch over and prevent the attain-"ment of that object; that it had, evidently been the object of "this despotic power to humble, if not to ruin Great Britain; "that it was impossible for any man who considered the case to "maintain that it was of no consequence to England, whether or "not Russia was permitted to drive the Turks out of Europe, "and to make herself formidable in the Mediterranean as a "maritime power."

B. Jenkinson said—"that the only power to be dreaded on the "continent was Russia; that *Poland* was an object of the first "importance in the balance of Europe, &c."

Mr. Pitt, the chancellor of the exchequer, said, "that the "Turkish Empire was essential to the balance of Europe; that "the progress of the power of Russia was alarmingly great and "her ambition boundless, that she had a regular system of en-"croachment, &c." This debate, in which the doctrines of the three speakers here quoted were admitted on all hands,—unfolds what must be the fundamental policy, and real sentiments of the British cabinet towards Russia, let their momentary relations be what they may.

The United States can scarcely be in the way of a hostile rencontre with this colossal power, unless she should move upon us, from her ambitious settlements on the north-west coast. There is, to be sure, more of fancy than grave foresight in this observation, but it will seem less wild, when I refer to a suggestion of a similar purport contained in the celebrated History of the Anarchy of Poland by Rulhiere. This able writer in speaking of the reve-

ries of Russian ambition during the more brilliant periods of the last Catherine's career, has the following passage. "Never did a "nation form more inordinate plans of ambition and conquest "than did the Russian. Some of her politicians setting out in "imagination from Kamtschatka, traversed without difficulty the "unknown seas beyond, saw themselves already established in "America, and expected to dispute one day the empire of Canada "with the British."*

The presence of the Russians in Canada would not be more unexpected at least, than was their appearance at Paris in 1814; but I do not positively apprehend that we shall soon meet them on the St. Lawrence; nor do I suppose that the present misunderstanding between us will have any serious consequences. Unless there be a *hostile* mind, which is hardly to be presumed—since it would be contrary to Russian interests—the cabinet of St. Petersburgh cannot fail to see the subject of this misunderstanding in the true light, and to consign it to the oblivion which the reputation of Russia as regards the grace, "the decent drapery" of national representation would seem to require.

The incautious not to say too humble amours of her consul-general had produced what is the tale of every day in England, a mercenary conspiracy to charge him with a heinous crime. The magistrate on whose warrant he was arrested and by whom he was committed to prison, acted as official duty, which left no option, clearly prescribed. He knew of no personal right vested in a *consul-general* by the law of nations or our domestic code, of exemption from responsibility to the tribunals of the country. The accused was admitted to bail by the higher and only proper authority with all possible dispatch; but the evidence adduced on the subject, in the regular way, was such as to lead the grand jury of the city and county of Philadelphia to prefer a bill of indictment against him. The indictment, however, was quashed by the court—the supreme court of Pennsylvania,—in which it was brought, on the ground of a want of jurisdiction in the *state*-courts in cases affecting consuls, jurisdiction in such cases being exclusively assigned by our federal constitution to the courts of the United States. The chief justice of the supreme court of Pennsylvania included, in his able opinion on the matter, an examination of the point whether the law of nations confers on consuls an immunity from criminal prosecutions, and decided peremptorily in the negative, according to reason and authority.

It so happened, moreover, that the courts of the United State have no jurisdiction in the case, inasmuch as these courts have none but over crimes specifically placed under their cognizance by the federal constitution or laws; and that of which the Russian agent was accused is not of the number. Of course, he was de-

* *Anarchie de la Pologne*. B. ix.

prived of the opportunity of establishing his innocence—as he has always professed himself eager and able to do—before any judicial tribunal. There was still, however, another tribunal, within his reach—better suited, in my humble apprehension to the purpose—either the public, or a private committee of investigation, in whose decision, if it were composed of men of strong and unbiassed judgments, the public would have fully acquiesced.

The federal goverment had no power to give a different course to this unlucky affair. It did all, in regard to these proceedings, which, to the extent of its constitutional faculties, it could do, for the feelings of the individual and the dignity of his sovereign. We may presume that it has made the proper explanations,—with the just commentary on the unavoidable hardship of the case—and in the healing forms of honest regret, and respectful courtesy. If the official guardians of the interests and honour of his imperial majesty, on this side of the Atlantic, have persisted in considering them aggrieved, and in deepening at home the shadows of a supposed affront, it has not been for want of direct clear explication, and sound advice. I have before me a copy of an opinion altogether in the sense of the preceding observations, concerning the principal points of the case, which was addressed to them, at their own instigation, by a gentleman of the highest eminence in the law, who, as a leading member of the minority in Congress could not be suspected of a bias in favour of our present administration, and whose friendship for the Russian legation and people would yield only to his inflexible attachment to the cause of truth and his country. As the case is matter of history, and likely to be of permanent interest—the considerations which have induced me to dwell thus long upon it—I shall avail myself of the permission he has given me, to transcribe the concluding paragraphs of his opinion, and merely add from myself that I know not how they could have been resisted.

" The disability of the state courts to try Mr. Kosloff relates " to his PERSON and privileges, and of the United States court to " the *nature of the offence*. It will be seen that this is a very " singular concidence of circumstances, which might not occur in " many years: and it is not therefore very surprising, if it has " not been anticipated and provided for.—Experience only can " point out, from time to time, and supply defects arising out of " the peculiar nature of our government or rather governments, " consisting of certain powers vested in a general government " and certain other independent powers held by the several " states, to which both must conform to preserve the harmony of " the whole.

" However much it is to be regretted that an obscure and vi- " cious individual should be enabled to produce so much trouble " and mischief, it seems to have been inevitable, and I know of " nothing that could have been done either by the government of

" the United States, or by you, that could have given these pain-
" ful proceedings a different direction or issue than the one they
" have so unfortunately taken. The power to do mischief and
" wrong, and often irremediable mischief and wrong, is in the
" hands of the most insignificant and wicked of mankind. The
" torch of an incendiary may consume the most magnificent work
" of art; and the hand of an assassin may destroy a life of incal-
" culable value; but it rests with the just and wise not to extend
" these evils beyond their own limits.—So the malice and avarice
" of such a being as the accuser in this case may involve great
" and friendly nations in difficult embarrassments, from which
" their own moderation and discretion only can extricate them;
" but which if received with irritation, or misunderstood, may
" lead to the most disastrous consequences."

Notwithstanding the umbrage of Russia and the lowering aspect of Spain, we may well congratulate ourselves on the state of our foreign relations. The serenity of the political horizon cannot at any time be considered as fixed for a great country, but we are now so situated as to have little more to dread than passing clouds. Among the circumstances of the day which we may contemplate with particular satisfaction, is the appointment of a minister plenipotentiary of the kingdom of the Brazils near the United States. This is the first mission of the kind to us from an acknowledged, established government of our hemisphere. The importance of a friendly intelligence, or even close union, not merely with a view to commercial but to political interests, between all the independent powers of the American continent, will be better understood hereafter than at present, and cannot now escape the penetration of those who are aware of what must be, at no distant period, the dispositions of Europe as regards the whole.

Under this point of view, as well as of its priority, the Brazilian mission forms an epoch. In another respect, too, we might so consider it:—I allude to the character of the gentleman, the Chevalier Jose Correa de Serra, whom the new monarch of the Brazils has selected as his representative. It is a choice of which both nations have reason to be proud. To say nothing more of him whom all unite in admiring and loving, it was not possible to select an individual of more heartfelt loyalty, or accomplished ability, and who, at the same time, so thoroughly understood, and so affectionately regarded this much misapprehended and much underrated country.

The contrast between our domestic condition at this moment, and what it was during the war, is yet more striking and exhilarating than that of our foreign relations at the two periods. The worst of our domestic ills has nearly disappeared—" that species of party or faction which broke the locality of public affections and united descriptions of citizens more with strangers than with

their countrymen of different opinions."* The fever which threatened our vitals has gone off, or at least has so far intermitted, as to be no longer a subject of alarm. Party-divisions—necessary, and wholesome in a free state when of a certain character,—are approaching much nearer to that character. There may yet be hesitation in the majority as to some great points of national defence, and internal improvement, but there is a proneness to them in the developments of experience and maturation, which cannot be long resisted. I am almost confident of soon witnessing such a military and naval organization as circumstances require; the adoption of Mr. Calhoun's scheme of appropriation, or a still more liberal one, for internal improvement; a new expedition under the auspices of government for exploring the West, fitted to accomplish that which was impracticable with the imperfect equipment of the first under Lewis and Clarke: I do not despair of a broad, and elevated plan of diplomacy; nor even of a national university when congress shall be convinced, that the states and individual enterprize, with the aid of the Lancastrian system, have done, or are doing all that could be desired for the purpose of the universal initiation of the people in lettered knowledge; but that it alone can put us in the way of mastering the higher branches and penetrating the mysteries of science.

The prosperity of our finances strengthens every hope of the kind just mentioned. The improvement of our situation in this respect is truly wonderful, and not, I think, to be ascribed merely to the operation of the peace. To the gentleman who has recently left the treasury, Mr. Dallas, we owe, in great part, its extrication from difficulties which staggered every resolution but his own, at one gloomy period. No tribute of acknowledgment can be too ample for his official courage and assiduity, the general wisdom of his management, the clearness, fullness, and rich theory of his official reports, which make of them the best existing digest of the principles and details of our financial system. If his scheme of a national bank were exceptionable, without him we should, probably, have had no such institution, the true remedy for a disordered currency. It is a remedy, however, the efficacy of which depends upon the policy which he has recommended in his last report. The banks have been wisely indulged as long as their interests were those of the nation, in the matter of suspension; but now that the question of specie payments, in the light which they themselves have put it by their selfish precautions, and in which it is placed by general circumstances, has become one between their convenience or particular loss, and a great national disadvantage and loss,—continued forbearance on the part of Congress and the state governments, would be a breach of duty.

* Mr. Burke.

The peace has wrought already an admirable change in our general situation, and we may look to the accession of the President elect for a new era of a most auspicious character. He has had the full education at home and abroad, proper to the chief magistracy of these states; his nature does not admit of his setting the example or obeying the suggestions of party rancour; the lessons of experience and the warmth of his patriotism will raise him above all narrow partialities, and uni-lateral interests. If we can once lose sight of these in the administration of the federal system, and the distribution of public employments, we shall have accomplished almost every thing for our security both from internal and external dangers.

THE

AMERICAN REGISTER.

FRENCH AFFAIRS.

"THE thirty-first day of March, 1814! a day," says the Archbishop of Malines, in his Congress of Vienna, "which will be memorable to eternity. Similar to the condition of a man relieved of a most oppressive load, Europe began to breathe." America might well have been included in this remark; for we, too, had suffered from the Genius of evil, by whose overthrow this day is in some part hallowed. We had shared, if not largely in the distresses, in many of the solicitudes and fears, of Europe, and could appreciate, although we might not so directly feel, the importance of the revolution which it seemed to complete. In rejoicing at the downfal of Bonaparte—this "chief monster who has plagued the nations yet," we were not insensible to the magnanimity of the victors, and were ready to join in the European chorus of admiration, at the generosity with which France was treated.* The allies proved by the sequel, that the primary object of their union and military operations was to repossess the real dignity, religion, and morality of France of the means of their natural influence, and thus afforded an example of self-command, moderation, rectitude, and concord, unparalleled as well in the degree as in the circumstances.

There was, indeed, a grand spectacle; a magnificent stage effect! a *dénouement* which appealed with equal force to the fancy and the heart. It is not, that we were over-sanguine with respect to the benefits of the change; that we supposed the millenium at hand; or, that the cabinets of Europe had acquired a fixed character of heroic forbearance and enlarged wisdom. But a death-blow appeared to be given to the hydra-headed anarchy of France, of which the spirit and convulsions were so

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* "I had formed, from other information, the most favourable opinion of the virtues of the emperor Alexander. The magnanimity of his conduct in the first capture of Paris still magnified every thing we had believed of him. That the sufferings which France had inflicted on other countries justified severe reprisals cannot be questioned. We were safe ourselves from Bonaparte, because he had not the British fleets at his command."———Mr. Jefferson's letter to Dr. Logan, of October 18, 1815.

eminently pernicious to mankind. We expected to see revived, with many correctives, the old politics, manners and opinions of Europe, which, however perverse and unnatural, were, as experience had shewn, much less at war with the happiness and morality of the world, than those of the new school of France. The long roll of grim and sanguinary maxims which formed the code of French despotism, unaccompanied by temperaments or consolations of any description, was to be discarded, and give place to an order of things in which the softer and kindly propensities of our nature might find, at least some share of relief and gratification. The system of Bonaparte was an omniverous ambition in a new shape; one more horrible and formidable than any in which this destructive passion had ever appeared, or is, for a considerable period, likely again to appear. The empire of the seas, the monopoly of commerce sought by England, the gigantic grasp and insatiable cupidity of the Russian cabinet, every other scheme or menace of dominion, against which we would now invoke the earliest precaution, was as nothing, until the subversion of a system, superior in mischief and malignity, to almost every other possible organization of force and fraud.

A brighter page will not be found in the volume of history than that, which records the condition in which France was left, after the unexampled provocations she had given to the wildest revenge, and the unexampled efforts made to shake off her iron yoke:—The France of 1792, maintained and guaranteed by an equal treaty; her colonies and captive forces restored; her treasures of art, her invidious monuments, her resources of every description held inviolate; a universal amnesty on one condition alone—the abandonment of her tyrant. The beauty of modern civilization was never more forcibly illustrated, than it is in the following introductory paragraph of the Analysis of the labours of the first class of the French Institute, by *Cuvier*, the perpetual secretary of that body. "The memorable events of which this capital (Paris) has been the theatre, so far from disturbing scientific research, have yielded new proofs of the respect which the sciences inspire, and of the fortunate influence which they have obtained over all nations and classes. Innumerable armies drawn from the extremities of Europe have visited our monuments, have surveyed our collections, have examined each object with a curious eye, without doing the smallest injury, or even committing an imprudence. Lovers of the sciences enrolled in the great crusade undertaken in part, for the re-establishment of the liberty of thinking and writing, had scarcely laid aside their arms, when they sought to be informed of our labours, and co-operating in them to acquaint us with what had been done amongst themselves. The foreign sovereigns have, as it were, emulously contended, who should give the most striking proofs of interest in the progress of knowledge, and who should best evince that their cause was that of light and humanity."

If the allies had signed and published, previous to their entrance into France, a liberal treaty of peace with Louis the 18th, to be in force when he should be acknowledged by the French people; or abstained wholly from negotiation with an enemy, whose character they must have thoroughly un-

derstood,* their object might, perhaps, have been more easily accomplished, and still greater credit be given them for unity and boldness of design. But allowance is to be made for the peculiar situation of Austria with respect to Napoleon; for the political relations in which all the continental powers, especially Russia, had stood towards the imperial crown of France; and the laudable desire of ascertaining the real dispositions of the French people. They made amends, however, to the Bourbons for this tardy assertion of their claims, and so many years of contemptuous dereliction. They proclaimed their cause as that of peace and indemnity; they ushered them in as redeemers and propitiators; they presented them to, and received them back from the nation as pledges of future moderation and candour; they disclaimed, in their favour, both the style and the privileges of conquest.

The deportment of Louis the 18th, was in the same spirit towards his subjects, as that of his auxiliaries. The majority of the people welcomed him with open arms, and the liveliest expressions of delight.* He met them with an assurance of total oblivion of the past, of perfect security to all without exception, in their persons, property, honours and places. He practised not a single act of rigour or of vengeance; but maintained in their posts most of the functionaries of the imperial government; kept near his person and loaded with new favours many of the confidential favourites and devoted servants of his predecessor. "Let us cast our eyes about us," says Chateaubriand at the end of 1814, in his "Reflections on the political writings of the day:" "By whom is nearly the totality of the great and small places of government occupied? Is it by Vendeans, emigrants? or, is it by men who had served the other order of things? The fact is notorious. Have those who say they are *proscribed*, lost a hair of their heads; or a particle of their estates, or their personal liberty?" Never was there, in fact, an occasion, on which the following well-known passage of the latin historian might, with more propriety, be used."

At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavêre? homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritiâ, nocentissimi, iidemque superbissimi; quibus fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque in-

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* M. de Caulincourt, was the representative of Bonaparte at the conferences of Chatillon. The following letter to Caulincourt, from the French Secretary of State, the duke de Bassano (Maret) fell into the hands of the allies: the original, in the hand-writing of Maret, is deposited in the state registry of Vienna.

19th March, 1814.

"The emperor desires that you should make no positive engagement as to the delivery of the fortresses of Antwerp, Mayence, and Alexandria; that you should keep constantly in mind, that, although he should sign the cession of these provinces, it is not his intention to deliver up these three keys of France, in case military events upon which he means always to count, should allow him not to do it. In one word, his majesty wishes to be, after the treaty, still in a situation, to take advantage of circumstances up to the last moment. The emperor recommends it to you, to burn this letter as soon as you have read it."

Lord Castlereagh justly remarked in his speech of the 20th April, 1814, that this letter furnished proof of a system of perfidy unheard of in the transactions of civilized nations.

* Even Carnot admits this. See his Justificatory Memoir.

honesta omnia quæstui sunt. Pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quæstiones injustas, plerique cædem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent. *Ita, quam quisque pessumè fecit tam maxumè tutus est.*

The accession of Louis was speedily followed by the adoption of a constitution with the best principles and forms of freedom in a monarchy; so framed by himself, and with the counsel of the most enlightened and powerful men of the two deliberative assemblies, as to be open to amelioration, and conformable to the changes wrought by the Revolution; a constitution embracing in substance all that the Assemblies of the *Baillages* had called for in 1789, and with which, it was impossible for the real and intelligent patriots not to be satisfied.

The dispositions of the military, were the most inveterate and formidable, with which the new sovereign had to contend. Towards them he left untried no expedient of conciliation, which was compatible with the safety of the throne, and the condition of the treasury. He studiously celebrated their exploits, extolled their bravery, distinguished and supported their commanders; incorporated with them the princes of his family; maintained and enlarged the Legion of honor, an institution especially created and adapted for the consolidation of the military despotism so fatal to his own interests and those of his kingdom. The many thousands whom Bonaparte had left to languish, without ever proposing or admitting a cartel of exchange, in the hulks of England, the fortresses of Germany, and the deserts of Russia, were restored to their country, and their wants supplied with paternal solicitude. The arrears of the pay of the army, notwithstanding its devotion to the cause of Bonaparte, had been suffered to accumulate to an enormous amount. These were discharged in full by the Bourbons, as if the finances had been in the highest prosperity, to that portion of the troops which from the exhaustion of the national resources and the engagements made with the allies, it became inevitable to disband. A committee was instituted to investigate, and liquidate all military claims of every description. The whole exchequer seemed, in fact, to be considered, and was by the zealous royalists, querulously described, as the military chest. We should not omit to mention, that the very officers whom Bonaparte had abandoned for years in the hostile countries, without succour of any sort, were the first to exclaim, and in a tone of arrogance, against the tardiness with which the Bourbons discharged their arrears, and recompensed their services. The only delay on this score which did occur, arose from the incalculable number of the claimants, and the desire of gratifying at once the exigencies of the most needy.

To close the wounds inflicted by the Revolution, and by the system of Bonaparte, to win over the heroes of both to the cause of royalty and peace, to heal political dissentions, and revive habits of civil industry; to inspire confidence into foreign powers, and thus regain some share of federative strength for the nation, were the objects which the monarch seemed to have constantly in view, and for which he sedulously laboured. The abolition of the conscription was one of the first exertions of the new government, and that of the most odious of the taxes—the

droits réunes, would have followed, pursuant to a hasty promise, had they not been found indispensable upon a closer inspection of the state of the finances.

Under the just impression, that nothing would more facilitate the attainment of the objects just mentioned, than the prosperity of religion, the royal government took measures to improve the condition and strengthen the authority of the clergy. In their legislation on this head, they never violated the principle of toleration in the sense in which it is received in Europe, although they acted upon the maxim of a great protestant writer, Mr. Burke, "that the catholic religion, which is fundamentally the religion of France, must go with the monarchy of France." A very slender provision was, in fact, made for the hierarchy; scarcely a subsistence provided for the inferior clergy; and every fiscal measure proposed in their favour deferred in the execution, until the wants of the army were satisfied. In countenancing the immediate revival of certain public ceremonies, and rules of discipline peculiar to the catholic church, in a country, and particularly in a capital, where even the simplest forms of Christian worship, and its most inconsiderable distinctions, were constantly obnoxious to derision and persecution, the Bourbons were guilty of an imprudence. They were, however, actuated by a zeal highly laudable in itself, however indiscreetly manifested, for the re-ascendancy of a principle of action, which every moralist will acknowledge to be the best curb for human passions, and every statesman,—the surest pledge of public order. In all that was done, in whatever shape, there was nothing to support the reproach of an intention to erect a sacerdotal despotism, or recal the genius of superstition; nothing calculated to excite alarm, or kindle disaffection in the breast of any liberal Christian, patriotically disposed.*

Nor can any one act, decree, or declaration of the Bourbon government be cited, which gives even colour to the accusation so loudly preferred against it—of meaning to disturb the purchasers of the national domains, and confiscated property, in their possession; to revive the system of tithes, the *corvée*, or feudal rights of any description. Every such project was, on the contrary, formally and officially disavowed. Some of the plundered emigrants, of the starving priests, and headlong enthusiasts of the old *regime*, may have signified wishes and expectations to this effect; but the government cannot be held responsible for rashness or error impossible to be controlled. Without the grossest infatuation, neither it, nor any common observer, could have believed these aims attainable at any period, as matters stood in France. If they were foolishly indulged by a few of the friends of the government, they were most industriously fabricated by its enemies.†

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* *Helen Maria Williams*, a zealous protestant, speaks thus: "Louis XVIII. has never violated the sacred principle of toleration. All that the Bourbons had done, since their late accession, was to have given an example of piety." See her "Narrative of Events," generally on this head.

† "The reports of the intended spoliation of what was called national property, the re-establishment of the tithes, and the restoration of the former ecclesiastical domains, was a calumny, which had been propagated by Bonaparte's partizans with more in-

It had no sooner assumed a definite form in Paris, than the utmost pains were taken to excite alarm for the security of property and personal rights. The evidence exists of emissaries having been scattered throughout the country for the purpose of inquiring, as it were, by chance, into the estates to be sold; either rejecting totally, or offering half price for those, which had belonged to emigrants, or made part of the national domains. They pretended to be charged with the purchase of barns to receive the products of the *tithes*, with the arrangement of companies for the *corvées*, and the re-construction of the castles of the nobility, &c.

The principle of the liberty of the press was proclaimed in the constitution sanctioned by Louis 18th. It could not, however, be established in the extent in which it prevails among us, or in England. The vindictive passions yet fermenting; the bitter animosities of lurking factions, which wanted only a free vent to dislocate the whole frame of society; the spirit of disaffection constantly on the watch to commit aggression; the length of time during which the public mind had been sealed by the most jealous of despotisms, exacted, manifestly, a particular course of legislation for the press. Slaves should be formed to freedom as weak eyes are trained to the light of the sun; by slow degrees, and with nice precautions. There was certainly no reflecting politician so sanguine as to believe, that the *censorship* could have been omitted, either safely for the Bourbons, or usefully for the nation. We have no proof that it was pushed too far, or tyranically exercised. We know that it was often employed to prevent the unmeasured expression of indignation at the character and atrocities of the revolutionary governments, and such attempts at the commendation of the new system as had an invidious tendency. Whoever is acquainted with the productions of the Parisian press during the year's reign of the Bourbons, must admit that it was indulged beyond the dictates of prudence, and to a degree unprecedented in the whole history of France. Each day gave birth to some pamphlet, in which the dispositions and measures of the Bourbon administration were arraigned not oftener with patriotic independence, than with factious asperity. The impunity of Carnot, after the publication of his memoir to the king; such writings as those of *Mehee*, *Le Pelletier*, *Gregoire*, *Fievée*, are monuments of toleration, or, rather, perhaps, of supineness.

Let the debates of the deliberative assemblies, and the public journals of the year 1814, be compared with those of the preceding one, and it will be acknowledged that the freedom of speech and discussion was the point, if none other, which could be said to have been gained in the exchange of rulers. The former are bold, excursive, inquisitive; oftentimes insolent and factious. The language, too, the most lofty and vituperatory, is to be found in mouths which were invariably either in a sort of tetanus during the whole reign of Bonaparte, or opened only to pour forth the grossest adulation to the

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dustry and effect than any other. Were the charges brought against the Bourbons minutely examined, they would, for the most part, be found equally devoid of truth, with that respecting church lands and tithes."—Helen M. Williams, *ubi supra.*

tyrant. Well might Chateaubriand exclaim with bitter irony—"There is, indeed, much courage and danger in braving a Bourbon now a days! A heart of adamant is necessary to confront their lenity! It is exceedingly glorious to break the silence which was so steadily maintained under Bonaparte, in order to cast proud truths in the teeth of a monarch, who, seated, after twenty-five years of suffering, on a throne reeking with the blood of his brother, has practised only mercy and forgiveness!"

The state of the press in France during the imperial *regimé*, and of all expression, whether by speech or by writing, exhibited, unquestionably, the most complete and immoral servitude ever known.—Nothing can be conceived more horrible than the organization of the post office establishment, of which the evil principle was hatched before the revolution, and perfected in the application by the police of Bonaparte. We cannot refrain from retracing the outline of this organization, which Louis the 18th attempted to reform. We shall do it in the language of a writer, whose accuracy and veracity are above suspicion. "The administration of the post-office establishment was one of the most powerful auxiliaries of the police. Its least care was that of the mails, or of facilitating correspondence. Its essential business was to break seals, in order to rifle the secrets of families; and, under pretext of the safety of the state, to suspend business, to isolate all affections, to intercept, when it thought proper, all correspondence. It was confided to a director-general, independent of the minister of police, and who conferred directly with the head of the government. Without taking into the account the secret bureaux of Paris, there was scattered all over France a swarm of clerks, charged with the culling of the letters in every office of any consequence. Letters, which were opened, and which furnished no pretext for detention, were sent to their destination with all the marks of violence. Oftentimes, to save the trouble of a scrutiny, the correspondence of a whole town or country was stopped. Mr. Bourrienne, the director-general, appointed by the provisional government of 1814, in the absence of Lavalette, *found in the general post-office of Paris, on taking charge of that establishment, no less than* 550,000 *letters from abroad, accumulated during more than seven years.*"*

The following statement of the Abbé de Pradt, in his late work on the Revolution of Spain,† will be doubted by no one who attended to the affairs of France at the period to which this writer refers.

"Napoleon, a great master in the art of tyranny, was also a great master in that of unveiling to his people only so much of what passed in the world, as he wished to be seen by them. Having the theatre at his disposal, he raised or lowered the curtain just in the degree suited to his interests. He handled the machinery, and was the scene-painter. During ten years, France received information only through him, or the channels he regulated. In this period, the French, shut up as it were, in a fold, remained

* *Of the State of France under the Domination of Napoleon Bonaparte*, by L. A. Pichon, former French *charge des affaires* near the United States of America. This is one of the ablest and most curious of the works which have been published on the subject of which it treats. The author was well known among us as a gentleman of rare independence of character, and the strictest honour.

† P. 159.

strangers to all that was published in their neighbourhood. He had seized all the avenues; and, while at the distance of seven leagues from France—that is, in England, the movement of the whole universe was, daily, proclaimed and traced, France was fed only with the novels of the Moniteur, and with garbled extracts from documents which were circulating entire and unadulterated throughout the rest of Europe. Things reached such a point, that events of the greatest magnitude, for instance, the battle of Trafalgar, were never mentioned in the French papers. I found, on returning to Paris, the 14th of August, 1808, that scarcely any one was acquainted with the transactions at Bayonne; and, as for what had taken place in Spain between the French and Spanish forces, between Dupont and Castanos, it was hardly suspected. You would have supposed, from what was published, that every thing was going on for the best—that Spain was delighted; the Spanish princes charmed; and the French armies adored in Spain."

In the midst of unprecedented domestic difficulties, with a social and political organization not to reform, but, as it were, to begin, " with the whole estate of government to be re-acquired," the progress which the Bourbons made in the course of a few months, or which was made under their administration, in the renovation of the public weal, is well worthy of notice. The mischief of the revolution of the 21st March, 1815, cannot be understood in all its extent, nor the conduct of those who promoted it, be justly appreciated, without a knowledge of the condition of the public affairs of France immediately before that period, and a comparison with what they are at present.

On the score of her finances, let us attend to the language employed by her minister of finance in presenting the budget of 1816 to the Chamber of Deputies.

" The auspices under which the year 1815 began ought to be considered as furnishing a source of the most affecting recollections. All France respired anew after twenty-five years of agitation; an honourable treaty had reconciled her with Europe. Her population restored, as it were, to itself, and no longer palsied by the apprehension of being decimated by conscriptions, lent itself on all sides, to that industrious activity which is its natural characteristic. Every thing was concurring to efface the traces of past evils.

" The finances tasted of the first fruits of the common prosperity; easy collections render payments regular; credit had, in the space of nine months, raised the inscriptions (public stock) from 45 to 80 —the funds of the arrears were equal to cash; there was a reserve in the treasury of fifty millions of francs at the disposal of ministers. —You know the fatal event which so suddenly blighted its prosperous condition. All the armies of Europe march against France; the reserve of fifty millions disappears; the security for the arrears is seized and consumed; the last remains of the sinking fund are annihilated; France is covered with a million of soldiers, and besides the evils of foreign war, has to suffer the disorders of a retreating army exasperated by defeat and want."

In addition to this representation we may add, that although a heavy debt of three milliards of francs* weighed upon France, yet that there was no country of Eu-

* About six hundred millions of dollars.

rope whose debt was not proportionably greater. At the death of Louis XIV. in 1715, her public debt was even nominally greater than it was in 1814. When the difference in the value of money and the amount of the national income is considered, the case becomes much stronger. The floating debt of England on which so little stress is there laid, exceeded the whole debt of France. The capital of the funded and floating debt of France equalled about the product of four years of her revenue: that of England would scarcely be covered by the proceeds of twelve years of her war-income; that of Austria by twelve or fifteen; of Prussia by seven or eight, and the proportion would scarcely be less in the case of Russia, whose real financial situation cannot be ascertained at a distance, but whose paper was notoriously at a prodigious discount.

In point of territory France was reduced only relatively to her exorbitant, unnatural growth under Bonaparte. The France of Louis XIV. and Louis XVI. remained intact; with her "iron frontier," her line of unrivalled fortresses, and her fertile fields. Notwithstanding her vast losses in the field, her military strength still continued in the highest degree formidable. Her military establishment under Napoleon had been out of all proportion to her pecuniary resources, and consumed no less than three fourths of her revenue. The peace-array of the Bourbons could not be carried farther than 200,000 troops of every description, but the unemployed soldiery consisting of returned garrisons and prisoners of war, amounted to at least a hundred thousand more, while there survived throughout the country a still more considerable number of able bodied men, unregistered, who had borne arms in the course of the revolution. Add to these, thousands of expirienced officers and many of the best generals of the age.

There was, in fact, no power in Europe which could put in motion a greater mass of well-trained combatants, than France. Her artillery and her military apparatus in general, forming what the French style the *materiel* of war, were by no means deficient. The mighty and completely equipped force which Bonaparte collected for his Flemish campaign, may serve to illustrate this point, although it does not show the whole copiousness of the military means of France. The Bourbons in a war of defence—the only one in which they could have early engaged,—or, in a truly national contest, could have rallied round the national standard, besides the old troops whose principal aim was employment, a host of gallant men who shrunk back from the banners of Napoleon. At the same time they could have more fully commanded the purse of the nation.

France possessed, before the Revolution, a federative strength of the greatest importance, as the centre of an extensive system of natural alliances, which the violence of the revolutionary governments had totally destroyed. She could only regain this strength through the character and necessary policy of the Bourbons. In this point of view, their accession was, in some sort, an equivalent for the losses she had sustained in the defeat of Bonaparte. Her politicians were not long in discovering and boasting that Europe, while the Bourbons reigned, could not have even the pretext of a common in-

terest against her; that, in every war in which she might be engaged, she must find allies in several powers whose interests would be obviously inseparable from hers. The career of moderation, mediation, and protecting diplomacy, so wisely recommended to her cabinet by the Fleurys, the Vergennes, and the Ségurs, was known to be not less a matter of inclination than of compulsion with Louis XVIII. and its efficacy in attracting conjunctions duly estimated. Hence, nothing was wanting to France, but a belief among the foreign governments, which it depended upon herself to establish, of the stability of her interior organization, to give her a power of opinion which would have fully compensated for her loss of territory. The Bourbons, although they did not hesitate to express in strong terms their gratitude to the monarchs who had co-operated in their restoration, and who were acknowledged on all hands to have merited this sentiment from them and from the people, were not insensible to the magnitude of the national resources. Their representatives abroad maintained the tone and port suitable to a first-rate power. They appeared on equal terms with the plenipotentiaries of the coalition at the congress of Vienna. They held a language which was even taxed with arrogance, and might well occasion surprise in those who knew not the light in which France was still to be viewed. Under a consciousness of her great residuary and freshly acquired vigour, the domestic enemies of the Bourbons have fallen into the inconsistency of accusing them on the one hand, of weakening the nation abroad, and the Allies on the other, of conniving or rejoicing at the return of Bonaparte from a jealousy of the too rapid reproduction of her resources and spirit under the peaceable policy of the legitimate sovereign. In truth, her already acknowledged rank was high enough, her prospects all sufficient, for rational pride and enlightened patriotism. Of these the pretensions will be always limited, and would naturally be more moderate, after a catastrophe full of admonition, but not humiliating or degrading, as exorbitant vanity or profligate ambition might assert and, perhaps, believe.

The best authority on this head generally, must be that of the writer whom we are about to quote, a man who had filled the highest diplomatic stations under Bonaparte, and whose means of information, as to details, were the most ample. "Eight months have scarcely elapsed," says the Baron de Bignon, "since the most mira-
"culous of events has restored re-
"pose to Europe, in restoring the
"old race of her kings to France.
"A mild calm forms an extraor-
"dinary contrast with the violent
"agitation to which it has suc-
"ceeded, and yields a kind of de-
"light almost unknown to us. We
"may now calculate on the mor-
"row, and may indulge ourselves
"the more freely in this new born
"satisfaction and confidence, be-
"cause we know that France still
"possesses what is sufficient to
"maintain her in the first rank of
"great powers, and raise her to
"the highest point of national opu-
"lence."

"The simple exposition of facts
"is sufficient to prove that our
"situation in the political sphere,
"is, notwithstanding the reduction
"of our territory, highly advan-
"tageous, and that, if France have
"no longer the strength necessary

" for the subjection of the conti-
" nent, she has still enough left to
" preserve, instead of the prepo-
" tency which consults self alone,
" that moderate influence of which
" the utility is the more certain
" inasmuch as it is just, and fa-
" vourable to the interests of all
" parties. Our government will no
" longer be one of fits and starts;
" —we shall no longer be constant-
" ly exposed to the caprices of for-
" tune;—be staked as it were on
" the throw of the die. We have
" now a Future, and a settled posi-
" tion, while the rest of Europe
" is yet to be arranged."*

With a general aspect of things so consolatory and encouraging, with a scheme of administration so benign when compared to the withering and chaotic rule of Bonaparte, how did it happen, that the Bourbons were driven before him from their capital and kingdom? The first causes of this catastrophe are to be found in their own policy of universal conciliation and in the undistinguishing forbearance of the allies. To place Bonaparte invested with such means and prerogatives as those which he carried away with him, on the island of Elba —from which, according to the declaration made by Lord Castlereagh on the 19th April 1815, in Parliament, the whole British navy would have been insufficient to prevent his escape—in contact as it were with Italy, of which his brother-in-law filled the most considerable throne,—within reach of the clubs of Paris, while more then a hundred thousand of his veterans remained embodied, and the generals of his creation continued at their head and in the administration of the war-office,—to evacuate at once the whole of the French territory, was, on the part of the Allies, to assure his triumphant re-entry into Paris. For Louis XVIII. to delegate nearly the whole power of government through all its gradations and branches to the devoted functionaries of the late despotism, to the great and small demagogues and adventurers of the revolution, regicides and Septembrizers included, to rely upon them for the support and consolidation of his throne, was to draw down, inevitably, speedy ruin upon his own head, and to prepare fresh convulsions for France. A collation of the Royal Almanack of Paris for 1814, with the imperial one of the preceding year, and the Biographical Dictionary of the Revolution, will explain how entirely he was at the mercy of this description of his subjects. Unless the Allies had pursued the French armies to total destruction, or retained in France a force such as they now have in that country, the course of conduct just mentioned was perhaps unavoidable for Louis; the more, as the Fouchés, the Soults, the Carnots, shared with him the highest courtesy and favour of the allied monarchs, instead of being shunned and proscribed. Whether all that was thus done was the result of necessity or false calculation, the consequences were not the less certain.

It is well worth while to pause here, and turn to the opinions uttered in 1793 by Mr. Burke, contemplating the possible restoration of the Bourbons at that period, and to compare them with what we have seen in the case under consideration. The following are passages from his Remarks on the

* A Comparative Estimate of the Financial, Military, Political and Moral State of France. By the *Baron de Bignon*, &c. &c. Paris, 1814.

Policy of the Allies with respect to France. Our readers will be at no loss to make the proper application of them.

"As to the faction exercising power in France, to suppose that monarchy can be supported by principled regicides, religion by professed atheists, order by clubs of jacobins, is to be sanguine in a degree of which I am incapable."

"A royal democracy would infallibly be again set up in France to run exactly the same round, if the predominant power should so far be forced to submit, as to receive the name of a king, leaving it to those who had subverted royalty and destroyed property, to modify the one and distribute the other as spoil."

"I believe we shall be in a great error, if we act upon an idea that there exists in that country any organized body of men who might be willing to treat on equitable terms, for the restoration of their monarchy, but who are nice in balancing those terms, and who would accept such as to them appeared reasonable, but who would quietly submit to the predominant power, if they were not gratified in the fashion of some constitution which suited their fancies. I take the state of France to be totally different.*"

The character of the civil functionaries alone was of fatal portent to the throne of Louis XVIII. They could be restrained from conspiring singly against it, only so long as they were actuated by the dread of vengeance from abroad. This apprehension could not influence the army or its leaders, whose despite at their overthrow, and the exile of their chief, no favours of the Bourbons could cure; who contemned the unwarlike temper and exterior of their new sovereign; who were impatient under inactivity, and panted for war as the means of reinstating themselves in their supremacy over France and her neighbours. The considerable part of them whom the government had been forced to disband, were doubly fierce in their resentment and discontent. The genius of the French armies implies, that they could not be open to any considerations of remote consequences, either to themselves, or their country, and must have been ready, at the first signal, to declare in favour of any leader from whom they could expect employment and largesses.

Abundant evidence can be adduced of systematic machinations among the military from the outset. Commissioners were stationed with every regiment to prepare for an explosion. The seduction was nearly universal before the debarkation of Bonaparte, especially among the troops stationed on the route from Grenoble to Paris. The imperial eagles had never been discarded, but were hidden, (and in this the officers set the example) to be re-produced when the crisis should arrive. The military addresses, proclamations, and orders of the day, which crowd the newspapers of the month of April, 1815, boast of unremitting devotion to the emperor, of steady detestation of the Bourbons, and of indefatigable zeal to keep alive these sentiments in all the camps and barracks. In default of Bonaparte, some other bold spirit would have been borne to Paris, and installed in the Thuileries, by a multitude of desperate officers and

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* The whole of this admirable dissertation of Mr. Burke should be attentively read in connection with the present subject.

soldiers of fortune, whose pleasures and hopes lay in the activity and empire of the sword. "So much the worse," said general Lecourbe, speaking of Bonaparte after his landing at Cannes, "if he should be killed; there are five or six who want to be emperors. We resemble the Roman empire in its decline." *Uno avulso, non deficit alter.*

We may safely infer, *a priori*, that many of the great civil functionaries plotted in collusion with the military. The offspring (the *parvenus*) of the revolution, the heroes of the Convention, however metamorphosed externally by titles —the family connexions of Bonaparte, the creatures of his munificence, who filled Paris, could never be reconciled to the sway of the Bourbons. Their sympathies must always have been with their benefactor, with the Man of the Revolution, whom they had, personally indeed, known as a tyrant, but who had placed them above the miseries resulting to the mass of the nation from his government. They could only *feel* secure in their overgrown fortunes and dignities with him, or a rule composed of men of the same origin. It was not in their complexion to sit down quietly, and fall, as it were, into the shade, after the career of turbulence and *satrapism* which they had run; to be content with seeing France contracted to her natural dimensions, and within her natural sphere of action, after having so long given laws to the Continent, and counted forty millions of *helots*.

We may suppose, that, under the incitement of their disquietudes, regrets, and morbid ambition, of their irresistible antipathies and predilections, they would hazard all in an attempt to regain their old position, and restore France to her darling supremacy. This could only be done at the moment, by means of the army, and best, as to the chances of success, with Bonaparte, whose adversity might render him more pliable to their ulterior purposes, whether of a more reserved and circumspect scheme of domination abroad, or of the conversion of the domestic government into a jacobinical and military oligarchy.

His position in the island of Elba furnished facilities of intelligence with him, too tempting to be neglected.* At the same time, the excusable errors of the Bourbons, and the indiscretions of the more ardent loyalists, affording pretexts for treachery, the captious spirit and jealous alarms of a considerable part of the French population, the opportunities which their official stations afforded of provoking discontent and suspicion; the confidence inspired, and the advantage afforded by the unbounded lenity of the monarch, and the incredible supineness of his ministers; the uncharitable and unfriendly distrust expressed abroad of the proceedings of the royal administration; the hopes of an easy forgiveness and acquiescence on the part of the Allies, particularly of Austria and Russia, derived from their fraternization at Paris, and a certain compromising and hesitating tone towards the Bourbons——all these were powerful stimulants to immediate action. If the disgust of the French politicians at the sup-

* "No correspondence," says H. M. Williams, "had been for a long time more active than that of Paris and *Porto Ferrajo*, and its frequency seemed to pass unnoticed by the government."

posed decline of their country from her pre-eminence among the European nations, their thirst for her exterior aggrandizement, and the aspiration of the enterprizing talents, and *tiers etat*, after the honours and emoluments of the state, were sufficient to produce the ruin of the monarchy in 1790,* we will not wonder at the revolution of 1815, when we reflect that, in this latter period, to still fiercer desires and passions of the same kind, there was added such a new host of assailants as the army of Bonaparte, than which there never existed in any of the despotic empires, antient or modern, a similar body, likely, from long habit of preponderance, conquest, and pillage, to be more incapable of repose and civil subordination.

The belief of a wide-spread conspiracy, of a traiterous concert with Bonaparte, does not rest merely upon general reasoning, and the vauntings of his friends after his reintegration. We have as direct evidence, the peculiar distribution and composition of the troops on his route, and the resignation of Soult, the minister of war, at the precise period when his station would have compelled him to act efficiently for the Bourbons. His immediate and hearty declaration in favour of the usurper, confirms the suspicions which these circumstances had raised. How much he had it in his power, as minister of war, to inflame the discontents of the army, may be seen at once; and the disclosures since made concerning his conduct in his department, would lead to the conclusion that he did so industriously. Early in the month of February, all furloughs were recalled by the department of war; the utmost industry was exerted to prevent and punish desertion; the regiments were filled up from every source of supply, and directed to be in complete marching-order for the first week of March, under pretence of reviews and inspections, which, if they had been contemplated, would not have exacted or explained the extent and tone of these measures. The political assemblies at the house of *Hortensia*, the ex-queen of Holland, of which the fact is now fully established, as well of her regular communication with Napoleon in the island of Elba;—the correspondence of general *Excelmans* with Murat;—the march of general *Lefebre-Desnouettes* upon Paris, simultaneously with the approach of Bonaparte to Lyons; the movements in particular of generals *Erlon* and *Lallemand*, and the conformity of the measures and declarations of most of the principal commanders throughout France, with those of their hero, from the moment of his re-appearance; the usurpation of the post-office establishment by *Lavallette*; the *violet* carried by such numbers, and so boldly, as the watch-sign and emblem of treason, in allusion to the revolution which was to happen at the opening of the spring; the numberless letters received by the French ministry—particularly during the months of February and January, announcing the projected debarkation; together with the cabals and correspondence of which it was the object; information, which was either treacherously, or most preposterously disregarded—these, and several other incidents, might be cited to support the assumption of extensive intelligence, and well-digested arrangements. The active intrigues,

* See Burke's Regicide Peace.

now circumstantially known, which were carried on by Bonaparte, in regard to his return, with his relatives in Italy, and particularly with Murat, whose ill-fated movements of the month of March were accommodated to his designs, fortify the supposition of a similar understanding with the interior of France. Whatever may have been his share of audacity, it is not probable that he would have thrown himself upon any part of the French coast, had not his reception been well-arranged and secured.

But, if there remained a doubt on this head, it would be removed by what transpired on the trial of marshal Ney. The marshal himself is reported to have held the following language, by witnesses of the highest character, and unquestioned veracity, general *de Bourmont*, the marquis of *Vaulchier*, prefect of the department of the Jura, and baron *Capel*, prefect of Doubs. "The marshal said to me on the 16th March," says the general, "but, comrade, were you not surprised to see, that the half of the command of your division was taken from you; to see that the troops were made to march by two battalions and three squadrons? Well! the same has been done throughout all France. All this was settled; it is three months that we are all agreed. If you had been at Paris, you would have known it as well as myself. *All the troops are so disposed in their march as that they may arrive to escort the emperor.* The king must have quitted Paris; if he does not quit it, he will be carried off." "The marshal told me," says the prefect, "that all the troops were a long time before so distributed (by *échellons*) as to favour the march of Bonaparte; that the duke de Berry was detained purposely at Paris, because it was feared that his presence might excite some enthusiasm among the troops." "The marshal declared to me," says baron Capel, "and general de Bourmont informed me before of his having made the same declaration to him, that every thing had been some time previously arranged between him, some other marshals, and, I believe, the minister of war, that their first project was to change the dynasty; that they had, for a moment, thought of the duke of Orleans, but they learned that he would not lend himself to their project;* that, in the interval, madame Hortensia (the ex-queen of Holland) had laid a plan to bring back Bonaparte to France; that they were obliged, in spite of themselves, to accede to this arrangement." "I believe he added," continues baron Capel, "that at the moment he was speaking the duke of Dalmatia (Soult) was taking his measures in Paris."—The depositions of general Lecourbe, and of another officer, ascribe similar assertions to Ney; and it is not to be imagined, that he would have made them at the particular period mentioned, had they not been wholly, or, in great part, true.

"I recollect," says *Ney* himself, "that Bonaparte in order to persuade me that the English protected him, caused it to be told me, that he had dined, eight days before he left the island of Elba, on board an English man of war; that Colonel Campbell who was English commissary in the island, had set out the day after the dinner,

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* Fouche's letter to the duke of Wellington, furnishes confirmation of this project.

and that, in consequence he was able to make his preparations, and embark. When I joined Bonaparte he spoke to me of his interview with general *Kohler*, and of his dinner aboard an English vessel. We dined with him to the number of fifteen, Cambronne, Bertrand, &c. were of the party. He told us that the affair of his escape was one of early arrangement. He spoke of the smallest matters, as well as of the most important. He knew, for example, what had passed at the dinner of the king, at the *Hotel de Ville* in Paris, remarking to me that the marshals had no particular places assigned them; he mentioned even that my wife had not been invited. He was perfectly well informed of all that had passed and was passing at Paris. He specified the names of the wives of several marshals, who had not been invited to the dinner just mentioned. He spoke of the funeral ceremony of the 21st January. He knew that *Soult* had divided the military divisions into two coordinate jurisdictions, by sending two lieutenant generals to each division, each of whom corresponded directly with the minister, and had, thus, contrived to have functionaries devoted to him, and others belonging to the king."

There is yet another corroboratory circumstance which deserves to be mentioned. After the arrival of Bonaparte at the island of Elba, two French frigates, the *Fleur de Lys* and the *Melpomene*, were appointed to cruise in the direction of that island. *Their instructions* and their *equipment* were such as directly to counteract the ostensible object of the cruize—the prevention of Bonaparte's escape. The *Fleur de Lys* was to keep constantly towards the island of Capraia to the north of Elba, the route to France. The other was stationed towards the south. They were independent of each other. It was strictly forbidden them, whatever might be the weather, to cast anchor near the island of Elba, the only port, nevertheless, of the archipelago, consisting of six islands, and two very dangerous shoals called the *Ants*. Both frigates were left without an advice, or fly-boat, or any small vessel whatever, and without the means of communication with the land. An order for the recal of the captain of the *Fleur de Lys, distinguished for his ardent loyalty*, was sent, about the middle of February, to the governor of Corsica, *General Bruslart*, who, knowing the political feelings of the captain, kept the order in his pocket. The captain, in his interesting report on his cruise and the escape of Bonaparte, asserts that his *instructions* rendered his errand necessarily futile, and that had he been apprised of his flight from Elba only twelve hours sooner than he was, (which would have been the case with a different equipment) he would have overtaken him in Gulf St. Juan; since he cast anchor there, only twenty hours after him, although he was not acquainted with his escape until fifty-four hours subsequent to it, and was then left to conjecture what course he had steered.

Whether it be admitted that the Bourbons were, on every side, systematically betrayed, or that the whole army, officers and soldiers, together with a considerable number of the civil functionaries of the greatest influence and means of coercion, were, at the moment of the re-appearance of Bonaparte, ready to declare and act in his favour—which case at least facts have put beyond question,—there

is no ground for admiration at the facility of his success, or for ascribing a predilection in his favour to the bulk of the nation. His route until he reached Grenoble, was through the least populous and most defenceless part of France. When the public authorities and the rabble declared for him, or the army alone, what could the people including the orderly classes of every description, who had "neither arms, nor magazines, nor chiefs, nor union, nor the possibility of these things among themselves?" "The whole nation," says Pichon, speaking of the first administration of Bonaparte, "was made a conscriptible population: but at the same time being every where disarmed, was entirely at the discretion of the government and troops. It was so fashioned as to furnish the elements of force to the master, but secured from being able to have recourse to force to defend itself against tyranny however atrocious. This state of things is one of the phenomena of our history not the least worthy of attention."*

A great moralist remarks that very few are able to enter into the effects of mere *terror* as a principle for the concession and support of power. In proportion as the first government of Bonaparte had struck the nation with *terror*, was the expedition with which she would submit to his second usurpation, on finding, that the source and agents of that *terror*, the army and the revolutionary worthies, were his accomplices; and on being told (what was rendered plausible by the manner of his escape) that he was in league with the two leading powers of the confederacy by which she had so recently been overcome. Her *professions* of satisfaction would naturally keep pace with her fears, and correspond to the suddenness and impetus of an excitement, which left neither time nor force for hope and loyalty to rally their reason and their courage.

Moreover, the number and rapidity of the vicissitudes of government in France during a space of twenty-five years, all with terror in the van, and violence in the rear, marked with unparalleled treachery and servility, had created a peculiar mind in that country for a crisis of the sort; an instinctive selfishness with a view to momentary security for the individual; a habit of immediate submission to any new usurpation, without reflection, and with the affectation of all possible joy. It is necessary to take this view of the subject, to suppose the prevalence of a political fatalism unconnected with social or domestic morality, a fatalism the piteous result of a long train of illusions and casualties combined—that our human nature may have some excuse, may be contemplated without utter disgust, when we advert to the apostacies and perjuries which mark the last revolution. The peculiar character here mentioned had, no doubt, its part in the manifestations of joy so general on the first accession of the Bourbons; but we cannot persuade ourselves, that it was not almost for the whole in whatever alacrity of acknowledgment can be found at the return of Bonaparte. The war of universal defamation waged against the Bourbons with incredible zeal and ubiquity, may have done something to indispose the body of the nation towards their

* State of France under the domination of Bonaparte. See also the narrative of Miss Williams, for full confirmation of text.

dominion. Still, it seems impossible they should not have preferred it, after having tasted of the repose, the exemption from the conscription, the alleviation from many pecuniary burdens, the free scope to commerce and manufactures of which it was productive. With our knowledge and opinion of the administration of Bonaparte, and of the moral condition of the mass of the inhabitants of France, we are ready to assert after Mr. Burk,* that four fifths of them would thankfully have taken protection from the emperor of Morocco, and would never have troubled their heads about the abstract principles of the power which snatched them from imprisonment, robbery and murder.

Although the submission to the resuscitated imperial government, soon became general, it was far from being universal, or accompanied with the same indications of satisfaction, as had been given on the re-entry of the Bourbons. The inhabitants of the South of the better class, were disposed to take up arms in the royal cause. The confessions made in the Reports of the imperial ministers on the state of the interior, prove how considerable were the hostile movements, and how formidable they would have become, had not the battle of Waterloo so speedily decided the controversy. The acclamations with which Bonaparte pretended to have been followed on his route from Cannes to Paris, proceeded from the lowest rabble.

But we will not anticipate the circumstantial narrative which we propose to give of his journey, and ephemeral reign. Great pains have been taken in France to collect authentic materials for the history of the first, and such as are before us, seemingly entitled to full credit, furnish an account very different from the tale which he caused to be published in the Moniteur immediately after his arrival in Paris.

The reservation of the *sovereignty* of the island of Elba, was, doubtless, made with a view to something more than his personal comfort, or to the exercise of a mock-majesty. The great sums of money which he took away, and which were stipulated to be annually paid to himself and his family, had a destination, and were successfully employed to a purpose, much beyond the wants of luxury and pageantry.* The world smiled with a mixture of pity and disdain at the addresses, proclamations and decrees which inaugurated the reign of the emperor of Elba; but must now be sensible that these mummeries were meant to overshadow and facilitate a great design. His panegyrists cannot admit with consisteney, nor will those who have attentively studied his character, that he could find gratification in this farce of sovereignty, or remain by any possibility, content with his new situation. We are disposed to believe that the resumption of the throne of France was concerted at the moment of his abdication, with those about him at Fontainbleau, and that his recommendation to the soldiery *to be faithful to the king*, the promise of writing the history of his campaigns, the assurances of perpetual resignation to his fate, were perfectly well un-

* Policy of the Allies.

* See Lord Castlereagh's speech of the 7th April, 1815.

derstood, in the true drift, by many of his old coadjutors. It was enough for him to know how the army was to be cherished, and the offices of the government were to be filled, under the Bourbons, to be sanguine in the expectation of regaining the Thuileries. In the island of Elba, he was, from the outset, not a writer of memoirs, or a fantastical mimic, but a serious and indefatigable conspirator, at once the parent and the subject of innumerable dark intrigues. It was not a Dioclesian, or a Charles V. with whom the allies had to deal.

While we reject as extravagant the supposition, that the British cabinet could have connived at the escape of Bonaparte,—a conduct which, with possible consequences of such moment so plainly in view, would imply either downright insanity, or the blackest malignity—while, we say, we acquit them of this charge, we hold them chiefly to blame for the event, and are at a loss to account for their supineness. The Terror of Europe, and the Scourge of France was in their custody; France and Europe relied on them, so far, whether fairly or not, for security from a relapse into the military chaos.—Their vigilance should have been tenfold what it is now, when the means of flight and ultimate success are incalculably less for their prisoner. However mysteriously devised, or skilfully combined, his plan could scarcely, under all circumstances, have eluded a course of close observation; and, with so much at stake, any degree of unguardedness was but little less pardonable than direct collusion. Colonel Campbell, upon whom was devolved a loose, undefined superintendance of the court of Elba, had been, when Bonaparte set sail on the 26th February 1815, six days absent from Porto Ferrajo, on a visit of private business to Florence. We have never seen any satisfactory explanation of this act of remissness, and are sure that none can be adduced as relates to the British government, although their agent might be, according to the confident assurances which he gave in his printed account, able to justify himself completely.* But one English vessel was descried by the fugitive on his route from Elba to Gulf St. Juan,—a 74—which gave him no trouble, and seemed to be wholly inattentive. The battle of Waterloo has, indeed, yielded a rich harvest of glory, but how uncertain was such a result! and if certain, how poor a compensation, in the eye of humanity, for so terrible an effusion of blood, and so calamitous a revolution!

The officers of Bonaparte's band were at a ball given by the Princess *Borghèse*, his sister, when the general order for embarkation was issued—Sunday 26th February. All hastened on board the fleet prepared for them, which consisted of nine transports, small vessels. In these were distributed four hundred of the old guard, two hundred infantry, a hundred Polish lancers, and two hundred flankers, making a total of nine hundred men. Bonaparte stationed himself on board of the brig, the *Inconstant*, which contained the four hundred of the guard, and took with him Generals *Bertrand*, *Drouot*, *Cambronne*, and the other principal officers who had followed him in

* The defence of Lord Castlereagh on this head, in his speech of April 5th, 1815, is far from being sufficient. It furnishes, however, much curious information. The adverse reasonings of Lords Wellesley and Grenville, on the same point, in their speeches of the 12th of April, seem to us irresistible.

his adversity. His departure was announced only on the 28th at Porto Ferrajo, in a proclamation from a General *Lapi* whom he had left as governor of the Island, and who addresses the inhabitants in a strain of mock heroic, correspondent to that with which they had at first greeted their sovereign. They are assured that the emperor attaches the highest importance to their island; that their *glory* and their happiness depend on their care of his mother and sister confided to their protection, &c.

On the same day, the 28th, Colonel Campbell returned to Porto Ferrajo, and immediately set sail for the coast of France. At two o'clock in the morning of the first of March, he fell in with the *Fleur de Lys*, the French frigate which we have already mentioned, and apprised her of the escape of Bonaparte. The captain, the *Chevalier de Garat*, gave signs of incredulity, but the English officer, without taking offence, requested permission to write, in his cabin, a dispatch to the British ambassador at Paris, informing him of the event. With this dispatch under his charge, the captain of the frigate consented to steer towards France, and Colonel Campbell followed in the same direction, until the former hailed him again, and suggested the idea, that Bonaparte, on leaving Elba, might have thrown himself upon one of the neighbouring islands, as a better point of departure. The English colonel coincided in this opinion, and veered about to explore the islands.

In the mean time, the object of their pursuit was quietly advancing towards the coast of France. On the 27th—Monday—he fell in with the royal French brig the Zephir, commanded by a Captain *Andrieux*, an acquaintance of Lieutenant *Taillade* who acted as general pilot of the fleet, on board the *Inconstant*. The two brigs hailed, interchanged civilities, and continued each on its course. The *Zephir* was bound to Corsica, and the bearer, for the second or third time, of the order for the recall of the Chevalier Garat, of which we have already spoken.

On Wednesday the 1st of March about one o'clock P. M. the *imperial* fleet entered Gulf St. Juan, and a debarkation ensued without delay. Only twenty hours afterwards, as we have said, the *Fleur de Lys* frigate cast anchor in the same Gulf.

The first men landed were stationed as *videttes*, and arrested some individuals whom chance had drawn to the coast. Among these was the commandant of the national guard of Cannes, who, with his wife, had come for the purchase of olives. They, with the commissary of the marine, had remarked the flag of Elba, on its approach, but imagined it to be employed in the transportation of the sick from Porto Ferrajo. His surprise, when he found himself a prisoner in the hands of the supposed valetudinarians, may be easily conceived. The man and his wife were told by the soldiery that they had brought back the *Emperor*, and were not released until two companies had been dispatched, one upon *Cannes* and the other on *Antibes*. The *ass*, which the prisoners had borrowed to bear the load of the olives, was, however, unlucky enough to be retained as good prize.

On their return to Cannes, which they had left in a state of profound tranquillity, they found all in the utmost agitation and dis-

order. General *Cambronne* had taken it unawares at the head of forty of the vanguard, and posted them at the principal gate with orders to allow of no egress. He had, moreover, called upon the mayor for three thousand six hundred rations, and summoned him to do homage to the emperor at Gulf St. Juan. The mayor had granted the rations, but refused the allegiance.

At the same time, there had happened a circumstance of particular interest at the gates of Cannes. The *duc de Valentinois*,* on his way to Monaco, with an escort of *Gendarmerie*, had appeared before them, and to his great astonishment, found a general officer, *Cambronne*, in person, decorated with the tri-coloured cockade, who civilly told him he was his prisoner, and requested him to alight from his carriage. The duke professed himself at a loss to comprehend this language, and was still more confounded when he looked round on the platoon of chasseurs that were encircling him, with an air of peremptoriness, of which the spirit could not well be mistaken. He was allowed to remain without, under the eye of Cambronne, who spoke of having sent for orders concerning him to head-quarters, without disclosing to whom they belonged, or intimating the arrival of Bonaparte. When these orders were received, the duke and his suite were conducted to an inn of the town, and closely watched as prisoners. The duke relates, that *Cambronne* and his brother-officers seemed much agitated, and questioned him, from time to time, with the greatest earnestness, concerning the state of France, and the dispositions of the people of the south. The soldiers who were appointed to guard him, boasted of several debarkations having taken place; of their emperor being supported by the allied powers, and showed the cross of the legion of honour, which he had given to all of them previous to their departure. They had been promised an unmolested march to Paris, and instructed to abstain from demonstrations of hostility.

During these proceedings at Cannes, Bonaparte was occupied in pacing the great road of Nice, near the beach, and interrogating travellers. The well-mounted horsemen were stopped without exception, not so much with a view to the information they could communicate, as to the confiscation of their horses, of which the invaders stood particularly in need. Much solicitude was felt among them for the fate of the expedition against *Antibes*, and with good reason; for the detachment sent thither, was arrested and disarmed, not by the garrison, but by the mayor and the inhabitants, who were animated with another sort of zeal. Bonaparte, hearing nothing from this quarter, dispatched an officer to summon the place; he, also, was arrested; a third was deputed, but encountered the same fate. Disconcerted by this early check, he transferred his watch, about midnight, to the gates of *Cannes*, at the opening of the road to Grasse.

At two o'clock he caused the duke *de Valentinois* to be brought into his presence. The duke found him, standing alone before a large fire, dressed in gray, and having the tri-coloured cockade in his hat. His guards formed a circle at

* Prince of Monaco, and a peer of France attached to the Bourbons.

some distance, and beyond them was another, composed of a large number of the inhabitants, who bore a strong expression of alarm in their countenances. At four o'clock the duke was sent back under the guard that brought him, to his inn in the town. In the official narrative of Bonaparte, it is stated, that *the people of Cannes received the emperor with sentiments, which were a happy presage of the success of his enterprise.* Nothing could be farther from the truth. They displayed only mortification and dismay, and put forth not one acclamation of welcome. He did not venture into the town; and it was, some time afterwards, nearly sacked by general Brune in revenge for its loyalty.

From the outset, no opportunity was lost of distributing the three proclamations, bearing date, Gulf St. Juan, the 1st of March. The first, from the emperor, *by the grace of God and the constitutions*, to the French people, asserts —that the nation *was never on the point of being more powerful*, than immediately before the surrender of Paris, through the treachery of Marmont, duke of Ragusa;*—that their prince had traversed the seas *in the midst of dangers of every description*, &c. The second, from the same to the army, declares, *that it was never vanquished;* that the existence of their general, raised under their shields, was made up but of theirs; and the third, signed by *Cambronne*, *Drouot*, &c., is from the imperial guard to the army, and pronounces illegal whatever was done, *without consulting them.** All three are filled with the most extravagant accusations against the Bourbons, and are highly ingenious in the choice of topics intended for the soldiery.

Bonaparte speedily abandoned his position at *Cannes*, and, pretending to follow the road to Frejus, took that of *Grasse*. *Grasse* has a population of twelve thousand souls, and had received at seven o'clock the evening before, intelligence of the debarkation. The mayor, a spirited loyalist, would have summoned the inhabitants to arms, and sounded the tocsin in the country, but was opposed by the more *prudent* counsels of general Gazan, who was a native of the place, and possessed great influence. The night was lost in disheartening deliberation; the enthusiasm of the youth, who were eager to sally forth, was repressed; General Cambronne arrived, had an amicable interview with Gazan, demanded, and obtained, four thousand rations.

Bonaparte was approaching slowly, and is said to have betrayed considerable alarm at the tolling of the bells for an interment, which he mistook for the *tocsin*, until undeceived by a waggoner, whom he questioned on the subject. He did not enter the town, but went round it, and encamped on a height half a league beyond. His corps breakfasted on food obtained at *Grasse* by requisition,

* See *Marmont's* letter from Ghent, to Caulincourt, in answer to this charge. Marmont recriminates, by the heaviest accusations, and styles Bonaparte the murderer of *Pichegru* and D'Enghein.

* Generals *Drouot* and *Cambronne*, furnish, on their trials, an instance of the system of fraud pursued by Bonaparte as to state-papers, when they point out the material difference between the proclamation, which they signed at Gulf St. Juan, and the one inserted in the Moniteur with their signatures.

while generals Cambronne and Bertrand excited them, by toasts, to cries of *vive l'empereur*, in order to draw a similar note from a few of the inhabitants, whom curiosity had attracted to the foot of the hill. These, however, maintained a dead silence.

When the breakfast was finished, his Imperial majesty left his vehicle and cannon at the gates of the town; impressed a number of mules and horses, and, with his force disposed before and behind him, continued his march among the mountains by the most rugged and unfrequented paths. The only inhabitant of Grasse who joined his standard, was a tanner of infamous character. The printer of the town, whom he wished to employ on his proclamations, took to flight. In the evening he arrived at the village of *Ceranon*, and occupied the chateau of the loyal mayor of Grasse. He found himself thus, on the second day, on the borders of the department of Var,* having journeyed twenty leagues. While he advanced rapidly towards the north, the military commander of the department of Var, who had collected the garrison of the town of *Draguignan*, and a body of national guards, at *Frejus*, manœuvred in the opposite direction towards the coast, *in order to cut off the retreat of the invader*. The civil prefect of the same department dispatched, instantaneously, couriers to Paris, to marshal Massena at Marseilles, to the prefects of Avignon, Valence, and Lyons, and in a line parallel to Grasse and Grenoble. He, himself, at the head of a few national guards, bent his steps along the route which Bonaparte must necessarily have taken, had he retained his cannon. It was supposed that the prefect of the lower Alps would secure the bridge of *Sisteron*, being but a few leagues distant from it. This, however, was a false calculation, and the movements towards *Frejus* were altogether nugatory.

On Friday, 3d March, our hero set out from Ceranon. He breakfasted at Castellane, in the house of the sub-prefect, who had just been displaced by the Bourbons, and whom he promised to reinstate. He here forced the mayor to give him three passports in blank, halted three hours, and continued his march towards *Barreme*, where he took possession for himself and his officers, of the best house of the hamlet, and passed the night. On his arrival, he immediately sent for the mayor, questioned him much about the route of Sisteron, and caused him to procure some maps of Provence, which he examined, although he had that of Cassini with him. He made a requisition of two hundred vehicles with double harness, designating the villages which were to furnish them, and selecting those in preference by which he was to pass with his troops, so as to be secure of compliance. He stated, that his artillery had taken the main road with the cavalry, and spoke of several simultaneous landings at different points of Provence. After the mayor was dismissed, the curate was summoned, but did not appear. During this interview, the soldiery filled the place, quartered themselves upon the inha-

*The prefect of this department, count *de Bouthilliers*, had, six weeks before, written to the minister of the interior at Paris, to inform him, that, from the active intercourse of suspicious persons with the island of Elba, he believed some treasonable plot to be in agitation.

bitants, and forced them to illuminate their houses.

Bonaparte endeavoured in vain to enlist in his service, the only son of his host, a Mr. *Tartanson*, and in the course of his conversations with the latter let drop this phrase.—" after to-morrow evening, the Bourbons will hear of my arrival." While the Emperor seconded by his major general *Bertrand* was endeavouring to gain over the father and son, general *Cambronne* was busy in the kitchen, searching for a meal. He called for soup, but the mistress of the house told him, ingenuously, that it was a fast-day, and no meat had been put down. " Madam," said Cambronne, raising his voice, " *we must have some, nevertheless, for the supper of the emperor.*" It was then remarked to him, that there was, indeed, a soup prepared for the domestics who were about to come in from the fields, but that they would not dare to offer it. Let us see, answered *Cambronne*, removing the lid from the kettle, what this soup may be. He then took a spoon, tasted it, and finding it very good, ordered it to be served up immediately. Bonaparte called, himself, for some wine, fruit, and sweetmeats. He drank of coffee which he carried with him already made in a bottle, and used the cups of the family. After supper his travelling-bed was arranged in a few minutes, and two mamelukes were placed as centinels at each door of his chamber. The staircase was covered with officers stretched on straw, while others passed the night in writing and dispatching emissaries. Bonaparte was overheard, enquiring of Bertrand from time to time, "whether the correspondents of Grenoble and of the north had set out."

His baggage arrived only in the course of the night, and among the articles of which it was composed, a magnificent service of vermilion porcelain attracted particular attention At three o'clock in the morning, he asked for coffee, and two hours after, he breakfasted upon cakes of portable soup contained in his camp-equipage. At seven, he summoned his host and son, who, from his appearance at the time and his movements, believe him to have carried armour under his blue uniform. He renewed his interrogatories concerning the national domains, taxes, nobility and priesthood of the neighbourhood, answering most of them himself, and affirmed among other things " *that the empress and the king of Rome had set out for Paris; and that the empress would soon arrive with troops which the emperor her father has given her as an escort.*" He spoke much of the *Bourbons*, but never pronounced the name of the *king*. This conversation lasted for near an half hour.

At seven o'clock, he mounted his horse, or rather was put upon it by two or three equerries; with such difficulty did he move. The troops, under arms, clamoured *vive l'empereur*, and occupied a good part of the day in defiling through the town. Two hundred peasants were recruited, with their mules, upon which the whole of the baggage was heaped. The emperor took three gendarmes as guides, and marched, with his mounted lancers, towards *Digne*, unhorsing some travellers by the way, and interrogating them as they walked, compulsively, by his side. At *Digne* things were in the train he could have wished. The prefect (Mr. Duval) had received on the 3d at three in the evening, authentic intelligence of the debarkation, in a dispatch from his

colleague of the department of Var. He put the dispatch in his pocket, and kept secret the contents. In the course of the night, some of the companions and emissaries of Bonaparte made their way unobserved into the town. At four in the morning, an express sent from *Barreme*, by a zealous royalist, spread the news that Bonaparte himself would be at *Digne* in the course of the day. Then only did the prefect communicate to the military commandant, M. de Loverdo, the information which he had received. The commandant immediately proceeded to the barracks where a hundred and fifty men were lodged; and was hailed with cries of *vive l'empereur*. He returned to beg the prefect to assemble without delay the national guard, upon whom reliance could be placed. At the same time, the principal engineer came to tender his aid, either to destroy the bridges or break up the roads. The commandant was cajoled, and the engineer dismissed to take care of *his wife and daughter*. The news had, in the mean while, spread throughout the city; a multitude of the inhabitants repaired to the mayor, requesting arms, that they might march out and await Bonaparte at the formidable pass of *the Baths* (*des Bains*) where a handful of men could stop an army. The mayor applauded their zeal, yet would not take upon himself to arm them, without consulting the prefect. But the latter positively forbade the distribution of arms, and intimidated the mayor by threats. During this controversy, the enemy gained ground, and soon sent in a requisition for *five thousand* rations, an exaggeration as to number, well fitted to terrify the inhabitants.

When his nearer approach was announced, the prefect withdrew to a country-seat lying near the road by which he was to pass. Bonaparte entered the city with drums beating, but he found the shops shut and only a few boys visible in the streets. They alone broke the silence of consternation which prevailed on every side, by crying *vive l'empereur*, when general Bertrand threw pieces of silver among them.

As usual, the mayor and some other of the public functionaries were summoned to appear before his imperial majesty and compelled to listen to a long harangue interrogatory, ejaculatory, and objurgatory. *You please me*, said he to one of them, *I will make you prefect;* and to another, wildly—*my fate depends on the army*. About half past three, he mounted his horse with much succour from his equerries, and rode onwards towards *Sisteron*, leaving General Drouot at Digne to superintend the printing of the three proclamations mentioned above.

The vanguard led by General Cambronne reached and entered *Sisteron* at two in the morning. The General alighted at an inn which had been prepared to receive him by one of his emissaries. The sub-prefect of the place was already apprised of the progress of the invaders, but had been instructed by his prefect to forbear resistance, which the latter pretended must be futile, inasmuch as *five thousand rations* had been ordered at Digne. A very slight opposition might, however, have been effectual; for the soldiers of Bonaparte maintained scarcely any degree of order in their march. They were exhausted by fatigue and under the impression that they were not to be brought to battle. All believed that their leader came

in consequence of arrangements made with the allied powers. Discouragement and submission would have been the certain effect of a knowledge of their true situation, or of a serious attack upon them.

Sunday 5th.—The sub-prefect of Sisteron, the mayor and the commandant of the national guard met in council at the town-hall, and were formally deliberating upon the directions of the prefect, when, on a sudden, General Cambronne entered, with all the insignia of the imperial cause. He ordered them to go and meet the emperor on the bridge, and seeing them hesitate, gave them to understand that he must employ force, if they did not obey at once. This consideration had due influence. They followed the general and were introduced by him to his master. The latter, who was then on foot, placed himself between the two municipal functionaries, and thus entered the town conversing with them. He asked for a tavern, and when conducted to one, dismissed the two functionaries with an order that they should return in an hour, and bring with them all the officers on half-pay who might be at hand. Of these five were found who enlisted in his service. After the mayor and commandant had retired, he asked the sub-prefect, Mr. Bignon, what was thought of his re-appearance. The answer was, that the emotion of surprise absorbed every other. "*But would they be glad to see me again on the throne?*" "*I believe so, if people were not afraid of seeing the conscription and other scourges return with you.*" "*I know*, rejoined Bonaparte, *that many follies have been committed. I come to repair all.*" "*But you will certainly encounter many obstacles before you reach Paris.*"—"I have troops at *Gap* and at *Corps. The garrison of Grenoble expects me. I have ten thousand men at Lyons. There will not be a drop of blood spilt. Every thing is adjusted with the foreign powers. I know that follies have been committed; I come to repair all. My people will be happy.*"

After this fine discourse, his majesty traversed the town amidst the huzzas of the populace, and continued his march to Gap. He halted for some time near the church of a village called *Le Poët.* The curate of the church had just rung his bell for the children of the parish to appear at catechism, and finding they did not come in on a repetition of the signal, went to the door in order to call them. He found there a body of soldiery, and no less a personage than Napoleon, who immediately had him brought forward, and endeavoured to hold some conversation. But the poor priest was so much overcome by the apparition from Elba, that he was unable to give any distinct replies, and therefore was quickly dismissed.

Bonaparte himself was not without alarm. He was approaching the capital of a department administered by a prefect of tried loyalty to the Bourbons. He, therefore, hesitated whether to proceed, or take to the left, and enter the department of the *Drome*, the prefect of which did not give him the same uneasiness. He found, however, on enquiring, that there was no road practicable from *Poët* to *Valence.* On advancing some leagues beyond Poët, he encountered and detained a gendarme who was the bearer of an energetic proclamation of the prefect, which ordered the mayors to sound the *tocsin*, to arm the inhabitants and distribute them at certain points.

This circumstance did not serve to allay his fears, but they were dissipated by intelligence obtained soon after, that his emissaries had penetrated into Gap, and made all safe for his entrance.

About nine in the evening, he marched in, with his troops before him. They *bivouacked* in the streets, while he repaired to a tavern, supped, and reposed for a couple of hours. The prefect and military commandant had withdrawn from the place, and the sub-prefect was on a circuit recruiting aid against the invader. At two in the morning, the town was evacuated by the unwelcome guest, who stopped at *Corps*, the first village of the department of the *Isere*, but sent on General Cambronne with the vanguard to *Mure*, a small town half way between *Gap* and *Grenoble*. Although the occupation of *Gap* was of so little duration, we have an imperial proclamation dated at that place, (but, in reality, written and published at Grenoble) 6th March, in which the nation is told that she is in the right in calling Napoleon *father;* that his return heals all disquietudes, *guarantees equality, and the rights which she had enjoyed for twenty-five years*, &c. &c.

Grenoble, a fortified place, was the object of immediate attention, with all who received the news of the debarkation at Gulf St. Juan. Towards the end of February the emissaries of Bonaparte had announced, in this city, on the authority of pretended letters from Paris,—for the 1st of March, the expulsion of the Bourbons, and the return of the emperor. The public authorities overlooked the rumour, but were roused to recollect it, when they learned, *on the 4th of March*, the fact of the landing of Bonaparte. The dispatch of the prefect on the subject to the ministry of Paris, published in the Parisian journals of the 8th March, spoke with great confidence of the preparations made, especially by the military commanders, to disappoint *Bonaparte's small corps of brigands*, should they think of approaching Grenoble. These preparations were, however, regulated in the same spirit with all the preceding which we have noticed.

The prefect communicated his news in the evening without delay, to the military authorities, at the head of whom was general *Marchand*. The general was reminded of the characteristic activity of Bonaparte, and advised to lose no time in seizing *Ponteau*, an important position near *Mure*, the more easy to defend, as it was known that Bonaparte must have relinquished his artillery, before arriving at Gap. The general replied, that he would call a council of the officers of the garrison, the *next morning*, (*Sunday*,) in order to determine what was to be done, and contended that Bonaparte would consume eight days in reaching *Gap*. In the course of the next morning accordingly, a council of the garrison was held, but what passed there did not transpire. It was known however, that general Marchand had sent orders for the immediate approach of the garrison of *Chambèry*, consisting of the 7th and 11th regiments of the line, of the first of which *Labédoyère* was colonel. It also appeared that general *Mouton Duvernet*,* commandant in the departments of the *Drome, and Higher-Alps*—had entered Grenoble during the night, and after conferring for a short time with general *Marchand*, had

* Since shot for his treason.

taken the road to Gap, in order, as he said, to oppose the 39th and 49th regiments of his subdivision, to the progress of Bonaparte. About 3 o'clock in the evening, the most active of the Bonapartean heralds, one *Emmery*, had stolen into Grenoble, and spread, by means of trusty friends, the news that *Bonaparte would be there on the third day, that his landing had the assent of Austria and England, and coincided with a movement planned at Paris for the expulsion of the Bourbons, &c.—Emmery* was encountered and recognized, but not arrested, by general Mouton Duvernet, who quickly returned to Grenoble, and had another secret interview with Marchand. On his departure for the second time, Marchand stated that he had repaired to *Valence*, with a view to intercept Bonaparte, should he avoid Grenoble, and endeavour to reach Lyons through *Valence*.

It was only in the afternoon of *Monday 6th*, that Marchand made any movement; and this was sending out a van-guard of between three and four hundred men. This body arrived near *Mure* at eleven at night. Some inferior officers had been dispatched to the town to prepare lodgings, and on entering the town-hall, found it, to their great astonishment, occupied by officers from Elba, who were on the same errand. While there, they saw an express from Grenoble deliver a letter to the commander of the Elbese van-guard. They returned and informed their own commander of the *rencontre*. He took a position for the night, on a height near the main road.

Meanwhile, Marchand sent no reinforcement, but merely issued orders that the cannon should be mounted on the ramparts, a task which was executed by the soldiery with manifest reluctance and studied delay. At the same time arrived the garrison of Chambèry with colonel Labédoyère, who was careful to have his regiment lodged in barracks situated near one of the principal gates, on the *Gap* road. While it was believed, that the troops, particularly the van-guard, of which good accounts were received, might prove faithful, a multitude of the citizens, and a number of persons of military habits, tendered, unavailingly, their services to general Marchand.

The commander of the van-guard had begun to fall back, when Bonaparte who had now advanced from *Corps*, directed his lancers to overtake it, and mingle with it, as if to recognize old comrades, and not to fight. When this was accomplished, so as to arrest the retreat, he pushed on at full gallop, threw himself in the midst of the battalion, harangued them, and brought over the whole, without having a shot fired at him.

At three o'clock in the evening, Labédoyère put his regiment under arms, and hurried it out of the city. He had scarcely left the gates when he caused the top of a drum to be burst, and drew forth an eagle, which he showed to his soldiers, telling them at the same time, that he was about to conduct them to meet the emperor. He was answered by cries of *vive l'empereur*, and had the satisfaction of seeing the white cockade trampled under foot, and the tricoloured eagerly received by the whole regiment. General *Devilliers*, the superior officer of the garrison of Chambèry, as soon as he heard of this defection, followed Labédoyère and began to expostulate with him. "I know what I do," said the colonel; "all this is

arranged. *Count d'Erlon is now marching with forty thousand men to second our movement.*" The joyful meeting of the emperor, and this loyal colonel, took place between *Vizille* and *Grenoble*.

All was, henceforth, confusion and dismay at Grenoble. Yet there were troops and some pieces of cannon on the ramparts, and when the lancers of Bonaparte were descried from them at eight in the evening, the military inspector general, and several officers of rank, were urgent with general Marchand, to give orders to fire; he refused, however, to do more than direct the gates to be shut. A single discharge from the ramparts would have been sufficient to drive back a handful of men without artillery, and, in all probability, have given a *denouement* to this enterprise, not unlike what we have witnessed in the case of Murat. So far, abstracting the prepared treason of the army and the higher authorities, it might afford food for ridicule and pity, rather than any other sentiments. Had the catastrophe been, by any chance, the same, we should be apt to view the landing at Gulf St. Juan, and that at Pizzo, in the same light. There would not have been a greater disproportion between the means and the end, in the one than in the other, nor less of pitiable fool-hardiness in Napoleon than in Joachim; of which, however, history being in possession of all the proofs of domestic treason, must entirely acquit the former. Audacity and imposture are among the clues to the extraordinary elevation of the man; but, while imposture abounds, there is, perhaps, much less of audacity, under all circumstances, in his return from Elba, than entered into the other great adventures of his life.

At nine o'clock, general Marchand deputed an officer of his staff to the prefect to inform him, that if he wished to leave the city, before the entry of Bonaparte, he had no time to lose. The prefect and several other functionaries set out immediately for Lyons. *Marchand* himself retired into the country at a small distance, leaving the subordinate officers to their own discretion. The gates were broken open with axes, without opposition, and Bonaparte traversed the city escorted by his new recruits, and a rabble of the lowest order, to whom alone of the citizens, he was indebted for the acclamations of which he boasts in his own narrative. Nearly the whole mass of the troops assembled there, declared for him at once, and the remark which he makes respecting them, deserves to be repeated, in illustration of the general condition of things as to the army. "It did not escape observers, that, in the twinkling of an eye, these six thousand men were seen decorated with the tricoloured cockade; which they had never discarded, but kept concealed in the bottom of their knapsacks. Not one was bought at Grenoble."*

Bonaparte found his lodging arranged at an inn called *Les Trois Dauphins*, kept by one of his old scouts, and which had served as the rendezvous of his emissaries. He had no sooner alighted, than he sent for the mayor, with whom he held a conversation. The colonel of the gendarmerie was then called, and directed to set out immediately for Turin, with a packet addressed to the emperor of Austria. On the 8th of March, his majesty received the public au-

* Official Narrative.

thorities, the bishop and grand vicar, the courts, the academy, &c., and talked to them about every thing with wonderful affability and volubility. He seemed to aim at showing what great progress he had made in jurisprudence and the sciences during his year of learned leisure in Elba. We have an address in return, of the same date, " from the inhabitants of Grenoble," which bears intrinsic evidenceof imperial origin. It tells him that he is as great as Camillus;—the hero of Europe; and that the great nation is immortal; that " the laurels are about to resume their empire," and repeats the phrases of his proclamations concerning the renunciation of *the empire of the world*, &c.

After the audience, he reviewed the troops and the national guard in the public square, and there was scarcely a soldier to whom he did not put a question separately. The review lasted five hours. Some revolutionary airs were struck up, but he ordered them to be discontinued, and requested the mayor to disperse the *rabble*, (*mandrille*) whose vociferations of *vive l'empereur*, and *vive la liberté*, became irksome. The troops were then put in motion for Lyons, with the exception of his band of Elba, which required repose. He remained himself until the day after, busied with framing decrees, and publishing proclamations. By some of the first, he cashiered such of the leading civil and military functionaries as had not given him the desired welcome. Of this number were the prefects of *Grenoble* and *Gap*. He published, also, an address of thanks to the inhabitants of the departments of *Isere* and of the *Higher* and *Lower Alps*, in the ejaculatory and *affettuoso* tone, so fulsome and ridiculous to an American reader. "*Citizens*, you have fulfilled my expectations! Inhabitants of Dauphiny! my heart is quite full of the emotions you have excited there! I shall always remember, with a lively interest, what I have seen in traversing your country! What I have seen among you, has convinced me that the French people was always worthy of the name of *great people*, with which I saluted them twenty years ago." What he saw, in fact, (while he traversed the departments of the Var, and the upper and lower Alps, along the bye-roads of the smugglers) was gloom and consternation on every side, at his approach;—what he heard—the shouts of vagrants and idlers, who, like the populace of the great cities, would have hailed his Satanic majesty himself, with equal satisfaction, had he chosen to appear among them, with a retinue of drums and colours. Montesquieu remarks, in his *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*,—that the populace of Rome and the empire generally, were fond of Caligula and Nero. They regretted these monsters, who had regaled them with gorgeous spectacles; and who seemed, from their tastes and habits, to belong more immediately to themselves.

On the 9th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Bonaparte left *Grenoble*, and towards night stopped at a village called *Rives*, where he dined. He held a conversation, as usual, with the mayor of the place, and, among other matters, talked of peace and war. He remarked, with respect to the treaty of Paris, how preposterous it was to pass through the territories of Piedmont, in order to go from *Grenoble* to *Chamberi*. " But," continued he, turning towards his officers, " we

will settle all that—We need only four years of quiet for the women to get children, and the mares to get horses."

From *Rives* he proceeded to *Bourgoin*, and arrived at midnight. He there awaited intelligence from Lyons, which was already crowded with his emissaries.

The news of his landing had reached Lyons on Saturday, 4th—the same day as Grenoble. It was kept secret on Sunday; began to spread on Monday, and was officially announced by the prefect and mayor, on Tuesday. As early as Monday, however, a requisition was made on the mayor of Grenoble for horses to drag six pieces of cannon with their caissons from the arsenal to Lyons. The horses were led, accordingly, to the arsenal, at 5 o'clock on Tuesday morning, but, after remaining there until one in the afternoon, were sent back by the director of the arsenal, with the allegation that they were no longer wanted. Lyons was without cannon, arms, and munitions. The governor, count Roger de Damas, had, for several months, solicited them in vain from the department of war at Paris, and had gone thither to try what personal instances could effect.

The count d'Artois arrived at Lyons on Wednesday the eighth, in the morning, and immediately reviewed the troops of the garrison, who seemed, for the moment, not to be wholly without sympathy in the feelings of loyalty expressed by the better orders of the citizens. The former were, however, too well tutored to remain long in this disposition; and the latter sunk into discouragement and inaction, on hearing the reports industriously spread, that Bonaparte had twenty thousand men, and the countenance of Austria—that the king had quitted Paris, &c.—— Things soon wore the aspect which they took at Grenoble. The defection of the troops was openly encouraged by the officers. The proclamation which the count d'Artois addressed to them, only induced plainer indications of their purpose. He was advised to abandon the city at once, from an apprehension that he might suffer in his person, and had resolved to set out in the night of Thursday. The marshal, duke of Tarentum, arrived, however, at nine o'clock, and prevailed upon him to await the result of another effort on the minds of the garrison. A council of war was then held, as to the defence of Lyons. Various measures were proposed and rejected, with reasonings significative of a spirit in the council, not very auspicious for the object. It was, still, resolved to destroy the bridges on the Rhone; but the attempt was relinquished on account of the murmurs of the populace.

The duke of Orleans arrived, also, on Thursday, but departed in the course of the night. On Friday morning, the duke of Tarentum assembled the troops at six o'clock, and the Bourbon prince reviewed them. What he saw was sufficient to destroy all hope of their amendment, and the dispositions evinced by the multitude, who covered the bridges and quays of the Rhone, convinced him of the expediency of immediate departure. He, therefore, took the road to Moulins, escorted by a detachment of dragoons, whom he dismissed at the first stage. The mounted national guard had been dismissed the evening before. Bonaparte, speaking, in his official narrative, of the preparations for the destruction of the bridges, says, that he smiled at them, "having no doubts of the dispositions of the people, and still

less of those of the soldiery." He had, however, made arrangements to pass the river at night in boats at *Mirbél.*

At four o'clock, a reconnoitring party of his hussars approached the suburb of Lyons, called *la Guillotiere*, "and were welcomed," adds the narrative, " with cries of *vive l'empereur*, by the population of a fauxbourg, always distinguished for its love of country." The duke of Tarentum, about the same time, led two battalions to the bridge of *la Guillotiere*, to defend it against the hussars; but he had scarcely reached some barricades, which had been thrown up in the neighbourhood, when the hussars *debouched* from the suburb, preceded by peasants waving their handkerchiefs at the end of long sticks, and vociferating *vive l'empereur—vive la liberté.* The corps of the duke immediately repeated the same cries, and joined the soldiers of Bonaparte. The duke himself was pursued, and owed his safety to the fleetness of his horse. He overtook the count D'Artois at the mountain of Tarare, and there got into the same carriage.

Lyons was already taken by its garrison, and nothing remained for Bonaparte but to make his triumphal entry; which he did, about nine o'clock at night, through an immense multitude assembled to witness the spectacle. The city was, throughout the night, agitated by riot and the worst disorders of every description. It was with the utmost difficulty, that the mayor, at the head of a body of national guards, saved the houses of the more noted royalists from being sacked. The streets were filled with a hired rabble, a drunken soldiery, with the dregs of the neighbouring peasantry, and freebooters from the mountains of Dauphiny, committing violence of every kind, and uttering the most offensive cries. One of the officers of Bonaparte could not refrain from remarking the next morning, " that all the prisons of France appeared to have been opened upon the city during the night." A similar anarchy prevailed while Bonaparte remained; the shouts of *vive l'empereur* issued from the same source: yet we have in the official narrative the following mawkish phrase—" The sentiments which, for two days, the inhabitants of this great city and the peasantry of the neighbourhood, testified to the emperor, touched him so sensibly, that he could not express to them what he felt, but by saying—*Lyonese*—I *love you!*" So did his imperial majesty *love* the Americans.

On Saturday the 11th, at seven in the morning, he requested the presence of the mayor of Lyons, *Count de Fargues*, a man of an energetic, independent character, and a favourite of all classes in the city. A conversation ensued between them of an hour's duration. " You are all lucky," exclaimed Bonaparte in the outset, " and es- " pecially the noblesse who have " committed so many faults, that " I am come. You would have ex- " perienced a horrible revolution " in six weeks." The discourse was here interrupted by the cries of a multitude assembled near the palace of the archbishop which he occupied. He went to the window, told the mayor to follow him, and they were both huzzaed.—He, then, asked the mayor why it was that he saw none but people with jackets in the crowd. Because, replied his companion, it is only that description of persons who like revolutions; their hopes are built on convulsions, and they would

exult at your fall, as they do now at your triumph. I *know them*, was the remark of Bonaparte, making a movement with his hand, I *know them, and I will manage them—je les connois et je les tiendrai.* He afterwards spoke of a quarrel of an old date between an uncle of the mayor, and his own uncle, Cardinal Fesch; from which he passed to politics and discussed the treaty of Paris, with much reprobation of the king for having admitted it.

When he had fatigued himself in this way, he hurried out to review the troops,—an occupation which lasted for two hours. After the review, the garrison was directed towards Paris, under the command of *General Brayer, who had been a leading member of the council of war held by the Count D'Artois.* At two o'clock the public authorities, beginning with the Bench, were admitted into the imperial presence. They were compelled to listen to an incoherent harangue, seasoned with acrid declamation against the noblesse, and of which the general text was the same as that of the proclamations from Gulf St. Juan. The manner of his majesty was not, however, without a certain degree of *enjouement;* for, when one of his audience addressed him alternately with the title of *sir*, and *sire*, he gave him a gentle slap on the cheek, with the remark—call me what you please—even *consul.* The fact merits preservation for the annals of servility, that the cheek thus honoured by the imperial hand, was, after the audience, kissed *rapturously*, by the president of the royal court, a Mr. *Vouty*, who was believed to have made a journey to Elba a few months before. "If the plague gave pensions," says the Persian moralist Saadi, "the plague even would find flatterers and servants." The historians of the Brazils speak with indignation of a custom which its first conquerors found among the Aborigines; that of the attendants of a chief eagerly catching his spittle in their hands; but if servility in civilized life does not wear forms quite so disgusting, the spirit of it is the same, or yet more grovelling, and certainly much less pardonable.

On Sunday the 12th, "the rising sun" had a crowded levee of courtiers and half-pay officers. He was principally employed during the day in dispatching emissaries into Burgundy, Alsace, Lorraine, and the other military divisions. The riotous scenes which were soon witnessed at Dijon, Chalons, and some other cities, proved that his missionaries did not forget their errand. In the defence of marshal Ney, his advocate states professionally that the number of them who arrived in the marshal's camp at *Lons le Saulnier* in the night of the 13th, was prodigious. It was then that the treason of the marshal himself burst forth. His proclamation to his division of troops bears date the 13th; and when its outrageous language with respect to the Bourbons and their cause is contrasted with his conduct and language, on his admission to the king, but a few days before,—the fervent kissing of the hand of the monarch,—the promise to bring back Bonaparte in an iron cage,—the knowledge of the importance attached to his aid, and the confidence reposed in his fidelity,—the great resources unsuspectingly placed at his disposal,—there can be but one voice as to the heinousness of the perfidy and the justice of the punishment.

On the 13th, Monday, we have

the Emperor again in all the confidence of legitimacy, and the potency of legislation.* We have a batch of decrees, dissolving the house of peers, as containing individuals who have an interest in *feudal* rights and the destruction of equality; and the legislative body as having consecrated the principle that the nation was made for the throne, and not the throne for the nation; suppressing the military orders of St. Louis, St. Michael, &c. annulling the appointments made by the Bourbons, and, generally, re-establishing the imperial aspect of things. The last provision of one of these decrees is in the most hardy, shameless strain of imposture that can be imagined. It orders the confluence of all the electors of the empire at Paris, in an extraordinary meeting of the *field of May*, in the course of the following month of May,† to take measures for the correction and modification of the imperial constitutions, according to the interests and will of the nation; and to *assist at the coronation of the empress* "*our dearly beloved spouse*," *and that of* "*our dearly beloved son.*" The date of this decree, 13th March, is the same as that of the declaration of the congress of Vienna, signed by the emperor of Austria, wherein Napoleon is put under the ban of civilization, proclaimed an outlaw, and delivered up to public vengeance. On the same day, the son-in-law announces the speedy return of his "beloved spouse," and her father signs the act of his proscription as the common enemy of mankind. The charge of the publication of the decrees issued from Lyons was devolved upon the *grand marshal Bertrand, acting as major general of the grand army.* At the same time no one doubted but that all of them had been, before-hand, concerted and framed between Bonaparte and his ministers in Paris. They were all exertions of a sovereignty certainly not that of the people, about which, however, he had unceasingly talked, from the moment of his landing.

In the afternoon of Monday, 13th, he set out from Lyons, escorted by companies of light artillery, and followed to the gates by a mob, who had been regularly, morning and evening, paid for the acclamations that exploded with double violence at the moment of his departure. He took the route of Burgundy, which he found lined with peasants, some brought by his emissaries, and others attracted by curiosity. He dined at *Villefranche*, a small town, having, in commemoration of the new era, eagles stuck on the houses, and trees of liberty planted in the streets. Thence he proceeded to *Mâcon*, where every thing was duly prepared for his reception, addresses, huzzas, and delations. Those who fabricated "the address of the city," thought proper

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* rubente
Dexterâ sacras jaculatus arces,
Terruit *urbem*,
Terruit gentes, grave ne rediret
Sæculum Pyrrhæ, nova monstra questæ.

† In the early periods of the French monarchy, the general assemblies or *cortes* of the nation, were held in the open air, and denominated fields of *March*, *May*, &c. according to the month in which they occurred. The *capitulars* of Charlemagne were proclaimed in a field of *May*, and this transaction forms the particular model which Bonaparte had, ostensibly, in view. The *constitutions* of the latter tended to a state of things barbarous enough for the *capitulars* themselves.

to subscribe to it the name of the mayor, a Mr. *Bonne*, although this magistrate had fled, along with the prefect, to Dijon, and is stigmatized in the official narrative.

Bonaparte entered Mâcon about eight o'clock in the evening, with a great and noisy retinue of the populace. At three o'clock of Tuesday morning, he invited the coadjutor of the mayor to wait upon him, and maintained a conversation in the ordinary way. This functionary happening to remark that they had thought him rash in the extreme, when they heard of his landing with fifteen hundred men,—"Bah," was his reply, "I had but six hundred. I shall meet with no obstacles; and if I did, *I should have three hundred thousand Austrians.*" After substituting a prefect for the one who had withdrawn, he departed, near eleven o'clock, for *Chalons*, where he arrived, at ten at night. The populace gave him here the usual welcome, but were so obstreperous and unruly as to draw from him the epithet of *canaille*. Wednesday, 15th, his first care was to summon the civil and military authorities. The mayor refused to appear, but all the rest obeyed. The commander of the eighteenth military division, a general Deveaux, came from Dijon to tender his services, and was left in the administration of *Chalons*, with the charge of accommodating the city and its neighbourhood to the change of circumstances. It is related of one of the staff of this general, that when a lady in whose house he was quartered, ventured to reproach him with his defection from the king, and asked whether he did not feel a little remorse, he replied, "*It is true, madam, we could wish Louis the 18th to be king, and Bonaparte his generalissimo; we should then be satisfied.*"

Bonaparte next directed his steps to *Autun*, the principal city of the department of the *Soane* and *Loire*. It had been much agitated by internal tumults previous to his arrival. On the 12th March, after the transactions at Lyons were known, the commander of the *gendarmerie* usurped the municipal authority, and substituted the tri-coloured for the white flag. On Monday, 13th, the municipal council, with the mayor at their head, seconded by the orderly citizens, reinstated themselves, replaced the ensign of the Bourbons, and published an energetic proclamation. In the morning of the 15th, the city was yet in obedience to the king, but Bonaparte arrived in the afternoon, and gave his friends an undisputed ascendancy. His generals disarmed and treated with the utmost indignity, those who were suspected of an attachment to the royal cause.

The municipal council and the mayor were compelled to appear before his majesty the next morning. He had by his side generals Brayer and Drouot, and manifested the strongest displeasure, especially against the mayor, some *pieces* of whose proclamation he held in his hand. He inveighed against the trembling culprits for suffering themselves to be led by the nobles and priests, who aimed at the restoration *of tithes and feudal rights.* "They reject me; they do not then know, that if I had not come, they would have been all murdered by the people. I will know how to manage them. I will bring them to the lantern. My power is more lawful than that of the Bourbons. Begone sir, (to the mayor), I cashier you. I will see

to your being replaced at once." The generals were little less ceremonious in their deportment.

On the 16th, Thursday, Bonaparte caused the proclamation of Marshal Ney to be printed, as well as the decrees dated at Lyons, and to be disseminated by thousands. At ten o'clock, he accompanied the troops to Avallon, where one of his emissaries, general Gerard, had arrived on the 16th, and concerted the defection of the regiments stationed in that quarter. In the morning of the 16th, the general sent the proclamations of Bonaparte to the mayor, with an order to print and distribute them; but the mayor refused, and went in person to assign his reasons, of which the chief was, the oath he had taken to the king. An officer present undertook to combat his scruples on this head, and alleged, that, for the twenty-five years preceding, an oath was but a mere formality, prescribed at every change of government, and that as for himself, he had taken seven to as many different governments, which he enumerated.

Bonaparte arrived at 4 o'clock, surrounded by the populace rustic and urbane, who were the more numerous and disorderly, in consequence of the annual fair being held at the time. He alighted at an inn, (the Post-house,) and called for the public authorities. It was with the utmost difficulty that they could be prevailed upon to make their appearance. The conference which followed was the longest and most various in its topics, that had occurred, hitherto, in an expedition more deserving, in fact, of the title of a logomachy than of a warfare of any other kind. There was very little of interlocution in any of them, his majesty choosing to play the part both of querist and respondent. He is every where Thersites and the casque of Achilles. The following are among the most remarkable of the phrases which he uttered on this occasion, and which are perfectly well attested.

'I have received addresses and 'felicitations from four of the five 'regiments who compose the gar- 'rison of Paris. I have consented 'that general Maison should issue 'a proclamation in favour of the 'king, at the request of the gene- 'ral. I return to France where my 'army is: it receives and obeys my 'orders. There is no resistance 'any where—there can be none— 'In six or eight months you would 'have had a *terrorist* revolution, 'which the men at the head of af- 'fairs could not have turned to any 'account for France. The king is 'a good man, not without talents 'and good intentions, but sur- 'rounded by a *feudal nobility*, who 'make him go counter to the revo- 'lution which he ought to have fol- 'lowed.—I came, through hostile 'fleets, with six hundred men; 'what resistance can be made to 'me? the whole army is for me; 'Marshal Ney brings me his 'troops. His proclamation is well 'done.* I shall enter Paris as I 'entered Grenoble and Lyons. The 'garrison of Paris and its leaders 'are for me. The household of the 'king is composed of old men and 'children. La Vendée will not dis- 'turb my enterprise, and I shall 'finish soon enough to arrive at the 'frontiers before the foreign ar- 'mies. I have chosen a favourable 'moment. There are difficulties 'between the plenipotentiaries at 'the congress.—There are some

* Marshal Ney, in his reply to the interrogatories of the minister of police, states, that *the proclamation was made by Bonaparte himself.* See trial of Ney.

'English in Belgium; but the mi-
'nisters cannot engage in a foreign
'war, unless the parliament has
'deliberated upon it. I have before
'me all the time necessary. I shall
'look to the matter of the *Droits*
'*réunis*, (excise) which the na-
'tion does not like; but I have
'promised nothing. The king and
'the princes have violated their
'promises. The Bourbons, have,
'perhaps, been too easy for times
'like the present,—yes, to govern
'France requires a strong hand. I
'was well in my island, but I saw
'a terrible revolution about to
'break out in France. I have read
'all the pamphlets written against
'me. They have diverted me
'much. The king has outlawed
'me. The king had no right to do
'this. I am sovereign as well as
'himself, acknowledged by all the
'powers of Europe. I am the so-
'vereign of the island of Elba,
'who come with six hundred men
'to attack the king of France and
'his six hundred thousand men. I
'conquer his kingdom. Is not that
'allowed among sovereigns!—I
'have heard many complaints
'about the pride of the nobility,
'and much has been said to me
'about the priests; I will see to all
'this.—I wished to spare the evils
'of a civil war to France, after the
'capture of Paris, and I had re-
'course to a *ruse de guerre*, which
'would preserve me for my peo-
'ple, and save France from dis-
'memberment. I have been a hun-
'dred times solicited by the Ita-
'lians to land among them;—I an-
'swered them that I was content
'with the island of Elba; I was
'not obliged to tell them my se-
'crets. From Lyons, I have regu-
'lated every thing, I have sup-
'pressed the *feudal* nobility, and
'dissolved the king's household.'

The discourse of which we have here given some few of the loose remarks, lasted for an hour and an half, and formed a medley both as to temper and matter, only to be paralleled by others from the same mouth. Although there was, in general, more of pleasantry in the tone than anger, the mayor to whom it was chiefly addressed,—from time to time with the most encouraging familiarity,—was divested of his office the same evening, and we are told in the official narrative, that the emperor ordered the sub-prefect of *Sémur*, to be thrown into the prison at *Avallon*. The next morning, Friday 17th, he caused all the letters that had arrived at the post-office from Paris and other quarters to be brought to him, for the purpose of being examined. At noon, he bent his steps towards *Vermanton*, where he took some refreshment, and afterwards proceeded as far as *Auxerre*, whose prefect was ready with his complimentary address, at the head of the municipal authorities. He had scarcely arrived, when he issued an order to the vicar general to present himself, with a deputation of the clergy. Menaces were found necessary to induce them to obey, and their report of the treatment which they experienced, would seem to account for their reluctance. "The priests are all factious," said the courteous sovereign —"The peasantry detest you. You talk only of tithes.—the priests—the priests!—it is nevertheless I who made their fortune. They have not more in any part of Europe; they should have no more; the gospel prescribes self-denial." "Go,—you may retire." These last words were accompanied with a significative movement of the foot.

It was at *Auxerre*, that marshal Ney joined his master, after hav-

ing, as the official narrative boasts, caused the tri-coloured flag to wave over the whole extent of the district, confided to him by Louis XVIII.* From *Auxerre* the next stage of Bonaparte was to *Joigny*, and afterwards *Sens*, in both of which cities he found the public authorities prepared to offer him their *sincere* congratulations. The size to which his army had grown at this period, converted all the civil power into a body of devoted subjects *who had constantly sighed in secret at his absence, and were impatient to satisfy their joy at his return!* He reposed for some hours at *Pont-sur-Yonne*, from which he set out at one in the morning, and arrived at *Fontainbleau*, at four o'clock of the same day.

We shall leave him here to cast a glance on what had been passing in Paris, from the period when the fatal news of the debarkation reached that capital. It was received by the government on Sunday the 5th March, began to transpire on the 6th, and was officially announced in the Moniteur on the 7th —at the same time that the two deliberative assemblies were convoked. By the bulk of the community and the friends of the monarch, the enterprise of Bonaparte was at first regarded rather as a subject of pleasantry than alarm. It gave rise to innumerable witticisms, and to volleys of promissory addresses from every quarter. The civil and military authorities contended emulously in a race of loyal deputation, and were lavish of their protestations of unbounded attachment to the dynasty of the Bourbons. Yet the officers who had been in the habit of assembling daily in the coffee houses, to drink the health of their idol *Le Pere Violette*, the soldiery who, for six months, had constantly used this as a watch-word in their barracks, the confidants and colleagues of Bonaparte in the mighty plot, betrayed at once an arrogant satisfaction, sufficient to fill with apprehension the more sagacious observers, who reflected at the same time on the general circumstances of the country.

Before the end of the week, the entry of the invader into Grenoble was proclaimed. The meteor, hitherto, but a speck as it were in the horizon, then wore an appearance fitted to shake the strongest nerves. Still the loyal addresses poured in on every side, the gazettes and journals of every description overflowed with terms of hate and indignation applied to the "tyrant and his atrocious enter-"prise;" the two chambers of Parliament passed the most vigorous and loyal resolutions; the national guard was organized, and the garrison plied with incessant exhortations, promises, and benefactions. Marshal Soult, minister at war, affected to co-operate in the preparations for defence. He published an order of the day on the eighth, in which he denounced Bonaparte as a *usurper and adventurer*,* but

* On the first entrance of the count D'Artois into Paris, Ney delivered an address to him in the name of all the marshals of France. It runs thus— "Your highness and his royal majesty, will see with what fidelity, and with what devotion, we can serve our legitimate king," &c. &c.

* In his order of the day of *the first of June following*, the marshal does not scruple to hold this language: 'All 'the efforts of an impious league can 'no longer separate the interests of a 'great people from the hero (the em-'peror) whom the most brilliant tri-'umphs have caused the whole universe

at the same time he called into *the service of the king*, the half-pay officers, the description of the military notoriously the most disloyal, and whom particularly, he had before, by language and measures of great harshness, exasperated in the highest degree against the royal government. When he understood that the chamber of deputies had taken umbrage at this proceeding, he tendered his resignation to the king—at a moment when, if he had wished to evince or exert fidelity, he should have, at all hazards, maintained his station. Louis at first resisted his application, but yielded on a repetition of the request. The duke of *Feltre*—General Clarke, succeeded him, and the public confidence revived with the exchange.

It is necessary to have been in Paris, and studied closely the extraordinary composition and character of its population, the parties, classes, and pursuits into which it is divided, to form any idea of the aspect which it wore at this epoch;—the groupings in the streets, the assemblages in the coffee-houses, the hourly revolutions of opinion and interests, the political debates and cabals, the incredible multitude and contrariety of the rumours put in circulation. The declarations of Bonaparte, concerning the sovereignty of the people, and the re-establishment of liberty, had penetrated into the *Palais Royal* and the *Faubourgs*, and awakened into activity the hopes and designs of thousands of inveterate jacobins and revolutionary enthusiasts, whom his "imperial eagles" had, in 1806, thrown prostrate, and, as it were, benumbed in all their faculties. It was the voice of Æolus letting loose the tempestuous winds to desolate the earth.

Whatever expectations may have resulted from the accounts occasionally given of advantages gained by the royal princes over Bonaparte, they were all dissipated by the return of the count d'Artois, on the 13th, from Lyons. This was the signal of general despair. The melancholy fact was too manifest, that the instruments, employed for protection, became means in the hands of the assailant; only served to accelerate, instead of retarding his progress. Every corps of the army set in array against him, took immediately the character of a reinforcement. It was too late to arm the citizens, and this expedient, if practicable, must have proved ineffectual, in opposition to veteran forces. The dispositions of the garrison were not to be mistaken, even by the most sanguine. The treason lurking in all the departments of government, assumed, at every moment, a bolder attitude. The insignia of the royal orders, and the image of the lily, rapidly disappeared to give place to the violet, and the ribbon of the legion.

The general despondency was, however, lightened in some degree when the intelligence was received, that the attempt of *Lefebvre-Desnouettes* (whom the duke of Feltre, in his report to the legislative body, styles *the infamous*) to march upon Paris, from Cambray, had been frustrated; that the brothers, Lallemand, had been arrested at *Ferté-Milon*, and general *Drouet* at Lille. Some revelations, as to the conspiracy, were expected to be obtained, which would facilitate its disconcertion.

'to admire. The struggle in which we 'are about to be engaged is not above 'the genius of Napoleon; Napoleon will 'guide our steps, &c.!!'

The news from the north were altogether encouraging, and the minister of the interior announced that marshal Ney was marching upon Lyons,—the very day on which the marshal consummated his treason. Each quarter of an hour gave a new impulse to the public mind, and a new aspect to the fortunes of the country. These rapid and varying emotions were, in some sort, all concentrated, and simultaneously expressed, on Thursday, the 16th, when the king delivered his eloquent speech to the two chambers, who still declared themselves the inflexible enemies of him, whom they styled the insatiable enemy of France. On the same day, the count d'Artois reviewed the national guard, and made a solemn appeal to that, upon which he saw he had no reason to rely—the fidelity of the twelve legions assembled in Paris.

Friday, the 17th, the garrison and all the regular troops made a movement in advance, by order of count Maison. The two following days were consumed in distributing them between Paris and Fontainbleau, although no doubt remained of their immediate defection. This is evident from the conduct of the king, who, with the princes, and the royal household, abandoned his capital at one in the morning of the 20th, a few hours before the arrival of Bonaparte at Fontainbleau. At the same time, orders were transmitted, that the troops should fall back on Paris. The Swiss, alone, obeyed, and returned, unshaken, to a man, in their fidelity. At eight o'clock the tri-coloured cockade was already displayed by the regiments of the garrison. The official narrative relates that, on the approach to Paris, the emperor was met by the whole army, which had been under the command of the *duke de Berri*. Each soldier bore the tri-coloured cockade, *which he had concealed in his knapsack*, and all trampled under foot the white cockade. The flight of the king needs no better explanation, or justification, than this statement.

Bonaparte received, at 7 o'clock in the morning, as he alleges in his narrative, information of the departure of the royal family, and set out immediately for Paris. Yet, he did not reach it until nine at night. No other motive can be assigned for this delay, than his consciousness of the spectacle of gloom and consternation which he must witness in entering by the light of day. If what marshal Soult says in his justificatory memoir, be true, as to the people at large—"that, doubtless, a great number of Frenchmen regretted their king, and beheld the new sovereign with terror," it was eminently so as to the population of Paris. It is impossible to describe the stupor and affright with which the great majority of them were seized at the neighbourhood of the *emperor*, and in which they remained throughout the 20th of March, a day more memorable for its terrors and consequences, than any other, perhaps, of the revolutionary annals.

For twenty-four hours the capital was without government, save, if we may so express ourselves, the influence of the general grief and dismay, which were of power to restrain the disorderly and preserve quiet. The ministers of the king had thrown up the reins of administration, and those of Bonaparte had not ventured to seize them. *Lavalette*, alone, had, before the dawn, usurped the functions of post-master general, dispatched the public couriers to Bo-

naparte, and converted the post-office to the service of the latter by allowing such intelligence to depart only as was favourable to the common design. About one in the afternoon, a body of half-pay officers entered Paris, with a train of artillery, which they dragged to the court yard of the Thuileries, and then hoisted the imperial flag over the palace. At their head was general *Excelmans*, who, after his unmerited acquittal on the 23d January, from a charge of treason, obtained, at his own solicitation, an audience of the king, to thank him for having done justice, and to swear to him an inviolable fidelity—*une fidelité á toute épreuve!!** At nine o'clock, as we have said, Bonaparte himself arrived at the Thuileries, where he found a host of agents, ministers, dignitaries, and expectants, awaiting him on the great stair-case. When he had received their congratulations and embraces, he ascended to his apartments, and was there welcomed by the ex-queen of Holland, the *princess* Julia, and the principal officers of his household, who came to share the fruits of their joint labours. To characterise this consummation properly, it is enough, perhaps, to remark, that on the 20th March, France was *at peace*, and, on the 21st, *at war*—with all Europe.

Louis XVIII. directed his footsteps from Paris to *Abbeville*. He arrived there at five in the afternoon, and was disposed to remain; but the counsel of marshal Macdonald, who joined him the next day, led him immediately to *Lille*, where he was received with the most lively demonstrations of attachment by the inhabitants. Upon the representations of marshal Mortier, as to the insubordination of the garrison, he consented to continue his retreat to Ostend, and, finally, established himself at Ghent. On his arrival at Ostend, he learned that an order had reached marshal Mortier to arrest him and all the royal princes. An officer of the staff, charged with a dispatch of marshal Davoust, to the same effect, reached Lille, after the king had left that place. The fact is stated in the official narration of the Bourbons. It should be compared with that passage of the letter inserted in the Moniteur, of Bonaparte to count Grouchy, relative to the duke D'Angoulême—which says, "*constant in the dispositions which induced me to order that the members of the family of the Bourbons should depart unmolested from France*," &c.

The king had the satisfaction to see about him at Ghent, marshals Berthier, Victor, Marmont, Oudinot;—generals Clarke, Maison, Dessole, &c. The conduct of *Macdonald*, *Mortier*, and *Gouvion St. Cyr*, who *protected* the retreat of the king—after their return to Paris, would seem to justify the remark of an able English writer, "that several of the marshals, apparently penetrated with devotion to their unfortunate, infirm, and well-intentioned monarch, attended him on his retirement from Paris, merely, it seems, to cajole him out of the French territory, and to take care that his cause should not be supported. The most hideous feature of France, which she has acquired under the influence of Bonaparte, is the utter

* General *Drouet D'Erlon*, the first who gave the signal of revolt in the north of France, *presided* at the trial of Excelmans. This accounts sufficiently for the acquittal. *Excelmans* was at the head of the advanced guard sent by Bonaparte to drive *Louis* out of France.

looseness of her principles, evinced thus in the conduct of her conspicuous characters."

Of this "looseness of principles," not surpassed in the history of any of the despotisms with which the world has been cursed, we could wish (for the lesson is salutary, though humiliating and disgustful,) to cite, in addition, a few of the more remarkable instances, before we enter on the events of the short reign of Bonaparte. It would be enough, perhaps, to refer our readers to a series of one of the principal gazettes of Paris, from the first of March, to the end of the same month. Let the *Journal des Debats* be examined for this period, and the effect upon an independent, rectilinear spirit, must be not only an intensity of scorn, but an utter confusion of ideas. Up to the 19th of March, the columns of the Journal breathe only devotion to the Bourbons, and destruction to Bonaparte;—literati, academicians, bishops, generals, corporate bodies of every description, emulously hold the same language. There is then an intermission of one day in the Journal itself. It reappears on the 21st, and commences with, "Our august emperor yesterday entered his palace of the Thuileries," &c.—and, in this strain of more than palinody, of more than inversion, appear also addresses from the same sources, with the same list of names unblushingly subscribed. Chateaubriand, in his report of the state of France, to the king, at Ghent, justly says—"In perusing the journals of "the 19th and 21st March, we "seem to be reading the history "of two different nations. In the "former, thirty thousand national "guards, three thousand volun- "teers, and ten thousand students "of all classes, join in uttering "cries of rage against the tyrant; "in the latter, they all bless his "appearance." The editors of the gazettes, their correspondents, the framers of the addresses, the members of the bodies corporate, are all the same persons, and when Louis is once more armed with power, or re-possessed of the Thuileries, they have no hesitation in renewing their homage, and execrating his predecessor, in nearly the same language.

Marshal Massena—a name of the brightest lustre in arms—speaks thus in a proclamation of the 9th March, to the inhabitants of Marseilles. "You can count upon my zeal and my devotion. I have sworn fidelity to our legitimate king. I will never deviate from the path of honour. I am ready to shed all my blood for the support of the throne." About the same time, the aid-du-camps of marshal Massena present themselves to Bonaparte at Lyons to receive his orders. Marshal Massena, on the 10th of April, proclaims Bonaparte at Toulon, and summons the prefect of Marseilles to hoist the tri-coloured flag, under pain of military execution. On the 14th of April, he transmits a report to the "emperor" at Paris, which contains the following phrases. "The knowledge which I have of the country where I am, enables me to make a choice of men of good repute, and devoted to your majesty. I have thought it proper, sire, not to repair immediately to Paris, my presence being still necessary in the eighth military division to *consolidate the happy change* which has just taken place. The minister left me the alternative to go myself, or send general Miollis. I cannot conceal from your majesty how ambitious I am of the honour of seeing you,

that I may assure you of *my unbounded devotion.*"*

The Court of Cassation, the highest judicial tribunal of France, the members of which are clad in ermine, and exercise the functions which the D'Agesseaus and the Malesherbes seemed to have consecrated to decorum and virtue,—the Court of Cassation holds this language to Louis XVIII. on the 10th March, 1815—"In the midst of this emulation of loyal vows, this effusion of feeling, this enthusiasm of zeal which we see on every side, let it be allowed to *your* Court of Cassation to felicitate itself on being the first to renew in your hands *the oath of inviolable fidelity to your sacred person.* We venture to say that we regret there is so little danger in the *audacious enterprise of the eternal enemy of France and of the world.* All the destinies of the French are wound up in your sacred person. Live, sire, for your subjects; all are ready to die for you!"

On the 28th of March—only eighteen days posterior—the same Court of Cassation affix their signatures—the same names—to an address to the Emperor Napoleon, couched in these terms: "Sire—The national wish which calls you back to the throne, has just manifested itself with as much unanimity as energy. It is the bound of all hearts without violence or restraint. The legitimacy of your sovereignty cannot then be mistaken," &c.

It is now notorious that the colonels of the army were the most useful and zealous accomplices in the conspiracy against the Bourbons. In a body, by the mouth of one of the oldest of them, they had, nevertheless, held this language to the king. "Sire, we come to lay at the foot of your throne the *sincere* homage of our respect and admiration for your high virtues. We have all been taught to obey before we learned to command, which should be for your majesty a sacred pledge of our obedience and devotion to our legitimate sovereign to whom we swear inviolable fidelity. *We shall do more, sire; we shall report, in the ranks of the soldiery, the paternal love which your majesty unceasingly manifests for his military family, the good which you desire to do, and this soldiery shall exclaim once more with us—Long live the father of the army! long live our legitimate king.*"

The *School of Medicine* of Paris must also deal in addresses, and on *the 17th March*, 1815—do homage to Louis in the most gallant style—"Sire, the School of Medicine, also, come to *swear* at the feet of your majesty, to defend unto death their king and their country. They come to demand arms: let their valour be guided, and France will see that the same hand which can prolong the existence of a useful citizen, can likewise deal death to a *factious coward and a rebellious traitor*, (Bonaparte)."—Who would suppose it could be the same school of medicine that, *on the 29th March*, harangued *the factious coward*, as follows—"Sire, the return of your majesty is a subject of joy for all good Frenchmen. We have never known but your majesty; we have never loved but you; we have consented to serve none but

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* The Prussian commissary appointed to conduct Bonaparte to the Island of Elba, relates that, on his return, he found Marshal Massena at Toulon, and that the marshal took pains to explain to him in detail the motives of *his inflexible hate to Bonaparte!*

you. Blessed be the day which brought back to us our *august and generous Protector*. The Napoleons will always find among us hearts to love them.—Submission without bounds! *Long live the Emperor—Long live the greatest man in the world!*" The versatility of the School of Law is not less remarkable. Both bodies had the *modesty* to tender new addresses to the king on his return in 1815.

It is not Paris alone that furnishes such examples; but all parts of France; all public establishments and associations, whether political, literary, or even theological. The archbishop of Tours—Barral—whom we shall find officiating, pontifically, at Bonaparte's *Field of May* in the month of June, and the several bishops who cooperated in the ceremonial, had all taken the oath of fidelity, and vowed eternal devotion to Louis XVIII. There are some instances of individuals who have been members of all the legislative assemblies, which have succeeded each other in France since the beginning of the Revolution, and who have, of course, taken all the contrariat oaths of that period. The names which science and literature love to repeat, the political characters whom the journals of Europe would have us receive as models of enlightened patriotism,* have put on record indelible proof of the grossest inconsistency in conduct, and the vilest duplicity in language and sentiment.

They have rendered France a prefect enigma. We are in an inextricable labyrinth when we engage in her political history of the few years past,—because we find that language has there no true nor steady sense,—words are all more or less unmeaning or hypocritical—the expressions and forms of speech, elsewhere the vehicles of genuine or noble sentiment and in themselves dignified and substantial, are here only used as of course, or as a veil for the basest passions. We should have some consolation left, if we had nothing to reprehend in the heroes of the masquerade, but the indecorous facility and revolting incongruity of their transformations,—if they would be content with the mischief of their example: But they must undertake to justify themselves, and divert the censure of the world; and this can be done only by the perversion of the sound principles of human conduct and judgment; by perplexing sophisms in morals and politics; by facing out our natural feelings and convictions; or by an indefinite license of misrepresentation and forgery as to facts and intentions. We should be at no loss to produce abundant illustrations of all these modes of exculpation, but our episode must not be carried to too great a length. A couple of instances will suffice for the present, and they shall be taken from the highest of the military and political ranks.

Let the well-educated moralist and politician attend to what Marshal Soult gives in his Exculpatory Memoir, as a justification for his co-operation with Bonaparte after the 20th March. "I was appointed major-general of the armies.—I obeyed. In that character I signed an order of the day, ad-

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* See the *Dictionaire des Girouettes*, articles—*Cuvier, La Place, Lacépede, Benjamin Constant, Carnot, Fontannes, &c.*

dressed to the soldiers, which was the work of the government which I obeyed. I obeyed—not as a creature of Bonaparte would have done. It is well known that I always had reason to complain of that man,—*and though I served him with fidelity, no one more sincerely detested his tyranny.* I obeyed not as an enemy of the king would have done. I had received from him only marks of esteem and confidence, and I am incapable of being ungrateful. But as a citizen and soldier, I obeyed him who then was at the head of the government.—The law of the English of the reign of Henry VII. is founded on the considerations—that it belongs not to individuals possessing no authority to discuss the title of sovereigns,—*that the most manifest usurpation not less imposes the necessity of obedience than the most legitimate authority.*"

We could point out a compendium of all the expedients of exculpation above-mentioned,—a master-piece of effrontery and sophistication in the exposition of Carnot, so much extolled as the true patriot and inflexible republican,—but shall, here, refer only to the general principles to which he appeals in defence of his becoming one of the ministers of Bonaparte—principles which assert directly unlimited subserviency to any *established* tyranny, no matter by what means raised, or on what foundation or of what tendency; principles which exclude all ideas of country distinct from government; of legality or illegality in the last; of dominion usurped by cozenage or military violence; of right or wrong; or if they admit the idea of right—that of the strongest alone,—not merely in civil commotions, but in all political revolutions. Let them, however, speak for themselves.

"Why did so many men gene-
"rally respected accept the func-
"tions assigned them (by Bona-
"parte)? Why did they not pro-
"test against their nominations?—
"Why did they receive missions?
"—Why are they, with justice,
"in favour (with the Bourbons)?—
"All this can be explained in a
"simple way, *without looking for*
"*guilt where there was none;* it is
"because every body thought,
"what good sense dictated to all
"—that it is the duty of a good
"citizen always to hold his course
"in unison with the established
"government (*de marcher dans le*
"*sens du gouvernement établi*)."—
"It has been said with truth, that,
"in civil discords, *there are no*
"*guilty*, but *only victors and van-*
"*quished.* Experience proves that,
"with all nations, the attachment
"to the soil of the country forms
"the strongest tie. It is then quite
"natural that a citizen see nothing
"more just or rightful than the
"happiness of his country, ab-
"stractedly taken, without refe-
"rence to those who govern; but
"these primitive ideas of natural
"right wear away by degrees.
"Even established governments
"themselves are not clear or con-
"sistent as to the principles which
"make their rights. What then is
"to serve as the compass of indi-
"viduals when storms arise among
"them on this subject? and when
"one of the militant parties shall
"have gained the ascendancy, will
"it have, itself,—I ask,—any other
"right than that of the strongest
"to treat as guilty the one which
"is overcome? I have exerted
"the right of speech common to
"every citizen; but I have not the
"less steadily professed, at all
"times, to submit to the esta-
"blished government."

From all which it results inevitably that "the inflexible republi-

can" Carnot, would have been, upon a principle of duty, the obedient subject, perhaps the minister of the interior, of the thirty tyrants of Athens, of the Tarquins of Rome, of Cæsar Borgia in Milan, of Catiline, or Jack Cade, had they succeeded in their designs; of any the most atrocious tyranny or usurpation, provided it were established. We could easily show from his life that, in all the substitutions of government in France, since the beginning of the revolution, he has, in his practice, made but one exception, the government of the Bourbons. The example and the creed are those of the most absolute selfishness and prostitution. They strike at the roots of all political freedom and morality.

We may regard the re-establishment of the military despotism of Bonaparte as completed, on his re-occupation of Paris; but there are yet some episodes to the main action which must not be wholly overlooked. *Adhesion* to the imperial government was already prepared at the head-quarters of the military districts, and in the garrisons of the great towns throughout France. Emissaries had been dispatched on every side, from Lyons and Grenoble, and the accomplishment of their errand was, in general, coeval with the entry of their principal into the metropolis. In the South, West, and North, the disposition of the inhabitants was most to be dreaded, and did, in fact, in the two former directions, burst forth into efforts of rescue from the military yoke. Provence, Languedoc, Vivarais, the Banks of the Rhone, Thoulouse, and Bordeaux, were quickly in agitation, and the scenes of passionate struggles in support of the white flag. The custody of it, however, had been every where committed, by the Bourbons, to the devoted auxiliaries of Bonaparte, men whose personal influence with the soldiery, on the supposition that the latter had been more loyally disposed than their commanders, would have been sufficient to ensure universal defection. In this state of things all the efforts of an unarmed and not perfectly unanimous population, must have ultimately proved futile, and the power of the sword in the person of Bonaparte, have been completely established, notwithstanding the later commotions of which we shall have occasion to speak, had not the allies encountered and shivered it with the same instrument.

We have seen how Marseilles and Toulon, and the eighth military division in which they were included, were situated with marshal Massena, to whom and to general *Miollis*, who acted in the same spirit, that division had been, with a credulous reliance on their honour and oaths of allegiance, improvidently entrusted. The inhabitants of Marseilles shed some blood in a contest with the garrison, and even when subdued, retained an indignant and menacing aspect.* Those of Thoulouse who had manifested the most lively zeal for the royal cause, surprised

* On the 6th February, 1816, the inhabitants of the department of *the mouths of the Rhone*, presented a petition to the chamber of deputies, calling for justice on the head of marshal Massena. This petition contains a full exposition of his treason towards the petitioners and the king. It alleges, as a fact of public notoriety, that persons with passports from the island of Elba, had regularly entered Marseilles, under the protection of Massena, and spread themselves throughout the barracks as heralds of insurrection.

in the same iron toils, were seen writhing to the last in the grasp of their *conquerors*. Generals *La Borde*, *Cassagne*, and *Cassan*, had carefully trained the garrison to the declaration in favour of Bonaparte, which took place on the fourth of April. This declaration it was necessary to support by pointing the park of cannon, with lighted matches, against the city, and introducing privately at night a reinforcement of four companies of artillery. A few weeks antecedent, general *Cassagne*, as commandant *ad interim* of the tenth military division, had written a letter to the duke D'Angoulême, some phrases of which will be found below,* and which deserves to be collated with the report of general *De Laborde*, from Toulouse, of the 4th April, to the minister at war, sanctioned by general Cassagne. The temper and attitude of the population of Bordeaux on hearing of the debarkation of Bonaparte, the courageous deportment of the duchess D'Angoulême in that city, the measures of seduction and violence pursued by generals *Clausel* and *Decaen*,† and the revolt of the troops, were so amply detailed in all our gazettes of the day, as to render it needless for us to dwell upon them. *Montpelier* and *Nismes* were reduced at the same time and in the same manner as Bordeaux and Thoulouse.

On the ninth of March, the duke *d'Angoulême* received, at Bordeaux, the intelligence of the landing of Bonaparte. He immediately concerted with the military about him, an extensive plan for making head in the rear of the invader, and preserving the South from his yoke. The execution of this plan depended, however, upon the cooperation of the generals commanding the troops in that quarter, and these—particularly marshal Massena and general Gardanne—while they continued to maintain with him an active correspondence full of assurances of inviolable fidelity, studied only to obstruct his progress and throw him into the hands of his enemy. His march to Valence was in some sort triumphant, so eagerly did the inhabitants of the South flock to his standard, and such was the enthusiasm of the national guard by whom he was followed. But he was doomed to experience the most disgusting treachery on every side, and soon, from the defection of the regular troops, upon whom he counted, obliged to retreat to *Montelimart*. Pursued by general *Gilly* who, with a strong imperial corps, occupied *Pont Saint Esprit*, he here found every avenue shut to his escape. Nothing remained but to capitulate, and this was done on condition of impunity to his followers, and permission to himself to embark at the port of Cette.

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* 'The *troops of the garrison of Thou-louse* partake of the universal happiness at your presence. They gave the first assurance of their love for the best of kings, and their fidelity to the dynasty of the Bourbons....The officers of every grade, the heads of administration, the soldiery of every description, commission me to lay at the feet of your royal highness the sentiments of admiration, &c. &c....I am proud of a mission so honourable and dear to my heart, &c....'

† On *the eleventh of March*, "General *Decaen* and all the civil and *military* authorities of Bordeaux, hastened to lay at the feet of the duchess D'Angouleme, a new assurance of the most inviolable fidelity." Bordeaux Gazette.—General *Decaen* is soon after entrusted by the emperor with the command of the 9th and 10th military divisions.

The convention was ratified in form, on the 8th of April, by general *Gilly*, styling himself *commander in chief of the imperial army of the south*, and as such, acting of course with full powers Yet, general *Grouchy*, charged also with the pursuit of the royal corps, refused, on his approach, to permit the execution of that part of the capitulation which concerned the prince himself, whom he declared his prisoner, until the will of Bonaparte on the subject could be known.* For this act Grouchy received immediately the staff of marshal of the empire, with instructions, however, to cause the duke to be safely escorted to *Cette*, and there to be allowed to embark. The motive of this seeming generosity cannot be mistaken. The new position of the usurper both as to his domestic and foreign relations, made it too hazardous a policy either to consign the prince to the fate of the duke d'Enghein or to retain him in France.

The duke de Bourbon had repaired to *La Vendée*, from which more was expected in aid of the royal cause, than from any other province of France. But *La Vendée*, of which marshal Soult was honorary governor, as the most to be dreaded, was the best secured, and the duke had but time to embark at Nantz on the 26th, to escape captivity. The troops and the emissaries of Bonaparte moving in every direction in considerable numbers, precluded all opportunity of combined or concerted resistance. General Morand, one of his *aid-de-camps*, was deputed, at the head of several columns, to *patrol* the west by forced marches, and overawe the inhabitants with a mock display of power and resolution. The general published on the 3d of April, at Nantz, a proclamation worthy of any one of his predecessors of 1796, or of the era of '93. In point of ribaldry, fanfaronade and bombast of every kind, there is nothing beyond it, even in the reports of Barrere, or the addresses of the revolutionary committee to the unfortunate, but noble* people, who have been so often the victims of these blustering apostles of despotism.

General Morand tells them that a numerous army had been confided to him, by his august and magnanimous emperor, which was, then, traversing, in divisions, their cities and fields, to secure tranquillity; that the blood flowing in the veins of the brave soldiers, was the most noble and pure; that they had done more for the glory of France, in twenty-five years, than their ancestors had done for four centuries; that the miracle wrought in the return of Bonaparte proved him to be *the man of Providence*; that he had arrived in his capital,

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* According to the Moniteur of the 10th of April, General Grouchy writes thus to the minister of war. "The wild enterprise *(échauffourée)* of the duke D'Angouleme is at an end. The duke has capitulated. Deserted by all the troops of the line, he was left with only 1500 men and 6 pieces of cannon." "Deign to believe," says Grouchy, in a report to the emperor himself—"that what I am most ambitious of, is to be placed near to your majesty, in order to renew the proofs of my fidelity and devotion."—There is a very satisfactory account of this affair of the duke *d'Angoulême*, in a pamphlet entitled "*Recit des operations de l'armée royale du midi sous les ordres du duc d'Angoulême, par M. Suleau.*

* Whoever has read the interesting *Memoirs of Madame La Roche-Jacquelin* will readily concur in giving this epithet to the Vendeans.

borne like a father upon the shoulders of his people, amid their shouts of joy and their benedictions, *and shielded by the buckler of the Eternal*; that full of the thought of his great destinies, *inaccessible to all human passions*, he comes to snatch them from assassins, &c. &c. &c. Thus was the West kept down, soon, however, to break out into eruptions which it would have required more of the glitter of bayonets, and the phantasmagoria of proclamations to quell, had not *the buckler of the Eternal* been strangely withdrawn from *the man of Providence*, and his miraculous reign brought to a speedy close.

In the North, as elsewhere, the *garrisons* early settled the question of submission for the inhabitants. Marshal Jourdan had been entrusted with the command of the 15th military division, and fixed his head quarters at *Rouen*. We have an order of the day of the marshal of the 10th March, and an address to the king in the name of all the military of his division, of the same date, which denounce Bonaparte as a despot and public enemy, swear inviolable fidelity to the Bourbons, and pledge the last drop of blood in their defence. Yet, at the end of the same month, the banners of the "public enemy" waved throughout the 15th military division, and on the 7th June, we find the marshal himself—member of his house of peers, under a new double oath of allegiance in his military and civil character. In his "order of the day" just cited the marshal adds, "The ridiculous enterprize of Bonaparte tends to deliver over our country to the horrors of civil war, and to bring the foreign troops back upon our territory." He had, thus, as every intelligent officer of the army must have likewise had, a clear foresight of the fatal consequences of the return of Bonaparte. This circumstance constitutes mainly the guilt of their concurrence, while the mode of it is so shockingly disgustful. Who but the most selfish or reckless of men could consent to engage in so desperate a game at the expense of country? What was there in the administration or tendency of the government of Louis XVIII. to be compared with the evils incident to a new struggle with all Europe—without even taking into the account the great probability of his prompt restoration under circumstances still more favorable to the success of the pretended designs of his family?

At *Caen*, the emperor was installed on the 22d March, by a proclamation with the signature of marshal Augereau, whose ardent address to the army in favour of the Bourbons, of the 14th April, 1814, remains upon record in the files of the Moniteur. The duke of Albufera, marshal *Suchet*, the *royal* governor of Alsace, hailed his old master in an enthusiastic order of the day, on the 23d, at Strasbourg; planted the tri-coloured ensigns throughout his jurisdiction; became a member of the imperial house of peers on the 5th June; and so far forgot Napoleon, after his second abdication, as to hasten again in August, from *Roanne* to Paris, to bear to Louis XVIII. *the homage of his personal devotion*. At Orleans, *general Pajol*, the commandant, hoisted the tri-coloured flag, on the 21st of March, but marshal *Gouvion St. Cyr*, with general Dupont and a part of his division, entered the city immediately after, put *Pajol* under arrest, and re-established nominally, the authority of the king. In the course of three days,

the marshal himself was obliged to yield to the torrent, retired from the city in the night, repaired to Paris, and we read in the *Journal de l'Empire* of the 8th April, that "he appeared at the levee of his Imperial majesty, who had a long conversation with him." The same gazette of a later date, announces a new oath taken by marshal St. Cyr to his Imperial majesty.

No delay occurred, nor were any means neglected which sagacity and diligence could supply, in providing, after the arrival of Bonaparte at Paris, for the submission of every part of the kingdom. Personages of more authority than could be found in the course of his march, were sent forth as missionaries, clothed with ample power of violence, menace, cajolery, and fiction *ad libitum*. General *Drouet count d'Erlon*, but a few days before the *royal* commandant of the 16th military division, and who as we have said, presided at the acquital of *general Excelmans*, was deputed to Lille, and caused the return of Bonaparte to be celebrated in the cathedral on Easter Sunday, by a *te deum*, at which marshal Ney most devoutly assisted. Ney was also, on a mission, the honorable nature of which, and of the others, may be understood from the following statement, which he made on his trial. "I set out from Paris on the 23d of March, by order of Bonaparte, for Lille: I received in that city a very long letter from him, in which he directed me to travel the whole northern and eastern frontier of France, from *Lille* as far as *Landau*. I exercised the character of extraordinary commissary. My instructions expressly enjoined it upon me to declare every where that the emperor neither would nor could wage war beyond the frontiers of France, *according to arrangements concluded at the island of Elba, between him, England and Austria; that the empress Maria Louisa and the king of Rome were to remain at Vienna as hostages, until he had given a free constitution to France, and executed all the conditions of the treaty; after which she was to join him with her son at Paris.*"

In the great scheme of delusion, with which the hero came already armed from the island of Elba, the points upon which he laid most stress, were—an amicable understanding between him and the two great powers, Austria and England; the re-establishment of liberty in France, in the shape of a limited monarchy; and a complete reformation of his foreign policy, founded on a supposed radical change in his character and views. By means of the first, he hoped to intimidate the friends of the royal cause; of the second—to propitiate the mass of the people, and to afford a pretext to the soi-disant republicans to devote themselves to his service; of the third, to conciliate the public opinion of Europe, and dupe the foreign cabinets.* All his old auxiliaries in the innumerable devices of imposture† which entered into his original plan of domination, were now set to work on ac-

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*"In order to engage the public opinion," says *Fouché*, in his late plaintive epistle to the duke of Wellington, "Napoleon was *forced* to announce that England and Austria supported him." Such is the moral code of the revolutionary school. Convenience is always —*compulsion*. Nothing can withstand the *force* of circumstances—that is, of immediate interests, or desperate passions.

* "Considering," says his Senate in their act for his deposition, of April 3d, 1814, "that he has always made

dresses, and replies, circulars, and reports, adapted to give a temporary credit to the falsehoods above-mentioned, and to bring the Bourbons into disrepute by the repetition of the story of *feudal rights*, *tithes*, *priest-craft*, &c.

We have seen that he had the hardihood to announce, in his decree of the 18th March, from Lyons, that "the dearly beloved" spouse and son were to be crowned in Paris in the course of the ensuing month of May. This tale, imagined to produce the belief of an understanding with Austria, was repeated in every possible form. He had selected Carnot as his minister of the interior—obviously to secure for his domestic frauds the support of the reputation of the *inflexible republican*,—upon whose subserviency to any *established* government, he knew he could rely. Accordingly, in the first circular, dated 22d March, which the new minister of the interior addressed to the prefects, he did not hesitate to declare that "the emperor would soon present his august spouse, and the prince, the hope of the nation, to his people; that they would be crowned in the midst of the field of May, and take their place on the throne, by the side of the great Napoleon." In addition to this official statement, the newspapers were made to speak of couriers from Austria, who announced the speedy presence of these precious pledges, while, throughout the departments, and even within ten leagues of Paris, bulletins were circulated, containing an account of their arrival, and of all the ceremonies that had accompanied their entrance into the capital. There was a littleness in some of the expedients of imposition practised on this head, which beggars all description, and must, indeed, be nearly without parallel unless in the transactions of the native governments of Corsica. We have it from undoubted authority, that the principal tradesmen of Paris, especially the milliners and jewellers, were instructed, and for a long time continued, to affect to be monopolized by preparations for the re-appearance of the empress in surpassing splendour. The government entered directly into this petty game of inuendos. "The apartment of the empress in the *Thuileries*," says the official journal of the 6th of April—"is now receiving its furniture;" and, earlier, on the 31st March—"The equipages of the empress set out from Versailles the 27th of this month," &c.

The tenacity of the emperor Francis in refusing intercourse of whatever kind with his son-in-law, and his full, hearty concurrence in all the hostile measures of the league, of which he was, in some sort, the chief, are now facts of admitted notoriety. We beg the reader not to lose sight of them, in perusing the following series of extracts from the official journals of Bonaparte. *Journal de l'Empire* of the 30*th March*—"M. de Montron has been sent to Vienna with important despatches."—Of the 2d April.—"The emperor received yesterday at his levee the most favourable news from Vienna."—Of the 29th April.—"The emperor of Austria has refused to sign the manifesto against France."—Mo-

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use of the press to fill France and Europe with misrepresentations, false maxims, doctrines favourable to despotism, and insults on foreign governments," &c.

niteur of the 5th of May.—"We are assured that couriers arrived here yesterday from Austria."

Id. 8th May.—"It is certain that there is, at this moment, an exchange of couriers between the cabinet of the Thuileries and that of Vienna. The emperor has said to count Carnot, "I still hope that peace will not be interrupted."

Id. 9th May. "It is permitted us to hope, that the actual exchange of couriers between the cabinets of the *Thuileries* and that of Vienna, is not foreign to the consolidation of the peace between the two nations."

Id. 11th May. "It is generally believed that Austria has decided upon maintaining neutrality in case of war. There is a rumour generally current, that an envoy extraordinary arrived this morning from the emperor of Austria."

Id. 21st May. "To-day a courier from Austria arrived at 11 o'clock; in consequence, the great review announced for this day is postponed, and the council of state has assembled at the Thuileries, his majesty present."—23d. "A regular correspondence is maintained between the emperor Napoleon and the empress, with the consent of Austria."

Could we suppose any limitation to the effrontery of the imperial ministers, it would have been impossible, from the outset, to maintain this ground by the side of the declaration of the congress of Vienna of the 13th March, which reached Paris as soon as Bonaparte himself, had the authenticity of this paper been admitted. There was, at first, no hesitation, however, in stoutly denying the reality of its existence. "A certain pretended declaration," says the *Journal de l'Empire* of the 23d March, "has been sent into some of the departments—which declaration was fabricated at Paris; the news of a later date from abroad make no mention of it." The scheme of dissimulation on this head was persisted in until the 14th April, when the minister of police published the paper, alleging it to be a fabrication of the ambassadors of Louis XVIII. at the Congress.

To provide an opportunity for a reply, this minister was charged with a formal exposition of the matter to the council of state, and speaks roundly as follows.

"It is demonstrated that this piece—(the declaration of the 13th March) which could not have been signed by the ministers of Austria, of Russia, of England, and of Prussia, emanated from the Bourbon legation at Vienna, which legation has added to the crime of provoking assassination, that of forging the signatures of the members of the Congress. The proofs of this shall be sent to the council of state."

That the people might not be roused from the security in which he wished to lull them, with respect to the continuance of peace, Bonaparte refused to consider this declaration *as one of hostilities*. In reviewing the national guard on the 10th April, he stated to them, in a set speech, that, *as yet, he knew of no enemies*.

On the heels of the declaration of the 18th March, followed the treaty of Vienna of 25th of the same month, which binds the allies of 1814 in a solemn league for his dethronement, and stipulates the contingents of men and money to be furnished by each for this purpose. The Swiss diet published their resolution to embark in the same enterprise, by an energetic proclamation of the 24th of

March. The emperor of Russia denounced war on the 4th of April, in a proclamation to his armies; the king of Prussia, also, in two proclamations of the 7th, in which he called up the *Landwehr* and *Landstrum*. On the 8th of April, England transmitted to Vienna her formal ratification of the treaty of the 25th March, and a treaty of accession of the same tenor was signed on the 27th of April, between Prussia of the one part, and the united provinces and free cities of Germany, of the other. Proclamations were addressed, in the course of the same month, by nearly all the principal commanders of the allies, to their armies, to prepare them for hostilities. In the debate which took place in the British parliament, on the 28th April, concerning the political relations with France, the ministry unequivocally pronounced the existence of a state of war. In the beginning of April, the couriers of the French minister of foreign affairs, charged with despatches for the foreign powers, were either sent back or arrested, and all diplomatic intercourse with Napoleon was peremptorily denied. The king of Spain issued a long and vehement manifesto in favour of Louis XVIII. on the 2d of May, and on the 12th of the same month, appeared the report of the committee of the congress of Vienna, in support of the declaration of the 13th March; a report scarcely excelled by any state paper, in force of argument, and calculated to leave no ray of hope to France, as to the continuance of peace, but by the immediate expulsion of the usurper. We have made this enumeration here, to enable our readers fully to appreciate the language held to the national guard, and the further illustrations we shall have occasion to give, of the impudent policy which dictated that language.

The choice of the ministers and counsellors of state, and of the public functionaries in general, was speedily made, out of those who, found in the several departments of administration by the Bourbons, had, through a mistaken policy, been confirmed in their possession. The re-organization both of the civil and military government consumed but a few days, and brought upon the stage nearly the same *dramatis-personæ*, evidently more at home in the imperial than the royal costume. Then began the great juggle of addresses and protestations; and it is incredible with what effrontery and activity it was played. The men whose names are subscribed to the opprobrious decree of his expulsion from the throne, issued by the senate on the 4th April, 1814, now press forward, as his ministers and counsellors of state, with the following *amende honorable*. "Sire, Receive the homage of your *faithful servants*, who have been so cruelly tried during your absence, and are now so completely indemnified by your presence. Providence, who watches over our destinies, has re-opened to you the path of the throne. *The fates are satisfied.* Your majesty has reseized the reins of empire in the midst of the benedictions of the people and the army. Your majesty wishes to forget that we have been the masters of the nations who surround us. Happy are they, sire, who are called to co-operate in so many sublime acts as those which you meditate. These will secure for you with posterity—that is, when the time of adulation shall have gone by—the title of father of your country. Your bene-

fits will be guaranteed to our children *by the august heir whom your majesty is now preparing to crown at the field of May.*" In the address from which these passages are taken, we are also told that the Bourbons had learned to forget nothing;—and yet, it has the signatures of three *regicides*, two of whom had enjoyed the highest stations under Louis, and the third been suffered to rail at the Bourbons with impunity.

The members of the council of state begin by assuring his majesty of "their devotion, their gratitude, and their respect and love for his sacred person." Being particularly charged with the task of cajoling the people, and justifying his majesty's violation of his pact with the allied powers, they tell him,—that all sovereignty is with the people; that the Bourbons had wished to govern and oppress the people by *emigration;* that the Bourbons were preparing the re-establishment of *feudal* rights and *tithes;* that the senate had no right to alter the constitution of the empire and pronounce his forfeiture; that his abdication not being sanctioned by the people, could not release him from his obligations to them; that even if he could have abdicated for himself, he could not sacrifice the rights of his son; that his abdication was only meant to prevent a civil war; that if the adhesions and oaths tendered to the Bourbons *could ever have been binding on those from whom they came, they must have ceased to be so, as soon as the government which received them ceased to exist;* that the emperor is to guarantee by new institutions, all free principles,—and again—that he could not abdicate without the consent of the nation."

To all this and to similar discourses from the court of Cassation, the court of Accounts, &c. and the *Institute*, who remind him of the speedy arrival of his "spouse and son," he replies, generally, in the affirmative, and tells them,—"that princes are but the first citizens of the state; that kings exist only for the people; that the imperial throne is specially distinguished by the circumstance of its being created by the nation; that his device was *all for the nation and for France;* that he renounced all ideas of the *great empire*, of which he had been only laying the foundation for fifteen years."—We might almost imagine that we had again the General Bonaparte of 96, and 97, declaring—that "the French republic had sworn hatred to tyrants, but fraternity with the people; that he would perish rather than allow an attempt against liberty and the (directorial) constitution; that his civil as well as his military career would always be conformable to republican principles." It is equally curious to retrace the *First Consul* in the contrite Emperor. We have but to go back to the tenth year of the republic, to find him talking of "the people the sovereign of all," "of the people from whom all power is derived," "of liberty and equality," of his oath to have a republic, founded on civil liberty and national representation, of his invariable determination to maintain both, and consult only the happiness of the nation, *to shun wars of ambition, &c.**

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* The reader is referred for all this and much more of the same purport to Goldsmith's valuable compilation of "the manifestos, proclamations, discourses, decrees, &c. extracted from the Moniteur, of Napoleon Bonaparte as General in Chief of the Republican

There is a striking analogy, too, between the addresses and circulars of the public authorities of the epoch of his consulate, as to the delineations of the man and his maxims of government, and those upon which we have been animadverting; only that the latter, with respect to the principles and style, approach nearer to the conventional and directorial eras. This is not, however, so much matter of surprise, since we have nearly the same list of names attached to the public documents at all these periods. The address of the imperial council of state has quite the air of a revolutionary catechism; the proclamations from Gulf St. Juan, the official narrative of the march thence to Paris, even the orders of the day for the military, make frequent appeals to revolutionary feelings and principles, and abound with revolutionary associations and reminiscences; topics so hateful and so industriously suppressed, before his visit to Elba. The hero had become again a worshipper and apostle of the rights of man.

The motives of this singular transformation are sufficiently obvious, and will exhibit him in novel and curious situations. He foresaw that his armies might not be strong enough to bear him through the struggle, in which he was to be engaged with the Bourbons and the Allies. The last were, indeed, to be cajoled if possible; but this was a forlorn hope. Even the bulk of the French people, particularly the solid, middle classes, although they were to be indefatigably plied in every possible way, would yet be hard to rouse to any earnest or persevering efforts in his support.

Where then was the sure auxiliary?—The genius of the Revolution, that is to say, the spirit of jacobinism, which he had not destroyed but only chained; which survived in many of its original agents whom he had estranged from him, but not irrevocably; which could always carry with it, in any country, the mere populace, and especially that of France of whom it had been so long the leader and idol,—which, although once let loose, would prove dangerous to himself, he might hope again to subdue by the same means, or finally propitiate by an equal share of power. The genius of the Revolution was invoked, and Bonaparte stood forth once more in the proper shape, the child and champion of jacobinism.

The members of the school clung to him almost instinctively. Their object had been always—dominion; and the name of emperor was to them the synonime of equality, or liberty, or of any of the catchwords which they had of old used to facilitate the attainment of that object. If Bonaparte were willing to indulge their favourite passion, for which they wanted but scope, he would answer as well as any other shrine. If they could but entangle him in their own snare, they might, if they found it convenient, dethrone him, and thus, while they indulged their proneness for revolutions, exercise a fair retaliation. Like Romulus, he might ascend to heaven, from the bosom of his faithful senate.

Carnot, the Coryphœus of the sect, the ark, as it were, of the new covenant, the acting executor, with *Fouché*, of the Convention, himself warily provided this soothing

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Armies, as First Consul, and as Emperor. London, 1812." The part of this work, which treats of his consulate, furnishes a curious *rapprochement* with our subject.

explanation of so suspicious a confederacy. " If the emperor were less sure of the force of his character and the purity of his resolutions, he might consider himself as placed between two quicksands; the partizans of the dethroned dynasty, and *those of the Republican system:* but the first cannot regain what they could not keep; the last undeceived by a long experience, and bound by gratitude to the prince who has delivered them, have become his most zealous defenders; their candor, as well known as was their philanthropic enthusiasm, environs the throne occupied by the august founder of a new dynasty, who makes it his boast to have sprung from our popular ranks." (Report to the Chamber of Representatives.)

Their old habit into which they would naturally relapse, of preaching the abstract rights of man, and whining about *feudality* and aristocracy, serves to explain, in conjunction with the new policy of Bonaparte, the revolutionary tone of their circulars and addresses. The necessity, for their own purposes, of reconciling the world to him, prompted them, no less than the abjection of their natures, to the most unqualified panegyric of his character and intentions. Bonaparte had rendered himself as frightful to the best portion of the French people, as they had rendered their jacobinical *liberty.* They had found it adviseable to deck her out in the colours of a real goddess; so they deemed it expedient to invest him with the attributes of an Augustus or an Antoninus, that the public eye might bear to look towards him, without expecting an apparition like the *Minotaur* or the *Chimæra.*

In attending to what has been here said, we may understand why Count *Carnot* remained faithful to him, and *defended him with extreme zeal,* as he avows in his Memoir; and why, after having spoken of him opprobriously in his letter to the king, he, as his minister of the interior, takes the lead in the new apotheosis. There can be no " obedience to an established government" more complete; no surrender of conscience more absolute, than is implied in the extracts which we shall proceed to give from the circular of this *Republican* to the prefects, dated only the day after his nomination as minister of the interior. It is a suitable companion for his instructions to the same authorities concerning the Field of May—from which we have quoted a passage above.

" The emperor has honoured
" me with the appointment of
" minister of the interior, and I am
" sure that my relations with you
" will be agreeable to me, because
" your zeal, your devotion, and
" your efforts will be indefatigable
" to meet worthily the confidence
" of his majesty. The emperor,
" surrounded by the army and the
" people, has traversed his states
" in the midst of the sweetest emo-
" tions; his march offered through-
" out the image of a triumphal
" pomp; and this pomp, formed
" by enthusiasm alone, has not
" cost a tear to one of his subjects,
" whom he every where called his
" children, who saw again in him
" a father wholly occupied with
" their happiness and the national
" glory."

" The official papers, printed in
" the Moniteur, have already made
" known to you the magnanimous
" intentions of our legitimate so-
" vereign. Lose not a moment in
" disseminating them by every
" means. Impress yourselves deep-

ly with the intentions which the emperor has expressed for the happiness of the people, and *let us unite our efforts to cause a prince to be beloved who is restored to us by Providence*, and who guarantees to us equality of civil rights, &c."

In associating to his fortunes, the veterans of the revolution, Bonaparte had converted what might have proved a band of formidable assailants into one of indefatigable devotees. But their co-operation was of no great consequence without that of the populace, and something more was necessary for the latter than the mere example of men, whose frequent apostacies had divested them nearly of all credit. To the populace, then,—to the wild fancies, the credulity, the abjectedness, the corruption, and headlong passions, which produced the revolutionary orgies and enormities, a direct appeal was made by raising every where the fatal whoop of *liberty and equality*, linked with the phrase *emperor*, which, however discordantly it may sound, was received in a sense congenial with the true revolutionary acceptation of the two others. The people of all classes were invited to unite themselves in *federations*, that were to have the effect of kindling a popular enthusiasm;—an enthusiasm to be afterwards directed against the Bourbons and the allies, under the immediate guidance of the ardent spirits and revolutionary desperadoes of the provinces and the *fauxbourgs*, who had sunk into inaction and oblivion during the first imperial reign.—The popular *federations* were quickly formed, in a spirit and with attributions rather beyond the intentions and wishes of the *federation* of the Thuileries. We have *federations* in Lyons, Strasbourg, Dijon, Brittany, &c. with corresponding committees, central committees, committees of supervision, &c. and, in general, all the appendages of the associations of the same name so famous in the early periods of the revolution. The imperial *federations* included the lowest classes of society, interchanged signals and pledges, scattered recruiting patrols in every direction, and made the country resound with cries which, but for the frequent recurrence of the term *empieror*, would have induced the idea of a retrogression to the year '93. It was the *reveil du peuple* in the spirit of that era,—an exhumation of jacobinism in its vulgarest forms, and with its characteristic nomenclature.

We should attend to the language of the constitution of one of these societies, and of some of their addresses, to obtain an insight into their character, and into the possible consequences of their re-organization, had the allies allowed their prophet to remain on the throne. The reader will do well, also, to look back into the popular institutions and topics of '93, and make the comparison, that he may fully understand the drift of Bonaparte, and the difficulty which might have been experienced in mastering again the elements of anarchy, after they had been thus set wild, or combined according to their natural tendencies.

The *federative pact* proposed to the five departments of Brittany, was received as a model throughout France, with no great variation in the rest, but in the preliminary addresses, which were more or less revolutionary according to the temper of the writers. It is exceedingly long, and we can, therefore, do no more than make a few extracts, fitted to show its

spirit. The first article states, that the citizens of the five departments, devoted to the national cause and to the emperor, are *federated*. The second, that the object of the association is to consecrate all its powers to the propagation of liberal principles; *to spread light among men gone astray; to keep the public mind up to the level of circumstances;* to defeat all machinations against liberty, the constitutions, and the emperor. The sixth article refuses all political authority to the members, but establishes a *moral police*. The fifth declares admissible citizens of whatever rank, age, or profession. The sixth runs thus—"The confederates form part, *ipso facto*, of the national guard, and are not an insulated corps. The confederacy is only a means of uniting more closely the friends of country, of liberty, and of the emperor, and leaving apart, *in odious insulation*, the Frenchmen who would desire the shameful yoke of foreigners," &c. The seventh article relates to the *corresponding commissaries*, &c. The pact is to cease to be obligatory, when his majesty should deign to announce that the dangers of the country were past. There is an obvious design throughout several of the restrictions, on the part of the government, to give, while it unbinds and sets on the champions of liberal principles, an air of moderation to their intentions, and to provide a muzzle and reins, with which to keep them in the track of fealty to the emperor. The task was difficult so to attemper the license granted, as to preserve his majesty himself from a recoil.

The confederation of Burgundy apostrophises the allied sovereigns in this good old strain:—"Mad-"men that ye are! Free as our "fathers, and worthy of being so, "him whom you have chosen to "proscribe, *we* have adopted. He, "against whom you have declared "war—well! it is he whom we "undertake to defend. We are "going to second the magnani-"mous efforts of our brave sol-"diers, and very soon two millions "of armed men will laugh at your "menaces, and force you to throw "yourselves on their clemency."

"What can the proud race of "kings, that menace us, do!" exclaims the federation of Lyons,—"Brave inhabitants of the neigh-"bouring departments, the Lyon-"ese obtest you! They propose to "you a holy, and fraternal confede-"ration. *Let us renew that alliance "which made kings tremble at the "aurora of liberty!* Let us cement, "in the face of an *impious league*, "that solemn pact which is to "render futile all their efforts."

The federation of the department of the *Lower Charente*, is not less ardent:—"Let the luke-warm, "the cowards, and traitors, learn "from us, that there are yet brave "men enough to terrify and over-"whelm all the kings of Europe "who may dare think of giving us "chains. Let us unite by a pure "and fraternal tie; let danger "heighten our courage, if, indeed, "it be possible to add to it. Let us "be as constant as intrepid; war-"riors without ceasing to be citi-"zens; terrible without ceasing to "be virtuous. Countrymen, ye are "Frenchmen, as we are; your "souls, too, glow with the sacred "fire of liberty. *Long live Napo-"leon!*"

We cannot abstain from copying further, a passage or two of the proclamation of the *federates* to the inhabitants of *Roanne*. "The cries of "*liberty and national independence* "resound on every side: they are

" the presage of victory. What " French heart does not palpitate " at these noble names! *At the au-* " *rora of the revolution*, they " awoke our heroes; they saved " France, menaced then as she " is now, by *a conspiracy of kings.* " *The emperor*, at the head of the " French army, *always himself the* " *terror of hostile kings, advances,* " *and breaks the chains of nations!*"

Well might the royalists and the better classes who remembered the tone of the era of the ambulatory guillotine, tremble when they heard this language from *free* and *holy* patriotic associations. We may conceive the consternation of this description of persons in Paris, when they heard that the *workmen* of the *faubourgs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau*, in the first place, and then those of the other *faubourgs*, had *confederated*, under the auspices of the emperor, and read an address from them to their *fellow-citizens and comrades*. In this address, written by the attorney-general *Thuriot*, a regicide of the most fiery and sanguinary character, the workmen denounce the odious declaration of the 13th and 25th of March, the proclamation of the king of Prussia of the 5th of April, and the *sacrilegious projects* of the foreigners. " Had it not been," say they, " for " treason, the enemy would never " have penetrated into our fau- " bourgs. Happen what may, the " enemy shall never enter them " again. *We wish, by our attitude,* " *to strike terror into the traitors* " *who desire the degradation of* " *their country once more.* We pro- " mise, we swear, that the capital " shall never again receive laws " from strangers." The address concludes with an additional oath to defend the capital, to which they, the confederated workmen of the faubourgs, *consecrate themselves*. This federation immediately gave rise to another, with the epithet of *Parisian*, on the same plan, and with similar or worse ingredients. The address of the second calls for men *without fear or reproach*. The leading members of these *federations* held nocturnal assemblies of counsel and fraternization. They reciprocated *patriotic* banquets, at which they echoed the toasts and songs of the *aurora of liberty*, in a tone of correspondent sublimation.

The gazettes were even allowed " to recognize in the language of the federates of 1815—that of *the pure patriots*—of the friends and brothers—of '93."

The *Journal de l'Empire* of the 22d May, spoke yet more openly and significantly. " The enemies " of the people are leaguing a- " gainst liberty: the people league " in federations to support it. The " congress of Vienna revives the " treaty of Pilnitz; our provinces, " Lyons, Dauphiny, Burgundy, " renew the old federation. If, on " the subject of the *federations* of " the *faubourgs, we are reminded* " *of revolutionary times, let it be* " *recollected that the same causes* " *produce the same effects; that the* " *aggressors of the people must be* " *alone responsible for the evils* " *which they dread, while they yet* " *continue to provoke them.*"

The day after the arrival of Bonaparte at Paris, his bust was borne in triumph by the military and populace to the coffee-house called *Montansier*, of the Palais-royal, which had been the principal rendezvous of the disaffected officers, and was the habitual resort of the worst adventurers of every class. The inauguration was performed with rites suitable to the place, and called to mind that of the

bust of Marat in the glorious days of '93 The *palais-royal* rung with drunken shouts and inflammatory harangues, with obscene couplets chaunted to revolutionary airs, and with toasts riotously quaffed to *pere la violette*, a nickname of blandishment most graciously accepted by his majesty of all the Gauls We are not told whether the imperial bust was crowned with the *bonnet rouge*, like that of *Marat*, but the official account of this edifying ceremonial, dwells particularly upon the *unanimous* cries of *vive la liberté*, and *vive la constitution*, which marked the occasion.

This scene was the proper prelude to another of greater importance in the illustration of the new position of Bonaparte, and of his character as the creature and hero of the revolution. On the 16th May he received in person the—*ouvriérs fedérés*—the federative labourers, in the court-yard of the Thuileries. They assembled at nine in the morning, to the number of fifteen thousand, and marched thither with drums beating and colours flying, and vociferations that shook the houses of the capital, to say nothing of its effect upon *royalist traitors*. His imperial majesty, having reconnoitred them at full gallop, addressed them to the following effect. "Federate soldiers, I am come back alone to France, because I counted upon the patriotism of the inhabitants of the south, of the peasantry of all France, of the *labourers of the great cities*. My reliance was well founded. I see you, with pleasure, about me. I accept your offer. I have confidence in you. Without apprehensions for the capital, since you will have the charge of its defence, I shall proceed to the frontiers to manœuvre the army, and defend our soil, *if the kings dare attack us*. Long live the nation!"

The nation of the *faubourgs*—the *sans-culottes*, with whom he was now solemnly ratifying his league—answered him by demonstrations and cries, which startled and scandalized even the *pere violette* himself, at the same time that they struck terror into the whole city. The *saturnalia* of this celebration surpassed the festival of the bust, and forced the official reporter to remark in his relation of the affair, after pronouncing an eulogium on the good dispositions of the *federates*—"*But*, the name of the emperor was heard in some places, blended with songs, which recalled a too famous epoch (meaning that of '93)." These songs were, in fact, among the most animating of the repertory of that "too famous epoch;"—such as the *Carmagnole* and the *Marseillaise*. The squeamishness of the narrator on this occasion, can only be accounted for by an extraordinary familiarity indulged in the use of the new *refrain*, or chorus of "emperor;" for, they had been, before, and on all sides, abundantly reproduced with the same burden, and officially encouraged. "Yesterday," says the *Journal de l'Empire* of the 15th April, "the play of the *Horatii* was given at the *Theatre Francais*. The pit called for the *Marseillaise*, and sung strophes of it, intermingling them with cries of *vive la liberté*, *vive l'empereur*." The capital and the provinces trembled at the sound; the more so, when they saw the military despot—(a curious and instructive spectacle)—surrounded by republican ministers and advisers, as a matter of mutual necessity; with them invoking the revolution under all its

attributes, but that of a republic; raising the prostrate genius of jacobinism; embodying it anew in some of its most redoubtable shapes; and opposing it, as his shield, to the *royalism* of France, and the hostilities threatened from abroad.

In the decree, dated at Lyons, the 13th March, the French people were promised "an extraordinary assembly of the Field of May in the month of May ensuing, in order that measures might be then taken to correct and modify the imperial constitutions, according to the interest and will of the nation." The coronation of the empress and her son was, as we have seen, to form a leading feature of the transaction; but this was, for good reasons, indefinitely adjourned. Let us see what course the modification of the constitutions and the assembly itself took. Upon count Carnot, as minister of the interior, and a republican yet in some repute, devolved the arrangement of this important trick of state. He issued, forthwith, a body of instructions to the prefects, concerning the Field of May, from which instructions we have already made an extract in relation to the presence of the empress and her son. Touching the correction and modification of the imperial constitutions, he styles the decree "an homage rendered to the great and eternal principles of civilization," and exclaims—"What a grand and fine spectacle! that of a hero, the idol of the army, declaring from the height of the *shield*, where he had been placed by the suffrages of the people, *and the soldiery*, that he holds all his power from them, and that he is going, in concert with the deputies of the nation, to found an alliance between monarchical power, and the independence of an enlightened people!!"

According to the decree, and these instructions, the "constitutional organization of the country" was to be simultaneous with the assembly, or to be its chief purpose. But this organization was, in the beginning of April, transferred to a committee of old republicans,* who completed, in concert with the emperor, on the 20th, "*an act additional to the constitutions of the empire*," which was announced in form from the imperial palace on the 22d. On the same day an imperial decree appeared, fixing the 26th May for "the extraordinary assembly." It enacted, moreover, that the new supplement to the imperial constitutions should be submitted to the suffrages of the people at large, and *to the acceptance of the armies;* that the result of the polls should be proclaimed, and the additional act promulgated at the Field of May. This promulgation was to take place, *absolutely*, and not to be affected by the state of the polls;—a pleasant mode of legislating, "according to the will of the nation!!"

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*Carnot, Rœderer, Regnault, Benjamin-Constant de Rebecque, &c. This last—*Benjamin Constant*—is designated in the Edinburgh Review, as the ablest, and, if we do not mistake, one of the most consistent politicians of Europe. The point of his consistency is not quite so clear as that of his ability. The most eloquent, vehement philippic, written against Bonaparte, at the period of his approach to Paris, was from the pen of Benjamin Constant, and published in the Parisian *Journal des Debats on the* 19*th March.* 1815. In the month of *April following*, he accepted from Napoleon the place of counsellor of state, and consented to play a principal part in the mockery of draughting the "additional act to the constitutions."

Eight days afterwards, his majesty, "*considering that circumstances forced him to abridge the fomrs which he had proposed to follow in the completion of the additional act*," put forth another decree, by which he convoked the electoral colleges, as of old, that they might name representatives, and then repair together to Paris—to *proclaim* the adoption of the act additional, &c. Thus, "the homage to civilization"—"the grand and beautiful spectacle" of Carnot, resolved itself into the arbitrary imposition of a supplement to the old imperial constitutions;—the Field of May, so far from being a field of scrutiny, revision, and discussion, as promised, dwindled into one of promulgation; and the "extraordinary assembly" into a convocation of heralds for an edict, framed without their concurrence.

Had the fate of "the additional act" been made to depend upon the result of the polls, still the proceeding must have been illusory. No precaution was enjoined, by means of which it could be determined what signatures were real; or that the same individual had not signed in a hundred different places. France was in the crisis of a revolution, agitated by civil war in the south and west; under duress in all parts, from the excited spirit of the army, whose ready adhesion to the act could not be doubted. What scope, then, was there for a clear judgment or a free manifestation of opinion on the occasion? The whole number of affirmative votes which the government ventured to adduce as the sum of the registers, upon which the people and the army were called upon to inscribe a simple—yes, or no,—did not exceed *one million, two hundred and sixty thousand.* If from this amount we deduct the suffrages which came of course—those of the military—of the vast multitude of men in office—of the federates,—those which we may presume to have been extorted by fear, or otherwise illegally obtained, the proportion of voters out of a population of thirty millions is reduced almost to utter insignificance. The number stated by the government, —not more than the one sixth of what the country could furnish upon the principle adopted of universal suffrage,—would have been hardly sufficient to bear out the "additional act" had not its admission been *providently* made independent of the polls. Only 20,000 votes were counted for Paris, which should have given 150,000. The public labourers, journeymen of the manufactures, shoe-blacks, &c. marched in grand procession, with an array of banners—*to sign the constitution!* With the higher character of knowledge and general respectability which *our* labouring classes possess, and from the uniform spirit and simplicity of our institutions, this proceeding would be natural and edifying in the United States; but in France it could only be disgusting and preposterous, since a very small proportion alone of this description of her population could even read, much less comprehend, the metaphysical constitution of sixty-seven articles submitted to their approbation.

The electoral colleges convoked by the decree of the 30th April were to choose national representatives by virtue of the "additional act," even before the registers for the votes upon it could be closed. *Twenty-nine* of the departments sent no deputiess at all. In many of the departments where the number of the electors

ought regularly to have been two and three hundred, it did not exceed thirty and twenty.

The Field of May could not, under all circumstances, be got up until the 1st of June. It was then held, notwithstanding the paucity of votes, the enormous deficiency of deputies, and the "unaccountable absence of the dearly beloved spouse and her son." The armies were, however, abundantly represented. Fifteen deputies, consisting of five officers, and ten subalterns and soldiers, appeared from each regiment; fifteen thousand grenadiers of the old guard, and from thirty to forty thousand men altogether glittered in arms. It may be doubted whether liberty or a constitutional monarchy ever before sprung from amid such an array, or was introduced under such forms as those announced in the *programme*, or *prospectus*, of the grand-master of the ceremonies, Count de Ségur. No court of the East could at any time have furnished one of greater magnificence in sound, or more solemn minuteness of regulation.

Never was there, to speak seriously, a more ridiculous and sacrilegious parody of a venerable institution of antiquity. Bonaparte, with a numerous and splendid military retinue,—the old imperial procession—repaired to the *military* school, and took his station upon a platform raised before that great edifice. The ex-kings Joseph and Jerome, and the *Prince of Canino*—Lucien—who had been for some time in Paris, inhabiting the palaces of the Luxembourg and the Palais-royal, appeared at his side; Jerome and Joseph on his right, and Lucien on his left, —all three clad in a mantle of *white velvet*. Napoleon himself was attired in like manner, in velvet of the finest red. The ministers and marshals of whom Massena, Ney, Lefebre, Kellerman, Moncey and Serrurier, were the most conspicuous, filled the neighbouring galleries; while the pages, chamberlains, officers in waiting, aides-de-camp, &c. were grouped on the steps of the throne, opposite to which, in the middle of the Field of Mars, stood an altar, with an array of prelates. The benches left vacant from the dearth of deputies were occupied by the amateurs of raree-shows, a part of the nation never difficult to be found in Paris.

The melo-drama commenced with the celebration of high-mass by the Archbishop of *Tours*, assisted by Cardinal *de Bayanne*, and four bishops, all of whom had taken the oaths of fidelity to Louis XVIII. not a twelve-month before. At the conclusion of the religious rites so shockingly profaned both in respect of the character of the functionaries, and that of the juggle they were employed to auspicate, the "Orator of the Field of May" followed by five members of each electoral college, advanced to the foot of the throne, and declaimed an address "voted to the emperor by the national assembly of the Field of May."—We need not be surprised, if, notwithstanding the facts above-mentioned as to the state of the votes and deputation, the orator declares, "that they were assembled *from all points of the empire* around the tables of the law, to inscribe thereon the will of the nation, of whose voice they were the immediate organs." In addition, the emperor is treated with a recapitulation of the many trite heads of abuse against "the league of the allied kings" and the *intentions* of the Bourbons;

—with the usual enumeration of his incomparable excellencies and plans; with the assurance of the eternal, unanimous, unbounded support of a nation at once faithful, generous, energetic; inflexible in its principles, and invariable in its purposes. No discourse delivered at Roberspierre's festival of the Supreme Being or at the installation of the Goddess of reason, can be said to surpass the address of "the orator of the field of May," as a specimen of the rhapsodical, amphibological style. On one point it is particularly emphatic and positive;—that victory would attend the imperial eagles in the impending struggle; or that the whole nation would perish with her hero (*héros fondateur*) if fall he must.

The reply of his majesty, no doubt prepared by the same hand, harmonizes in all respects. It opens thus—"Gentlemen, electors of the colleges; *gentlemen, deputies of the army of land and sea, to the field of May.* Emperor, consul, soldier, I owe all to the people. France has never ceased to be the constant and *only* object of my thoughts and actions." The reply proceeds with the assertions—that he had sacrificed himself for his people like the king of Athens (Codrus),—that his throne was only dear to him because it was the *palladium* of the rights of the people,—that he had a right to count upon a long peace; but being disappointed, his first solicitude was to organize the nation properly,—that *the people had accepted his* act additional, and that *when the unjust aggressions of the foreigners were repelled*,—a solemn law made in the forms prescribed by the act would reconcile and amalgamate the scattered constitutions of the empire, &c. This last undertaking was, in fact, an adjournment *sine die* of the very "correction and modification of the constitutions," for which the Field of May was, *ostensibly*, meant. While "the additional act" confirming by its very title, the previous constitutions, remained at utter variance with them—nothing was done.

When his majesty finished, the archbishop of Bourges, acting as grand almoner—drew near to the throne, and, kneeling, presented the gospels to his majesty—who swore upon them "to maintain and cause to be maintained the constitutions of the empire." The prince arch chancellor (Cambeceres) then came forward, and first of the subjects, took the oath *of obedience to the constitutions and fidelity to the emperor.* The assembly repeated, says the official narrative, with a unanimous voice—*we swear it* The ceremonies terminated with the arch chancellor's proclaiming, amid a flourish of drums and trumpets and the roar of artillery—*that the constitution was accepted.* Marshal Soult, as major-general of the armies, published immediately afterwards a glowing appeal to their love of Napoleon, in the shape of *an order of the day.* "*The most august ceremony* has just consecrated our institutions. The emperor has received the expression of the wishes of the *entire nation* with regard to the *additional act*, and a new oath unites France and the emperor," &c.

We doubt whether Bonaparte seriously expected to dupe the foreign powers, or even France, by a pageant of so burlesque a tissue and so lame a conclusion. It might serve, however, to divert

the attention of his public from the general course of things; to satisfy the national appetite for splendid mummeries; and to entangle more deeply in his cause a greater number of the leading men of the interior thus brought forward to act, in the face of the world, as his immediate accomplices.

This transaction is seen more clearly in its true light, when attention is paid to the measures of violence which were pursued as well after as before the promulgation of the new constitutional act. No dictatorship could be more absolute than the personal rule of Bonaparte up to the end of his career at Waterloo. It was exerted in a thousand decrees of the most arbitrary purport,—looking to the prostration of all mal-contents, and the production of military force,—without reference to any constitutional forms whatever. By one decree seventeen individuals were proscribed and their property sequestered. The property of the royal family was confiscated, as well as that of the returned emigrants who were likewise again expelled the soil. The royal volunteers who had enlisted for the defence of the king, were put at the disposition of the minister of war, to be enrolled under the banners of the emperor. The patriotic offerings of money, &c. made to the Bourbons, were extorted for his use. The whole national guard was called forth, and two hundred and four battalions put in requisition for the frontier departments.

For the better execution of measures of this kind, eight lieutenant-generals of police were created, and dispersed throughout as many districts into which the empire was cast for them; all under the direction of the minister of police at Paris.* Twenty-three extraordinary commissaries were sent—at the same time that the "act additional" was published—into the twenty-three military sections, with powers equal to those which the commissaries of the Convention had possessed.† We may conjecture how they were exercised from the declaration made in his place by one of the new peers of Bonaparte, that, in his department—among the smallest of the empire,—eighty individuals had been carried off from their houses without any form or process of law. The extraordinary commissaries dismissed obnoxious persons from the public offices, exiled or imprisoned them at discretion, made forced levies of men and money under various new denominations, suppressed at random writings or intelligence deemed unfavourable to their views, and brought home the military despotism to every door;‡ while the lieutenants of police established a reign of concentrated terror under the name of a police of observation. All this was done by virtue of *decrees* of the emperor; and much more of the same kind in detail, by circulars, arrêtés and

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* "The lieutenants of police," says Fouché in his letter of instructions to them, "are created in order to communicate with more certainty, the movement of the centre to the circumference; to collect into secondary reservoirs or *foci*, the facts observed upon all points of the circumference, and to transfer the results to a common or single centre."

† Most of the imperial commissaries had been, in fact, commissaries of the convention sent on a similar errand.

‡ The tone and tenor of the *arrêtés* issued by these bashaws imply an unqualified dictatorship: See, for instance, those of *Boissy D'Anglas*, extraordinary commissary at Bordeaux.

proclamations issued daily, in the teeth of the fundamental provisions of the additional act.

Whatever secret services *Fouché* the minister of police may have rendered the Bourbons during this period, so as to entitle him to the favour which he seemed to enjoy for some time after their return, it is certain that he was, ostensibly, indefatigable in the promotion of Bonaparte's views. His numerous circulars and reports constitute a complete digest of the calumnies and invectives heaped upon the royal government; of the fictitious merits and resources ascribed to the imperial; and of the revolutionary principles and recollections which Bonaparte wished to bring into action. *Fouché* bends all the weight which his station, by its supposed opportunities of knowledge, could give, against the royal cause, with a peculiar virulence of spirit and expression. He urges without reserve and with a colouring peculiar to his own livid fancy, every consideration of hope and fear, in support of the imperial government, that could be drawn from the magazine of falsehoods prepared for the crisis. He often refers to the eras of 92 and 93 and to the spirit which animated them, rather more fondly perhaps, than his master would have wished; the one going back to them with the inextinguishable affection of a worthy proconsul of the Convention; the other only suffering the allusion for a temporary purpose, while he dreaded its distant effects. The circular of *Fouché* to the *lieutenants of police* presents a code of political inquisition which we regret we cannot, on account of its length, transcribe entire. The directions relative to religion are too curious to be omitted. "Religion (*la chose réligieuse*) should also engage your attention. Religion seems to lose ground every day; but the sectarian spirit gains by its losses. I wish to know what are the dispositions of the regular clergy; whether they are united or divided; whether they possess influence; to what extent, and upon whom and how it is exerted. It is not less important for me to know the new sects; the names and personal character of the sectaries, their political views, if they have any, *their attachment or antipathy to such or such form of government, and to the person of the emperor.* Examine all these things with care and report them to me with exactness."

The most active and unsparing military preparations were begun from the moment of the arrival of Bonaparte at Paris, and continued without intermission. On the day following, he reviewed the troops assembled there, harangued them, and exacted an oath by acclamation "that those who might wish to invade France should never be able to bear the aspect of the imperial eagles"! The reader will have perceived that, in all the civic measures, in all the state-allocutions, the soldiery receive the first obeisance, and are even before the populace, as objects both of imperial and ministerial courtship. The first proclamations from Gulf St. Juan call the nation *to arms;* the first harangue to the troops at Paris promise them that they shall *march*, and hundreds of decrees and circulars for throwing the whole population into military array, soon evinced that the armies were not to be disappointed of their natural hope and reward.

Besides the military measures of which we have already spoken, the national guard was attempted to be revived to the number of

three thousand one hundred and forty battalions of seven hundred and twenty men each. All the male population from twenty to sixty was included, nominally, in this sweeping requisition. Yet the term—*conscription*, was now carefully avoided;—an unanswerable proof of the odium of that monstrous system. The national guard once organized, being always liable to active service, was, in fact, an extension of the conscription, and would have proved, *ceteris paribus*, a scourge equally severe. The terms of the imperial decree on the subject, arrogated, as usual, an unbounded power over the whole male population. The re-enactment of the penal part of the conscription-code, by a long decree containing additional, and more minute provisions of rigor, riveted the national bondage in respect to military service. It was made a part of the constitution of the *federations* that the members, universally, should enrol themselves, and this, no doubt, was a motive for the encouragement of such associations, co-ordinate at least with that of "keeping the public mind up to the level of circumstances." A multitude of anomalous corps bearing new titles were created—including, by an imperial decree, *a regiment of men of colour;** companies of gunners and even pecuniary supplies were recruited in the Lyceums—(public schools); ominous hints and epithets were unceasingly thrown out for the individuals of whatever description who might show backwardness in enlisting under the *national* banners. The *Pequins*, as the civil orders were contemptuously styled by the soldiery; the lubbers of the fire-side, and those unconvinced of the legitimacy of the emperor, or scrupulous on the score of oaths of allegiance, had reason to start and cower when they heard the cry *to arms!* rushing from the Gulf St. Juan. *Desidesque movebit Tullus in arma viros.*

On the 28th March, the emperor, by a decree, recalled to the national colours all the disbanded military, all those who had quitted the service, *whatever the cause might be;* all who had been engaged, or liable to be engaged in the career of arms. This was the measure upon which, as destined to bring the regular force to its *maximum*, especial stress was laid. We find circulars from the ministers of all the departments of government, intended, exclusively, to promote its full execution. The minister of war summons, by proclamation, every Frenchman already familiar with the trade of arms, to join the national colours. The prince, arch-chancellor of the empire, in a circular on the subject to the presidents and attorneys general of the imperial courts of justice, tells them, that they must signalize their devotion to the public weal, by using all the influence of their stations to give effect to the decree of the 28th March, and that the efforts of their zeal will be appreciated by his imperial majesty, in proportion to the extent of their influence. The circular of the minister of police, of the 13th April,

* The decree for the creation of certain free corps (*corps francs*) provides that all they may take from the enemy, all kinds of treasure and baggage should be theirs; that the cannon, military stores and effects, would be bought by the government at three fourths of their value, and that a considerable sum would be paid by it for each prisoner, according to his grade, made by these corps, &c.

to the prefects, on the same subject, rings all the changes on the corrupt designs and pernicious destinies of the Bourbons; descants on the glories of the armies; on the important services they had rendered to the *cause of liberty* in the discomfiture of the pretensions of the *old privileged classes;* and in preparing the triumph of the *hero of France;* it declares that the nobility of birth is for ever abolished;* that the nation is at peace; but that three hundred thousand tried warriors and two millions of citizens were ready to march at the call of their country; the prefects are, finally, reminded that they are to assure the success of the measure in question, and to keep the minister of police acquainted with every thing that concerns its execution.

Even the minister of finance is made to break a lance in favour of the decree of March 28. He invites the receivers general of the taxes, with all tax gatherers of every description, to act as zealous auxiliaries in promoting its success, and takes advantage of the occasion to give them a dissertation about the *feudal* propensities of the Bourbons, *which Providence had so miraculously interposed to disappoint, by the re-establishment of the imperial throne.*

The hope was scarcely indulged that this universal bustle of military organization would be productive of real means in a degree any way commensurate: but it might have the effect of dazzling and damping the allies. Moreover, to render it fruitful at home, the idea was to be encouraged that it was chiefly intended, and seriously expected, to avert foreign hostilities. Accordingly, the first article of the decree itself, of the 28th March, is of this tenor: "The em- "peror calls upon all officers and "soldiers who have quitted the "army, on any account whatever, "(pour quelque raison que ce "soit), to rejoin their colours, and "he makes them a special pro- "mise, that as soon as the *present* "*peace shall be consolidated*, those "who may have come forth in "consequence of the present de- "cree, shall be the first who will "obtain furloughs to return to "their homes." The decoy is set for the nation by the conscientious ministers, in the following passages of their circulars. "The em- "peror," says the minister of war, "wishes the utmost possible "developement of the military "resources of the country, in or- "der that the will of the nation "may be respected, that the mo- "deration of the French govern- "ment may have its due weight, "and that the new disturbers of "Europe being deprived of all "pretext, may leave us in peace. "The unanimity of feelings and "efforts is evident, and success "certain." Circular of the arch-chancellor Cambaceres. "The "first thought manifested by the "emperor, was the desire of "peace. But this peace can be "secured, only so far as France "shows to her enemies that she is "ready to repel every attack. *It is* "*with this view alone that the em-* "*peror issued his decree of the* "28*th March.*" Circular of *Fouché.* "The projects conceived in a mo- "ment of alarm and incertitude, "by the allies, will be laid aside "when Europe shall know that "France, consummating within "her acknowledged limits, the "great work of her revolution, is

* Yet, the peerage was made *hereditary* by the *additional act.*

"unanimous in her resolution to "resist aggression." Circular of the minister of finance. "Every "thing induces the belief, that the "decrees of the imperial throne "will be respected by the powers "of Europe, and that France will "not have to fight for her inde- "pendence, after the emperor has "announced his invariable inten- "tion not to intermeddle in the "affairs of other nations. Never- "theless, prudence dictates to "us to assure peace by sufficient "means for war. It is with this "view that the imperial decree of "the 28th of March was issued."

The confidence of these gentlemen in the credulity of the people, and the hardihood with which they belie their own convictions, are abundantly evident from the general state of things, and the particular proceedings of the foreign powers which we enumerated in our 52d and 53d page. But the case is made more flagrant by the fact, that their circulars are of a date posterior to that of the celebrated report of the minister of foreign relations, of the 12th April, in which this minister, *Caulincourt*, states, "the peremptory refusal of "the allies to tolerate any diplo- "matic intercourse with the go- "vernment of Napoleon, the vio- "lent measures they had taken to "prevent such intercourse, the "immensity of their armaments, "their having given the signal of "war, and selected France as the "object." The report of Caulincourt, his circular to the foreign ambassadors of Louis, and the autographical letter of Napoleon to the foreign sovereigns, to which the report refers, are all monotonous commentaries upon the thread-bare texts of the dangers of *feudalism*, the virtues of the emperor, and the unanimity of his subjects.

In the beginning of the report, we have this modest phrase:— "The French nation has a right "to expect *truth* from its govern- "ment, and her government never "could have had at any time so "strong a desire, as well as inte- "rest, to give her *the whole truth*, "as now." We cannot refrain from quoting some additional instances to show how fully the nation was gratified in her reasonable expectation! Indeed, all that we have to relate bears upon this point.

If there be any fact as to the internal condition of France under Bonaparte, completely beyond contradiction, it is the absolute subserviency of the public journals to the government. After his return, the Parisian *Journal de l'Empire* was selected as the primary official channel; and the *Moniteur* placed in the second degree. In neither of them, of course, could any thing of a political cast be published, which did not belong directly, or was not previously understood to be acceptable, to the government. All the provincial gazettes of the empire were under a subordinate police as rigorous as that of the capital. Now, we find them all, in the months of April and May, alternately repeating such *striking truths* as these: that the empress Maria Louisa, and her son, had arrived in Paris with a twenty year's truce; that the people of Belgium and Germany had risen *en masse* and shaken off the yoke of their sovereigns; that the soldiery of the allied armies had abandoned their colours; that Turkey had declared war against Russia; that Poland was in a state of universal insurrection; that an open

rupture had taken place between the emperors of Austria and Russia; that the emperor of Russia had been recalled by his senate; that the king of Spain had been driven from Madrid, and that all Italy was under arms in the cause of *Murat* and Napoleon.

We shall present the reader, for his edification, with a small bouquet of *honest* paragraphs, concerning the state of things abroad, culled at random from the Moniteur:

Moniteur, 10th April.—A person honoured with the intimate confidence of the emperor Alexander, has written to one of his friends in Paris, that this monarch has just expressly declared, that he will not meddle, in any way, in the internal affairs of France.

Id. 16th April.—It was stated confidently at the review to-day, that the emperor had received satisfactory news from England. We may then hope that the repose of the world will not be disturbed. It is the intention of England to act the part of *mediatrix in case any differences should arise between France and some powers of the continent*.

Id. 29th April.—Many letters from St. Petersburg announce, that the Russian senate has, in the most pressing manner, invited the emperor Alexander to return to his states, and not to engage Russia in a new war.

Id. 3d May.—Authentic news received yesterday from Basle, announce, that the allies have sent a declaration to the diet acknowledging the *neutrality* of Switzerland.

Id. 5th May.—We are assured that couriers arrived here yesterday from Austria....After three sittings of the royal council, the king of Spain and his ministers have declared that Spain shall remain neutral. The communications between Spain and France are re-established, except by the routes of Arragon and Catalonia, where the orders from Madrid are not yet arrived.

Id. 8th May.—A stranger, just arrived from London, states, that the cabinet of St. James was awaiting a courier from Vienna, before it came to any determination as to war. Same date—news of the retreat of the Prussians, and of the flight of Ferdinand from Madrid.

Id. 9th May.—The Russian guard have been ordered to fall back. The greatest hopes are entertained in England and Switzerland that the sword will not be drawn.

Id. 23d May.—The only object of the king of Spain in arming, seems to be that of causing his neutrality to be respected.

Much importance was attached by Bonaparte, and attempted to be given in the eyes of the French people, to the movements of Murat in Italy. This king of Bonaparte's creation had, after the battle of Leipsic, made his peace separately with Austria and England, and consented to turn his arms against his benefactor, on condition of being confirmed by those powers in his royal dignity. He agreed to furnish thirty thousand men to the coalition, but withheld any real aid, under various pretences, and at length secretly renewed his league with Bonaparte, to whom he conveyed means for the success of the conspiracy against the Bourbons. By the original plan of co-operation between the royal 'brothers,' Murat, after putting all Italy in a state of insurrection, was to penetrate by the Julian Alps into the Tyrol,

Carinthia, and the south of Germany, and thus operate a powerful diversion in favour of the other.

In the month of February, 1815, he demanded from Austria a passage through her territories for an army of 80,000, to be led into France against Louis XVIII. under the pretext that this monarch had refused to recognize him at the congress of Vienna. His machinations were, however, detected by Austria, and the curious correspondence between him and the emperor of Elba was already in the hands of the British.* On hearing of the junction of Ney with Bonaparte, in France, he threw off the mask, set out from Naples at the head of his 80,000 men, drove the pope from his capital, obtained some successes over the Austrian out-posts, and on the 31st March, published a lofty proclamation calling on all the Italians to rise, and assert their independence under his *victorious* banners. This attempt met with a poor reception in a country characterized by the strongest mutual antipathies, where all detest the Neapolitans, and where singers, dancers, jugglers, harlequins, *abbes*, and *improvisatori*, are found in much greater plenty than desperate patriots or martial enthusiasts. After occupying Bologna and Florence he was miserably beaten by the Austrians, in the first days of *May*, compelled to retrace his steps, and saw his army almost annihilated in the course of his retreat. He himself escaped with difficulty to Naples, was soon driven thence by the populace, embarked opposite the island of Isida* in a small vessel for the coast of France, landed at *Cannes* in the *Gulf St. Juan*, and there lurked until the fall of Bonaparte, who refused to receive him in Paris.

Meanwhile, as great expectations had been industriously raised in France, concerning the potency of his alliance, the public was to be supplied with intelligence of his movements. At first we have it in the *Moniteur* of the 6th May—that "a convention was spoken of between the king of Naples and *Austria*, by which this prince engaged to respect the kingdom of Lombardy, and the emperor of Austria, on his side, guaranteed to the king of Naples his crown and states, and *engaged to withdraw from the coalition against France.*" Then we are told, by the *Journal de l'Empire* of the 7th May, that the king of Naples had an "incredible party" in Italy—*on the 12th*, "that he had beaten the Austrians in three battles;" *on the 20th* "that he had completely beaten the Austrian army on the 4th May, commanded by general *Niepperg* who was grievously wounded, with the loss of 10,000 men, and 40 pieces of cannon;" on the 21st—"that the Austrian loss was 15,000, and

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* See *Hansard's* parliamentary debates for 1815, and the 5th volume of *Schoell's* "Official papers," for documents furnishing a complete history of this *preux chevalier*, from the period of his pretended alliance with Austria and England, up to that of his flight from Naples.

* On the very day preceding his flight, the 17th May, he addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Naples, stating that the enemy *was yet at a great distance*, the Neapolitan army strong enough to repel invasion, and that he would finish in the bosom of peace, the plans which he had formed for their welfare!! On the 16th the Neapolitan army had ceased to exist, and the Austrian was in the neighbourhood of the capital!

the wound of *Niepperg* mortal:" on the 25th May, "that the ardour of the Neapolitan troops was, according to official bulletins from Naples, *extreme, and the health of the king excellent*, and finally, all the Parisian Journals of the 27th May, speak thus:

"An aid-de-camp of king Joachim arrived yesterday 26th May, at Paris, charged with dispatches from his sovereign. The situation of the Neapolitan armies and the military operations are very advantageous, notwithstanding the contrary intelligence published at Florence."

On the 25th of May, however, the robust king had landed near Cannes, as a miserable fugitive, and the only intimation ever given of his arrival, is this, from the *Gazette de France*, of the 31st May. "A journal announces to-day the landing of the king and queen of Naples, with their children, at *Toulon*. This news wants confirmation!" Care was taken that the whole catastrophe should not transpire in Paris, before the field of May was held, and especially that the ex-king should not cloud this august ceremony by his ill-omened presence, although he certainly had, after all his *victories*, as fair a title to a seat near the imperial throne as Joseph or Jerome.

On the 2d and the 15th June, appeared in the *Journal de l'Empire* the *manifesto* of Louis XVIII. of the 24th April, his declarations of 17th *April*, and 2d of *May*, issued at Ghent, and the manifesto of the king of Spain of 2d of May. The publication of these papers would, at first, seem to support the allegation of Caulincourt, as to the desire of his imperial majesty of giving *the whole truth* to his faithful people. But, whoever will take the trouble of comparing them as printed in the Parisian journals with the original text in the royal newspaper of Ghent, must come to another conclusion. It would be difficult to find an instance of more shameful falsification than this comparison shows. The interpolations and suppressions to be detected would fill nearly as large a space as the papers themselves. They reach exactly those passages which were most likely to make an impression upon the people, and most unmanageable in the attempt at refutation. We are sorry that our limits exclude the quotation of what would serve to prove these assertions.

The domestic unanimity and enthusiasm blazoned in the circulars and reports which we have had occasion to notice, are strangely evidenced by the condition of the interior in the month of May. Let the ministers themselves explain this condition. "Emigrations begin," says the minister of Police in his report to the emperor of the 7th of May, "correspondences are opened with the enemy abroad; the subjects of them are circulated within; clubs are forming in the cities, &c."* And in his circular to the prefects of the 28th May—"Insurrection has just burst forth on many points of the western departments; the civil war so celebrated and so fatal may be kindled there again." —The minister of war to the commandant of the department of the Loire—"General, the partizans of

* On the 14th May, an address was presented to his imperial majesty by the electoral college of the Seine. The following assertion makes part of his majesty's reply of the same date—"The nation has never at any period of her history shown more *unanimity* and energy."

civil war have raised the standard of rebellion upon some points of *La Vendee;* French blood has already begun to flow; mighty measures have been taken to crush this rebellion in the bud. An army of 25,000 men, a numerous train of artillery, are marching upon the Loire. It is time, general, that strong measures be adopted; such as may make bad Frenchmen tremble, and encourage the good."

These strong measures, the minister of police in his report just quoted, pressingly recommends. He regrets that they were not resorted to against the royalists at the opening of the revolution, "as we should not then have to deplore the measures of violence which the governments of that period (meaning the convention and directory) were *constrained* to take, and which even the weight of circumstances can *scarcely* justify."* Measures recommended thus by any minister of the imperial government, are always to be understood as having been previously resolved upon by the sovereign. Accordingly, we find a decree of the 9th of May, signed *Napoleon*, which re-enacts the severest penalties of the criminal code against absentees, the enemies of the tri-coloured flag, the districts which allow it to be removed, &c.—In pursuance of the usual tactics, the prince archchancellor immediately addressed a circular to the attorneys-general of the imperial courts, exhorting them to practice the utmost severity in order "to confound seditious machinations." They are told that the offences in question are those in favour of which it is sometimes attempted to awaken *an imprudent pity*, but that they must not yield to this impulse; and moreover, that as each particular act of the enemies of the state, taken separately, may offer in appearance nothing reprehensible, they are to look to the *ensemble* of facts, and circumstances, to regulate their judgments"—a terrible discretion! The minister of police, the indefatigable *Fouché*, appears again in aid of the merciful decree, in a long argumentative circular to the prefects. Here, also, he strews flowers over the hallowed tomb of the Convention, harps to satiety on the old key of *feudalism*, and gives no quarter either to the sentiments or the persons of the unlucky royalists. He instructs the prefects to make out and deliver to the criminal courts "lists of all absentees who may be supposed to be abroad, or in armed assemblages."

Although his imperial majesty of the Thuileries had not hesitated, in 1802, to stigmatize the emperor of Austria as a tyrant who uselessly exposed his subjects, for

* It is hardly to be borne that *Fouché* should now, in his exile, assume to himself the merit of *moderation* in his public career. If we had forgotten his sanguinary measures and dispatches as a commissary of the convention, we could scarcely fail to remember his ferocious reports as minister of police, during the consulate of Bonaparte. The member of the provisional government formed after the 2d abdication of Bonaparte, who recommends the most violent and arbitrary measures—is *Fouché*; and if all the reports of this man were collected in a volume, they would be found to present an unrivalled pandect of state hypocrisy and tyranny. The *Prince* of Machiavel would fade in the comparison. Let his official reports, and a list of the governments of which he has made part, be bound up with the Memoirs he is to publish, and there will then be little danger of a misconception of his real character, whatever ingenuity or hardihood may be employed to disguise it.

attempting to fortify Vienna, he undertook to do the same with Paris, much less susceptible of defence than the German capital. The property of individuals was laid waste and a number of houses destroyed, in throwing up entrenchments which could only serve to insure the destruction of the city, if they inspired the idea of withstanding an attack from armies capable of turning the great fortresses of the North. A blockade at the distance of four leagues from the walls, must have been sufficient to reduce Paris by the effect of famine. The citizens were compelled to labour sturdily on these entrenchments, and had, for their best consolation, the opportunity of contemplating from time to time on their return, the sacred person of his majesty at the windows of the Thuileries. He deigned to appear at them twice a-day. and the newspapers did not fail to relate how the skies were rent with the voice of the popular enthusiasm. It was not told, however, what sums were daily paid to a select band of Stentors, to animate the admiring multitude, and that most of the shoe-blacks had deserted their profession for that of criers (*criеurs*) in the garden of the palace. While the inhabitants of the metropolis were thus employed in raising fortifications, at the very name of which they stood aghast, those of the provincial cities and towns were instructed to pursue the same course, by the minister of war in his circular to the civil magistrates. He advises that every hamlet, house, mill, enclosure, bridge,—every ditch be converted into a military post for the annoyance and destruction of the allies, should they effect a passage into the country. The whole surface of France was to wear the aspect of an entrenched camp.

We have, on the 8th June, as the last great solemnity of the imperial government before the departure of the Hero for the frontiers, a sitting of the two chambers of peers and representatives created under the "act additional to the Constitutions." The chamber of representatives wanted much of its complement, owing to the times, but there was a deficiency of only three or four consisting of ultra-moralists, in the chamber of peers. This body exhibited a curious spectacle as to its composition. It had many members of the old senate, also peers of Louis XVIII., and some new peers selected on account of valuable services rendered at the restoration. But the most remarkable of both chambers were the veteran republicans whom Bonaparte could not attach to his interests on his arrival from Egypt, and who had capitulated at last to the common champion of all the enemies of legitimacy;—or, as they allege, to the hope of re-establishing liberty and equality even under the beak of the imperial eagle. They now re-appeared upon the political stage about the throne of Bonaparte, as the personages of a dramatic piece reassemble at the *dénouement;* for, we may venture to hope that, with the battle of Waterloo, ended the last act of the terrible tragedy of the French revolution. Not the least interesting of the *republican* apparitions was Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino and bard of Charlemagne, who took his seat as president of the chamber of peers, seduced, by what motives it is difficult to say, from his *dilettanti* studies, after thirteen years of firm resistance to the wiles and menaces of fraternal ambition. The better genius or the vulgar tastes of the

ex-king of Holland, Louis, kept him snug in his retreat in Switzerland, although his name stands in the list of the peers.

As his imperial majesty had made his preparations to set out, in a few days, for the frontiers, the adieux between him and the chambers were particularly ardent and impressive. The first paragraph of his discourse is not a little curious. "For three months past circumstances and the confidence of the people have invested me with unlimited power. To-day the most urgent desire of my heart is fulfilled. *I come to begin the constitutional monarchy.*" Then follow an encomium upon monarchy; a promise to unite and regulate the scattered constitutions of the empire; a recommendation of legislative measures to quash civil war and rebellious meetings; a suggestion, that the liberty of the press is, indeed, inherent in the constitution, but that *repressive* laws are necessary in the actual state of the nation, and that *the finances would be in a flourishing condition were it not that circumstances produced a surplus of expense.* The peroration is in this strain—"It is *possible* that the first duty of a prince will soon call me to put myself at the head of the children of the nation to fight for the country. The army and myself will do our duty. You, peers and representatives, be, like the senate of a great people of antiquity, *resolved to die* rather than survive the dishonour and degradation of France. The sacred cause of country will triumph!"

The addresses of the two chambers in reply to this discourse were not delivered until Sunday the 11th, three days after the sitting, —and there was no further time for delay—as the *possibility* of his departure was already realized, it being fixed for four o'clock the next morning. His majesty received the deputations of his faithful chambers, at the Thuileries, amid the richest splendors of his throne. We may be excused from transcribing the expressions of gratitude and admiration, of love of liberty, and indignation at the Allies which the orators pour forth, in the fullness of their zeal and the *sincerity* of their hearts. But there are a couple of phrases which when viewed in connexion with the events of the last week of the same month, illustrate strikingly the spirit of the whole, and should not, therefore, be lost to our readers. "The interests of France," exclaim the peers, "*are, sire, inseparable from yours. If fortune should defeat your efforts, reverses, sire, would not lessen our perseverance, and would redouble our attachment to you!*" "The nation," says the chamber of deputies, "is universally armed to defend her independence and reject any family and prince which others may dare to think of imposing upon her. To maintain her liberty and honour she is ready to make every sacrifice."

The deputation of the two chambers was followed by one from the department of the *Geronde*, consisting of general officers and a prefect, who dealt in mementos with which his majesty would, perhaps, have cheerfully dispensed. "Sire,—All Europe aided by the hordes of Upper Asia, precipitates itself on our frontiers. They wish to blot us out of the list of nations: But—you have sworn *to live free* with our country, or *die*. We have heard *this oath*. We will march with our *Leonidas;* we will triumph."

Besides his *faithful* chambers,

there was a congenial assembly of his friends—we mean *the Parisian federation*—to whom he could not deny a tender farewell. The parting address of this body of the 11th of May, is admirably in character. "Often, sire, have we, from the most noble impulses, and in the midst of our crowded meetings, *sworn to die* for our country and for the emperor. Allow us, sire, by our committee, to repeat to your majesty this *sacred oath* which even death in whatever shape shall never make us retract. We *swear* to combat the enemies external and internal of our country, of your majesty and your august dynasty. Yes! we swear it before God,—in the face of the whole earth: *we swear it!*"

On the 12th, at four o'clock in the morning, the *Leonidas* quitted his capital for the frontiers. What passed there will be found narrated at length in an excellent French account of his campaign, a translation of which we shall offer to the reader as a continuation of this sketch.

That the chambers might not want wholesome occupation, three most volumious ministerial reports were left behind to be read to them immediately after his departure. The first was an *exposé* of the state of the empire from the department of Carnot the minister of the interior. However fallible the *veracity* of this republican on most occasions, this official *exposé* would fully establish the truth of the assertion contained in his Justificatory Memoir—that he had served Bonaparte with *extreme* zeal. He begins, in the exposition, by inveighing, as usual, in the bitterest language, against the Bourbons, and asserting that the emperor meant to govern *paternally*. Next comes a still bolder catachresis—"that *the genius of the French nation was always hostile to the ambition of conquests*, and, therefore, a sufficient guarantee for Europe, on the score of tranquillity." In speaking of the ecclesiastical establishment, he states, "that the priests had become odious to all the military whom the sentiment of glory bound indissolubly to the emperor, yet that his majesty would forget their violation of the duties which religion prescribed towards the sovereign."

But the most remarkable portion of the *exposé* is the head of military affairs. We here, as, indeed, nearly throughout the whole, lose sight of the minister of the interior, and see alone the revolutionary minister of war, the personage whom Bonaparte sought, and wanted, still more than the Roscius of republicans, when he called him to his councils. Never was a more profound homage, more fulsome adulation paid to any despot, than the minister *of commerce and manufactures* lavishes upon that awful patron of both—the French Army. The army is a host of immaculate patriots whose claims must supersede all others, and in whose favour the emperor cherished intentions the most magnificent, while he had already made prodigious efforts to repair the unpardonable injuries which it had received from the Bourbons. After all, we discover their great crime on this head to have been the reduction of the army—a measure to which every government professes to resort in time of peace, and which, certainly, was never, on every account, more exigent than in France in 1814.

The statements of the *exposé* respecting the national force and spirit were not suffered to lag be-

hind those of the newspapers. The Army of the Line had been increased, since the 20th March, from 175,000 to 375,000 men, and would soon reach 500,000. Eight hundred and fifty thousand Frenchmen were ready to defend the liberties of the country, and assure the triumph of the national cause. An *élite* of 751,440 of the national guard might be rendered moveable. France, in fine, bristled with patriotic bayonets—and (as was true) had become a workshop of arms. Vulcan and the Cyclops were still busy forging weapons of etherial temper for the heroes who were to form a wall of brass about the country.

The second report submitted to the chambers was one from *Fouché* to the emperor—of interminable length. It relates chiefly to domestic enemies, proscribes Thoulouse and Bordeaux, pronounces a solemn panegyric on the Revolution "so much calumniated;" designates its antagonists as the cause of all its excesses; recommends the suspension of the constitutional right of personal security;—and the adoption of measures of rigour, suited to the crisis. Always demure and velvet-pawed, this veteran of the political boards mixes up his counsels of proscription with fervent appeals to humanity, and invocations to natural rights and the principles of free government, on which he expatiates as if they had been allotted to him for a metaphysical thesis.

The third report—from Caulincourt, the minister of foreign affairs, to the emperor, dated 7th June—furnished matter for reflection rather more interesting to all parties. The preparations for offensive war being completed, and the emperor having set out on that errand, it was to be shown that he was not the aggressor. As he had so often declared, while the military organization was in train only, that peace existed, and that he confidently expected it would continue, the task of reconciling the many weeks array on the frontiers, and his last movements, with all that we have seen of this tenor, would appear to have required an exclusive reference to some proceedings abroad of a very late date. Not so, however. M. de Caulincourt forgets all the lullabies sung to the nation, and states the matter of fact—that the treaty of the 25th March was a declaration of war. "From the first moment," adds the minister, "it was easy to see that the resolution of England as to war was invariably fixed. The answer of Lord Castlereagh to my letter of the 4th April left me no doubt on that head. On the eighth of April her intentions were manifested without reserve." In consequence of the events of April, he concludes that to believe in the possibility of peace, would be a dangerous infatuation.

One more quotation from this report of Caulincourt, and we have done, for the present, with these shameless oracles of fraud and falsehood. Our readers have seen the boasts and congratulations of the imperial government concerning the expedition of Murat in Italy. They must be apprized, too, of what is now established by irrefragable evidence, that it was undertaken at the urgent instigation of Bonaparte himself, and primarily, for his support. Yet the imperial minister of foreign affairs after Murat had consummated his own ruin, speaks thus, in the face of the world; "Your majesty had scarcely arrived at Paris, when the king of Naples engaged in a struggle with Austria, which he

was not in a condition to maintain. Your majesty could not but hear with chagrin, the intelligence of so imprudent a sally of which the issue was scarcely doubtful. Above all you lamented to see the liberty of the nations of Italy thus sacrificed."

After such an incredible bestirring, vapouring, strutting, over the whole surface of the country; after the mighty parade of oaths, of pledges, of menaces, of unconquerable resolution, what was the issue?—The *Leonidas* did not *die*, but fled; the *Codrus* metamorphosed himself into *Themistocles:* —his chamber of peers, whose courage and attachment to him *reverses were only to double*, united in compelling him to abdicate:—the incalculable hosts, the *millions* of Carnot and Fouché, all armed and impatient for the enemy, shrunk into an array incompetent to repel what remained of the British and Prussians after the battle of Waterloo.—On their approach, the *federations*—the invincible patriots of 1815,—who were to shed, with their emperor, the last drop of their blood, vanished, as it were, by art magic: Not an eighth part of the national guards proved to have been embodied; such as were called to march out of their departments deserted in crowds at every step: a very few battalions only made even a show of resistance to the Allies.—So perfect and inflexible was the *unanimity* for the cause of the Hero,—*the adamantine compact of the great nation*, that, in the south, north, and west, as soon as the event of the battle of Waterloo transpired, without any signal even from the authorities, the white flag was seen floating triumphantly from every spire: not an arm was raised—and out of Paris, scarcely a voice—in defence of him for whom all had *sworn* to perish.

Never,—to believe the emperor, his functionaries of every description, every newspaper of his empire, proclaiming it in one incessant chorus,—had there been embattled so tremendous an apparatus of war as that which the Allies would have to meet. But one army beaten—and the riddle was solved! All the other actors "were spirits" and "melted into air, thin air." The shameless necromancers of the scene should have wound up their juggle with the following declaration, which Bonaparte under his new visor of a penitent, had the unequalled effrontery to cause to be published, in allusion to his own career, soon after his arrival from Elba. "Genius has contended against the spirit of the age. The latter has come victorious out of the struggle. *Cunning* has sought to delude this spirit. It has traced the windings, and defeated the aims of cunning. There is no reliance but in national truth and good faith."

THE

LAST CAMPAIGN OF BONAPARTE;

FROM THE FRENCH OF AN EYE-WITNESS.

Fas mihi quod vidi referre.

THE debarkation of Bonaparte at Cannes, was a stroke of thunder to all honest and patriotic Frenchmen, and to those who sincerely wished the tranquillity and happiness of their country.

The whole army shamefully violated their oaths of allegiance to the best of kings, and treacherously turning their arms against him, soon forced him to abandon his capital. All true Frenchmen were then mortified by the sight of Bonaparte's triumphant arrival at Paris. The measures which he immediately adopted, were those which he had pursued during his iron reign over France.

Impatient to act upon the frightful theatre of the field of battle, to strew it with bodies and bathe himself in blood, Napoleon hastened the formation of armies with incredible activity. On all sides troops were raised, united, and dispatched for the frontiers; regiments were filled up from restored prisoners and new levies, and the national guard was re-organized. Artillery, equipments, and arms of every description, were issued as if by enchantment from the arsenals and manufactories, and in a few days, France was transformed into a vast camp. Whilst a numerous army filed off towards Belgium, others were forming in Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche Compté, and on the side of the Alps and the Pyrenees.

The army of the North which was the most considerable, in the early part of June occupied extensive cantonments in the departments of the North and of *Aisne*, where they remained in echellon order. The general head-quarters were at Laon. The first corps occupied Valenciennes, and the second Maubeuge. They communicated on the right with the army of Ardennes and that of the Moselle; their left rested upon Lille. Composed in a great measure of old soldiers lately restored to the ranks, the army of the North was full of courage and inflamed with enthusiasm for Bonaparte. Dispositions favourable to the support of the army, were manifested in all the departments which had been the theatre of war in 1814, except that of the North, where the contrary sentiments were distinctly avowed, and where the presence of the troops was suffered with an impatience but ill concealed. From this department no levies were drawn, and the national guard obstinately refused to march.

The army relied upon the effective co-operation of the inhabitants when hostilities should break out; and the inhabitants generally believing that the allies had entered

France in 1814, only in consequence of repeated treachery, relied upon the army with entire confidence. The commencement of the war was thus expected with feelings of perfect security, and the troops remaining in their cantonments eager for the fight, complained only of the tardiness with which the allies advanced.

Such was the state of affairs when they learned that the guards having left Paris at the termination of the *champ de Mai*, were approaching Laon by forced marches; and that Bonaparte a few days after, had followed in the same direction, and was hastening towards the frontiers. He arrived nearly at the same time with the guards at Vervins, where he put himself at the head of the army of the North which had quitted its quarters.

It was not generally supposed that his intention was to attack; it seemed more probable that the army was led to the extreme frontier to take up a line of defence. He displayed however, his usual activity on the march; was constantly engaged in reviews, and in visiting the fortifications of the towns through which he passed. He omitted no opportunity of exhibiting himself to the troops.

On arriving at Beaumont, the army of the North united with that of Ardennes, commanded by Vandamme, whose head-quarters were established at Fumay. The army of the Moselle under the orders of General Gérard, left Metz at the same time, and debouching by forced marches through Philippeville, took their station in the line. The army of the North then counted five corps of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Generals d'Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Gérard, and count Lobau. The cavalry, commanded in chief by Grouchy, was divided into four corps, under the orders of Generals Pajol, Excelmans, Milhaud, and Kellerman. The imperial guard, 20,000 strong, formed the nucleus of this fine army, which was followed by a considerable train of artillery perfectly well equipped, and a collection of moveable bridges. Each corps had a park of reserve in addition to the batteries regularly attached to it. The artillery of the guard was especially distinguished for its magnificence, being almost entirely composed of new pieces.

These troops, all choice and well-appointed, might amount to an effective force of 150,000 men, of whom 20,000 were cavalry, and carried with them 300 pieces of cannon.—But whilst they were yet in the heart of their own country, they were wanting in that strict discipline which constitutes the strength of armies, as well as the protection of the countries which they occupy. Regardless of their unhappy countrymen, who displayed the greatest zeal in contributing the means of subsistence, the French troops treated them with the utmost harshness; and considering pillage as one of their indisputable rights, made a boast of abandoning themselves to every species of excess. Every where houses were sacked, under the pretence of searching for provisions; the soldiers broke open doors, rifled drawers and chests, mal-treated the peasantry, and seized upon every thing that suited them. "They had taken the field," it was said, "and war could not be carried on without them;"—of course, "every thing was lawful:" they indulged therefore to the full their insatiable ap-

petite for plunder, refined as it was by ten years of wars which can only be compared in the ravages they occasioned to the incursions of barbarous hordes upon the territories of their neighbours.

Thus, running from house to house, and from cellar to cellar, and destroying what they could not carry away, the soldiers returned to camp laden with spoil, and the miserable peasantry, objects of the coarsest abuse, and accused of having concealed their money, were glad to escape even with the surrender of their whole property. The majority of the officers, it must be confessed, but feebly opposed this infamous rapine, and excused themselves by saying with an air of complacency, "Why are there no magazines? the soldiers must live."—Whilst the soldiers *lived*, the officers, as may readily be supposed, were abundantly supplied, and suffered no embarrassment but that of choice.—Do we recognise in this, the loyal, disinterested, generous and honourable character of French officers? Undoubtedly not; but times are changed, and it belonged to the officers of Bonaparte to give to our military biography a new and peculiar aspect.

Amongst these avaricious and unprincipled plunderers, there was still a number of men of honour and morality, who lamented these disorders, and served with regret in an army, criminal in its rebellion, and still further disgraced by so outrageous a conduct: but hurried along by circumstances, and wishing to hide from themselves the extent of their perjury, they averted their eyes from the causes of the war, to contemplate only the ostensible end—the protection of the French territory from invasion. By viewing the subject merely in this light, and persuading themselves that they were aiding in the defence of their country, they conceived it to be their first duty to remain steady at their posts. It was impossible, moreover, to restrain the excesses above mentioned. The soldiers were not to be withheld; such of their leaders as were animated with the best intentions, knew full well that this license had constantly prevailed in the armies commanded by Bonaparte, and that it had always been his most effectual means to conciliate their attachment and excite their courage.

The country which they traversed was covered with fine crops of grain, and gave promise of a plentiful harvest;—but woe to the tracts which bordered on the route of the army, and especially those which were deemed proper for an encampment. The most fertile spots were always selected for this purpose, and in a few moments every thing disappeared, trodden down or cut as provender for the horses, or as materials for barracks.

The army itself was distracted within by the same anarchy which prevailed in its external conduct; it seemed as if an implacable hatred raged in each corps against the rest, and as if open war existed among them. No reciprocal confidence, no indication that they were fighting in the same cause: on every side were exhibited marks of pride, selfishness, and rapacity.—There was not even harmony among the commanders. When the head of a column or regiment arrived at a place where it was intended to halt, he seized upon every thing he could find, without caring for those who were to follow. Sentinels were posted in the houses which afford-

ed a prospect of plunder, and by the right of occupancy, kept off all who attempted to share in the spoil. It frequently happened that force was exerted against these sentinels, and, in the combats which ensued, many were killed and wounded. The imperial guard, proud of its pre-eminence, as janissaries of the despot, behaved with arrogance towards the other troops, and were of course, particularly detested by them; so that when they happened to be inferior in numbers, they were, in their turn, persecuted and outraged. The different corps of cavalry entertained the same jealousy and animosity towards each other, and heaped all sorts of insults upon the infantry, whilst the infantry on their side, menaced them with the bayonet.

Such was the spirit of the army. In advancing towards the frontiers to protect its fellow citizens, it reduced them on its march, to a situation in which they had nothing to fear from the bitterest enemy.

From the time of leaving its cantonments, it had continued to move with celerity; the weather though inclement, had not so deepened the roads as to impede the passage of the artillery and caissons. The rapidity of the movements bordered, in fact, on precipitation. It now became evident that the plan was to surprise the enemy in Belgium by an unexpected irruption. On the 14th, the whole army was united and in line on the extreme frontier. All uncertainty as to the object of these manœuvres was now dispelled by the following proclamation, which was read at the head of each division and regiment—

"SOLDIERS,

"It is to-day the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as at Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous. We believed the oaths and protestations of princes whom we left upon the throne. To-day we find them leagued together, and wishing to overthrow the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced this most unjust attack. Let us march to meet them—They and we, are we not still the same men?

"Soldiers—At Jena, against these same Prussians now so arrogant, you were one to three, and at Montmirial one to six—

"Those of you who have been prisoners among the English, relate to your comrades the frightful evils that you suffered in their hulks—

The Saxons, Belgians, and Hanoverians, the soldiers of the confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to aid the cause of princes who are enemies of justice and the rights of all nations. They know that this coalition is insatiable. After having absorbed twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million Saxons, and six millions of Belgians—it will next destroy the secondary powers of Germany—

"Madmen!—a moment of prosperity has blinded them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power.—If they enter France, they will find in it their grave.

"Soldiers,—We have forced marches to make, battles to fight, and perils to encounter: but with constancy the victory will be ours: the rights, the honour, and the happiness of our country will be re-conquered—

"For all Frenchmen who have

a heart the moment is arrived to conquer *or to die!*"

It is almost unnecessary to say that this proclamation was received with transports of joy and noisy acclamations by a multitude of ignorant soldiers, for whom high-sounding words, however unintelligible to them, are the perfection of eloquence. It is equally unnecessary to comment upon this ridiculously emphatic address, bearing as it does, the genuine stamp of Bonaparte. It augmented the uneasiness of those reflecting men, who gave themselves the trouble of examining his incoherent ideas, by showing them, in the full extent, the dangers which despair had driven him to encounter.

In the mean time, the officers were exulting in the precision of their marches, and discovered, as they said, the presence of the "great man" by the result of combined movements, executed in a manner so skilful, that the different corps of the army seemed, after proceeding for some days on the same route, to have found themselves regularly placed in the line, as if they had sprung out of the earth by a magic power.

On the 15th at break of day, the army was in motion to enter Belgium. The 2d corps attacked the advanced posts of the Prussians which were opposite to them, and pursued them briskly as far as *Marchienne au Pont*. The cavalry of this corps had an opportunity of charging several squares of infantry which they penetrated, and from whom they took some hundred prisoners. The Prussians hastened to repass the Sambre. The light cavalry of the centre followed the route of the 2d corps upon Charleroi, and sweeping by successive charges, all the force upon the left bank of the Sambre, drove the enemy to the opposite side. While a number of sharpshooters defended the approach to the bridge, the Prussians were busily engaged in rendering it impassable, so as to retard the march of the French, and give themselves time to evacuate the town; but being briskly pushed, they were not able to destroy it entirely. The damage which they had occasioned being but slight, the sappers and marines of the guard soon removed all difficulties. Towards noon the work was finished; the light cavalry passed over, and took possession of Charleroi.

The 2d corps having in the mean time effected its passage at Marchienne, advanced upon Gosselies, a town situated on the Brussels road, with the intention of cutting off the retreat of the column driven back at Charleroi. The Prussians, surprised at such a brisk assault, and pursued by our light troops, retired in good order upon Fleurus, where they began to concentrate. They were repeatedly attacked by our advanced guard, which, without allowing them time to take up their position, threw themselves with overwhelming impetuosity upon the columns that resisted. The presence of Bonaparte so electrified the French troops, that they rushed upon the enemy without firing a gun, and springing with the bayonet into the midst of the enemy's masses, drove every thing before them. The squadrons of the body-guard repeatedly charged the Prussian infantry. In one of these attacks, General *Letort*, colonel of the dragoons of the guard, received a mortal wound. After many obstinate and bloody combats, the French succeeded in mastering all the positions where the enemy at-

tempted to make a stand. The pursuit ceased towards night; and Bonaparte, having left the third corps on the road to Namur, and the second at Gosselies on the road to Brussels, returned to establish his head-quarters at Charleroi; the rest of the army occupying the surrounding villages.

The result of these several engagements was a thousand prisoners, the passage of the Sambre, and the possession of Charleroi, where some magazines were found; but the most signal advantage gained, was, to have animated by this first success, the courage and confidence of the troops. Accordingly, Bonaparte employed his usual tactics to turn it to the best account. The number of prisoners was declared greater than its real amount; and to fortify this suggestion, he divided them into numerous detachments, which he marched in triumph one after another towards the corps which were still in the rear, and on the roads by which they were approaching. It may be easily imagined that at the sight of them the cries of *Vive l'Empereur* redoubled, and the soldiers gave themselves up to transports of joy.

Although the whole of the French army had not yet passed the Sambre, it was entirely in the Belgian territory, and in the midst of the new subjects of the kingdom of the Low Countries. It had been told us, that they only waited for our presence to rise *en masse* in support of our cause. We found indeed some groups of peasants at the entrance of the villages through which we passed, who joined us in the cry of *Vive l'Empereur*, but they did not appear animated with a very sincere enthusiasm. To speak candidly, they more resembled a collection of stipendiaries, than free citizens expressing their real sentiments. —They received us as conquerors, whose kindness it was necessary to propitiate; they showed themselves to be merely the friends of the strongest party, and their exclamations plainly signified this; "*We wish to be Frenchmen if your* "*bayonet brings us the law: do not* "*pillage us, do not lay waste our* "*country, but treat us as fellow* "*citizens.*"

But their supplications were not regarded. Notwithstanding the apparent pleasure with which our soldiers received this friendly treatment, they behaved as if they were encamped among their avowed enemies; devastation and plunder every where marked the progress of the army. As soon as the troops had taken a temporary position near some village, they rushed like a torrent upon the miserable inhabitants; provisions, furniture, linen, clothes, all disappeared in an instant. The village where they had encamped, presented on their departure the spectacle of a vast heap of rubbish and ruins, around which was scattered every thing that had served as furniture for the houses. Its environs which had been covered with rich fields of grain, seemed to have been devastated by a deluge of hail, whilst the spots left by the fire of the bivouacs, black and scattered among the littered grain and grass, appeared to have been struck with the lightning of the storm.

When we were departing, the inhabitants issued from their asylum, the men silent and thoughtful, the women weeping, and the children half-naked and affrighted. They might be seen wandering up and down, to identify and collect the scattered fragments of their

utensils, amid their desolated fields.

From the information which we obtained, we were led to believe, that the advanced posts of the Prussians, though watchful, had been completely surprised, and that the allies, far from expecting such a sudden and serious attack, had intended in a few days to enter the French territory. The inhabitants, also, were astonished at our appearance among them, at the moment when they supposed us to be absorbed in preparations against invasion. They generally spoke ill of the Prussians, whom they represented as exorbitant in their demands and unruly in their deportment.

These events, though not very important in themselves, gave rise to a multitude of conjectures as to the result of the campaign. It was argued, that the army of the enemy would find it impossible to effect a concentration; that their several corps, separated, actively pursued, and on every side surrounded, could make but a feeble resistance. Wellington, it was said, must be disconcerted by an offensive movement which he was far from foreseeing, and his whole plan of the campaign rendered nugatory, now that he had no longer the choice of time and ground. Confidence in Bonaparte was unlimited; his combinations appeared as unerring in practice as they were skilful in theory:—The English would inevitably be destroyed, or driven to a precipitate embarkation; the army would soon reach the Rhine, in the midst of the universal acclamations of the Belgians, who would rise *en masse* for their deliverance, and whose troops were only waiting for a favourable moment to pass over into the ranks of their former companions in arms!! Such were our dreams.

On the 16th, at three o'clock in the morning, all the columns of the French army which yet remained upon the right bank of the Sambre, proceeded to effect their passage, and as soon as this was accomplished, the whole army moved forward.

The command of the left wing, consisting of the 1st and 2d corps of infantry, and four divisions of cavalry, was given to marshal Ney, who had arrived at head-quarters the evening before, and who was ordered to march by Gosselies and Frasnes upon Brussels. The centre composed of the third, fourth and sixth corps, together with the guard in reserve, a numerous body of cavalry, forming altogether, the main strength of the army, was ordered to move upon Fleurus. Marshal Grouchy, with the cavalry of Pajol and some battalions of infantry, manœuvred towards the village of Sambre on the road to Namur.

In *debouching* from Fleurus, we soon discovered the Prussian army, the principal part of which was drawn up in close columns on the *plateaux** which surrounded the windmill of Bussi. It extended in a curve along the whole top of an eminence, at whose foot was a deep woody ravine which protected the whole line: its right rested upon the village of St. Amand, its centre upon Ligny, and its left extended indefinitely towards *Sombref*, and stretched out in the same manner towards Gembloux, and the road to Namur. All these villages, which are large and built upon uneven and intersected ground, were in front of the ra-

* Elevated flats.

vine, and abundantly supplied with infantry.

Having reconnoitred the position, Bonaparte immediately made his dispositions to attack. The first corps, forming part of the left wing, was placed with two divisions of heavy cavalry, in rear of the village of Frasnes, on the right of and at a little distance from the road to Brussels, that it might be able to advance to the points where its presence should become necessary. The third was directed, in columns of attack, upon the village of St. Amand; the fourth advanced towards Ligny, supported by the 6th, the guard, and a numerous reserve of cavalry. Marshal Grouchy, with the divisions of the right, advanced towards Sombref.

The third corps commenced the affair in attacking the village of St. Amand, a part of which they succeeded in taking with the bayonet after an obstinate resistance, but from which they were soon driven. The 4th precipitated itself upon Ligny at the same time that the two wings became engaged, the left at Frasnes and the right at Sombref; in a few moments the engagement became general, and a strong cannonade, which gradually increased, was felt along the whole line.

The battle was sustained on both sides with equal pertinacity. It is impossible to give an idea of the fury with which the soldiers fought; it seemed as if each one of them was avenging a personal affront, and had discovered in his adversary his implacable enemy. The French gave no quarter, and the Prussians had previously declared, it is said, that they would massacre all Frenchmen who should fall into their hands. These menaces were levelled particularly at the Guard, against whom they were especially incensed.

The villages in dispute were several times taken and retaken, after a dreadful slaughter. Those of St. Amand and Ligny particularly were contested with incredible obstinacy. The French, however, at last made a lodgment in the church-yard of St. Amand, and maintained it in spite of the reiterated attempts of the Prussians to expel them; but at one time the struggle was so fierce, and success so dubious, that Bonaparte sent off with all haste to order up the first corps as a reinforcement.

By this movement, the left wing which had been busily engaged with the English, and had driven them from the heights of Frasnes, to the farm of Quatre Bras (where they had at last taken a position) was considerably weakened; and Bonaparte here committed an imprudence nearly sufficient to draw after it the entire loss of the battle, in omitting to give marshal Ney notice that he had subtracted a part of his force. About an hour after the departure of the first corps for St. Amand, the English army having received strong reinforcements under the prince of Orange, became in their turn the assailants, and drove back both our *tirailleurs* and the columns which they covered. The English occupied the whole border of a considerable wood, lying upon the left of the road to Brussels. Immediately in front of this wood ran a hollow path resembling a ravine, and between the road and the position of the French troops on its right, were *plateaux* or eminences of some considerable breadth, covered with rye.

All at once these *plateaux* were covered with numerous square battalions supported by a formidable body of cavalry, who advanced boldly and threatened to pierce

our line. Our troops appeared intimidated, and began to fall back with a sort of trepidation. In this emergency it became necessary to order up the reserve. Marshal Ney was however little alarmed, relying upon the first corps to sustain him. He sent immediate orders for it to advance and charge the enemy, What must have been his astonishment and perplexity, when he learned that Bonaparte had already disposed of it? He, however, ordered the 8th and 11th cuirassiers who were at hand to charge the foremost battalions. This charge was executed with the greatest bravery; but the battalions resting upon a wood filled with infantry, kept up conjointly with the latter, such a terrible fire, that the cuirassiers, crippled with ball and grape, were unable to break them, and retired in disorder. It was in this bold, though unsuccessful charge, that a cuirassier of the 11th regiment, took a standard of the 64th regiment of the English line.

The retrogade movement which now became sensible, and the crowd of wounded cuirassiers and soldiers who pressed to the rear, soon spread terror in that quarter. The baggage train, the ambulatory hospitals, the sutlers, the servants, all that multitude of non-combatants who follow an army, made off precipitately, carrying along with them every thing that they met, across the fields, and on the road to Charleroi. The disorder was complete and spread rapidly; every one fled in the greatest confusion, crying out "*There is the enemy. There is the enemy.*"

But the evil was not as great as had been at first supposed, or at any rate, it was promptly repaired. The division of cuirassiers of general Rousel, moved at full trot towards the English, and by their presence re-animated the flying. Their assistance was perhaps, unnecessary. Our infantry, retiring in close and excellent order, opposed a vigorous resistance, and gradually restored the fight. Pushed back as far as the heights of Frasnes, they established themselves there. Obliged to renounce offensive operations, they fought during the remainder of the day to maintain their ground. By degrees, order was restored in the rear, and the fugitives halted when they were convinced they were not pursued.—Meanwhile, the first corps detached from the left had been perfectly useless, and when it arrived at the village of St. Amand, the 3d corps was already in possession. Orders were, therefore, given, for it to return to its position, and thus was it kept traversing the field of battle, from left to right, and from right to left, without being of service on any point.

The fire was kept up with the utmost vivacity along the whole line, particularly towards Ligny, the place where the greatest force was collected, and the greatest efforts were made. The cannonade did not remit for a moment, and our artillery, as far as we could judge, made great havoc with the Prussian columns, which, formed in masses on the ampitheatre of hills and plateaux, presented a fair mark for the numerous batteries placed along our line. Our troops being almost entirely concealed in the sinuosities of the ground, were infinitely less exposed to the effect of the Prussian artillery, which replied to ours with steady perseverance, though with little success.

Towards seven o'clock in the evening we were masters of the

villages, but the Prussians still kept their positions behind the ravine. At this moment, Bonaparte, who had been manœuvring, since the commencement of the action, so as to be able to throw a considerabel force across the ravine, when the proper time should arrive, with which to drive the Prussians from the heights around the wind-mill of Bussi, directed his guard and all his reserve upon the village of Ligny. This bold movement, which had been retarded by the events on the left, was intended to insulate entirely the right of the Prussians, which was posted behind St. Amand, and to cut off its retreat upon Namur.

The whole guard advanced *au pas de charge*, sustained by a numerous cavalry and formidable artillery, traversed the village, and threw themselves into the ravine, which they crossed in the midst of a shower of balls and grape; the fire, which had seemed to slacken somewhat, now recommenced with double violence; a frightful combat ensued at the moment when the guard, issuing from the ravine, rushed with the bayonet upon the Prussian squares, who stood the shock with firmness. But nothing could resist the impetuosity of the French grenadiers. They every where opened a passage for themselves by the most horrible carnage. Charges of cavalry were made on both sides, and increased the havoc and terror of the struggle. At last the Prussians, after the most desperate and murderous resistance, were broken through on all sides and retired, leaving us in possession of a field of battle covered with dead, wounded, prisoners and cannon. The guard immediately took possession of the plateaux which the enemy had occupied, and the cavalry were dispatched in pursuit.

During this decisive operation at Ligny, the 3d corps was endeavouring to amuse the right wing of the Prussians, to prevent them from observing the manœuvre, the object of which was to uncover them. But the snare was too evident. Their movements were regulated by those of the cen re, and as soon as they made preparations to retire, a retreat was resolved on along the whole Prussian line. They fought only to protect the rapid march of their columns, which filed off in excellent order towards Gembloux and Namur. The French troops were disposed to follow up their success, but fatigue and the approach of night prevented them. They contented themselves with crossing the ravine, and seizing upon all the positions of the enemy. At 10 o'clock the fire had ceased along the whole line, and the army was in its bivouacs.

A great number of contradictory statements circulated in the army, of this affair of Ligny, results of which were never in fact well known. The Prussian army, it was at first said with us, must be totally destroyed, for they had left more than 25,000 dead upon the field of battle, and an equal number had been taken prisoners. Moreover, marshal Blucher was killed, and his army must be in a state of dissolution, since marshal Grouchy wrote that he collected more prisoners and cannon than he wished. The fact is that marshal Blucher had a horse killed under him at the commencement of the retreat, which fell upon him; unable to disengage himself, he remained in the midst of the French cuirassiers, and owed his safety to the darkness of the night, and the turmoil of the charge which prevented them from seeing him. What is certain, however, is

that the French carried the position of the Prussians, who from all appearances, suffered greatly; but the extent of their loss was never ascertained with exactness; and the circumstance of its not being stated in our order of the day is sufficient to induce the presumption of its not being as considerable as was supposed. The field of battle was covered with Prussian dead. The number of slain was great; but with the exception of the wounded, there were few prisoners.

On the left, where the battle though less desperate had been fought with great spirit, the English appeared to have lost many men. Both parties, however, remained on the ground which they had occupied at the commencement of the action. We heard of the death of the duke of Brunswick, who was killed by the fire of a division under the nominal command of Jerome Bonaparte, and also of the death of the English general Hill. The first was confirmed on the day following, and gave an opportunity to the French officers to pay their court to the ex-king of Westphalia, by indulging in witticisms upon the fatality which pursued this unfortunate duke of Brunswick, and which, after exhibiting him so often as the unlucky antagonist of *the conqueror of his states*, had at last condemned him as it were to fall by his hand. Hence they inferred that fortune had destined Jerome to be his heir! It was reported also that Jerome had been struck by a *spent ball*. Without stopping to enquire into the truth of this report, it is well to remark that these *spent balls* appear made for great personages, whose valor it is of consequence to illustrate. In this division of the army, much complaint was made of the cuirassiers; to the failure of whose charge was attributed all the evil suffered. They were accused of not having freely approached the enemy's battalions, from the midst of which however, they had plucked a standard; some even suspected them of treachery. These surmises which were soon propagated throughout the whole army, having made an injurious impression upon the spirits of the soldiers, it was speedily and studiously rumoured that a number of recreant generals, among whom was general Bourmont, had been tried by a military commission and shot.

Although the battle of Ligny, which we should connect with that of Quatre Bras, did not present any of those results which characterize a great victory, it was regarded as highly important in reference to the ulterior events of the campaign. Every one agreed that Bonaparte had attained his end of separating the English and Prussian armies, and cutting off all communication between them. This advantage was held inestimable, and of the more importance, inasmuch as a small corps would be sufficient to watch and pursue the Prussians after the losses they had suffered, and the French army would be left free to throw itself entirely upon the English.

With the intention of realizing these calculations, Bonaparte, as soon as the day dawned on the 17th, leaving the 3d and 4th corps, and the cavalry of general Pajol, under the orders of marshal Grouchy, to follow and watch the Prussians, marched towards Quatre Bras with the reserve and the 6th corps. The English appeared to occupy the same position as on the preceding day. Bonaparte was engaged in reconnoitring them, and the

French army remained quiet until eleven o'clock in the morning, waiting for the troops on the right, whose proper stations were assigned them as fast as they arrived. It rained continually, and the cross roads which the previous rains had already much injured, became more and more difficult for artillery. All the necessary dispositions for attack were at length completed, and on the French masses advancing in line upon the heights of Frasnes, it was discovered that the English had manœuvred in such a way as to mask their retreat, influenced no doubt by the intelligence which had been communicated to them of the battle at Ligny. To the accomplishment of this purpose, they had devoted a part of the night and the time which we had consumed in the concentration of our forces. The troops who showed themselves on the *plateaux*, along the skirts of the wood, and in the road, were only a strong rear-guard destined to protect this movement, which they imitated as soon as it was fully effected. Bonaparte immediately pursued with the cavalry, and the whole army quickened its step towards Brussels.

During this rapid march, the ardor of our troops was incredible; they saw, in this adroit and admirably managed retreat of the English, nothing but a flight which must terminate in an embarkation. It was certain that the enemy would make no further stand, but abandon Brussels, and hasten to regain their ships. The artillery, waggons and infantry filed with precipitation, and almost *pell mell*, by the road covered with a thick and black mud; whilst the cavalry advanced on the flanks, through fields of luxuriant grain, which they soon laid waste. The horses sometimes sunk up to the belly in this black, soft and viscous soil. The efforts necessary to disengage them, retarded and aggravated the march. We encountered here and there, upon the road, caissons and broken waggons which the English had been obliged to abandon.

As we traversed the field on which the battle of Quatre Bras had been fought, we found it strewed with bodies and fragments, together with a number of wounded Frenchmen who had not been taken away. We had an opportunity of judging how destructive the affair had been for both parties. According to appearances the English suffered much more than the French, for the pieces of level ground which separated the road from the wood where they were posted, and particularly the skirts of this wood and the hollow way beyond it, were almost concealed by heaps of bodies, the greater part of them Scotch. Their costume, which consisted of a plaid descending only to the end of the thigh, and leaving a part of the leg naked, strongly attracted the attention of the French soldiers, who designated them by the title of *sans-culottes*.

Bonaparte with his advanced guard, continued the pursuit until a late hour, when he reached the entrance of the forest of Soignes, and met with a resistance which he despaired of overcoming that evening. After cannonading and harrasing the English as long as the light allowed, he disposed of his troops for the night and established his head quarters at the farm of *Caillou*, near Planchenois. The principal part of the army encamped at *Gemappe* and in the environs of this little town.

The night was dreadful. The troops had bivouacked in the midst of the mud and trampled grain,

and having had no time to construct any sufficient shelter were exposed to a continual rain which fell in torrents. The wretched inhabitants suffered still more than the soldiery. Abandoning their houses to pillage, they fled in all directions, with abundant reason to ask whether their merciless invaders were French, or Tartars suddenly let loose from the deserts of Asia to gorge themselves with plunder.

We were generally persuaded that the English army would employ the night in continuing its retreat, and no one entertained a doubt of our arriving the next day, at Brussels. This was looked forward to as the termination of the campaign, since marshal Grouchy, who was to pass the night at Namur, could not fail to arrive at Liege, at the same time that Bonaparte entered the capital of the Low countries. Some pretended deserters, who were, doubtless, spies, assured us that the Belgian army only waited for an engagement to pass over in a body to our side; that this being suspected, they were always kept in the rear; —that since the commencement of hostilities, they had been restrained with so much difficulty as to make it matter of little astonishment if they should suddenly fall upon the Prussians, to whom they bore an implacable hatred.

At break of day the army formed, and was surprised to discover that the English had not only maintained their positions of the preceding evening, but evinced an intention of defending them. Bonaparte, who had seemed to fear that they would escape him in the night, was extremely rejoiced at discovering them in the morning; and unable to conceal his satisfaction, exclaimed to those around him—"Ah—I have them then—these English!"

With the imprudent impatience which has always characterized him, he then urged the march of the columns which were in the rear, and without waiting to receive any further information, without knowing either the exact distribution or the force of the enemy, without being certain that the Prussian army was kept in check by the corps of Grouchy, he resolved to attack immediately. The French army, which consisted of four corps of infantry, including the guard, and three corps of cavalry, presented an effective force of perhaps 120,000 men, About ten o'clock the whole of this force was assembled upon the heights parallel to those which were occupied by the English army, whom we discovered in position upon the plateaux in front of the forest of Soignes upon which the entire line rested. We perceived towards the centre, in rear of the village of Mount St. Jean, strong masses of infantry, in whose front it was easy to distinguish redoubts, as the colour of the earth recently turned up, was different from that of the general surface. These masses crowned an extensive plateau, which extended on both sides along the skirts of the forest, diminishing gradually in breadth, and was covered with batteries. The right of the English army rested upon the village of Merke Braine, having in its front the farm of *Hougoumont* surrounded by a thick wood, intersected with many ravines or deep sinuosities. Its left extended far towards *Wavres*, covered likewise by a ravine, and the farm of *La Haye Sainte*. Except upon the great plateau which we regarded as the centre of the ar-

my, few troops were visible; but it ought to have been supposed, as the event proved, that they were concealed in the gorge which divided the plateau from the forest, and in the forest itself.

The head-quarters of lord Wellington were at Waterloo, in the rear of his lines, which stretched, as we have seen, across the roads of Brussels and Nivelles.

Scarcely had the French troops formed when Bonaparte, who had placed himself on the top of an eminence a little distance from the farm where he had spent the preceding night, on the right of the road, and from which he could distinguish every movement, gave orders for the fire to open. He walked along with folded arms, a little in front of his staff, who were grouped behind him. The whole day was blustering and at intervals rainy.

The 2d corps was placed on the left and marched against the farm of Hougoumont. The 1st rested its left upon the road, and attacked the centre; the 6th held the right. The guard was in reserve upon the heights. The cavalry was dispersed upon these different points; but its strongest columns were with the wings, particularly the right.

Towards noon the first cannon were fired from the French line, and numerous *tirailleurs* were detached to bring on the action. The left briskly attacked the farm of Hougoumont, the walls of which had been perforated by the infantry that occupied it in force and fought with extreme obstinacy. At the same time battalions and squadrons attacked the masses placed behind the farm and who continually reinforced it. After an hour's fighting, the English appeared to retire a little, and the French drew nearer; the artillery advanced, along the whole line, and the columns followed.

It was soon after announced that strong masses were to make a charge with the bayonet upon Mount St. Jean, whilst the cavalry on the wings was to debouch and attack the pieces of artillery which appeared but weakly supported. We waited impatiently for this important movement, the success of which, we promised ourselves, would be complete; but it was delayed by the obstinacy with which the English maintained the villages that covered their wings. They continually sent battalions to reinforce the farms of Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte; these our cavalry several times dispersed on their march. The villages, however, though assaulted with unexampled vigour, still held out. Wearied at last with so many fruitless efforts to expel the troops which occupied Hougoumont, we determined to fire it, and at the same moment fresh forces were dispatched against La Haye Sainte, who after a long and bloody combat, succeeded in getting possession. At every point the battle raged, with equal impetuosity on both sides. The artillery was making frightful havoc.

The points on which the wings of the English army rested being now carried, the French crossed the ravine and approached the English line, which poured upon them a deluge of balls and grape. The cavalry charged on the flanks. A formidable column of attack advanced towards *Mount St. Jean*, whence issued a most destructive fire. As the cavalry rushed forward to the plateaux to carry the artillery, they were charged in turn by the cavalry of the enemy which had concealed itself in the

ravine, and a horrible carnage ensued. Not a foot of ground was yielded on either side. New columns advanced and fresh charges were made. Three times the position was on the point of being carried, and three times, after performing prodigies of valour, the French were driven back.

At this moment hesitation and uneasiness became visible in the French army; some dismounted batteries retired; numerous wounded left the columns and spread an alarm as to the issue of the battle; a profound silence succeeded to the cries of exultation which the soldiers had sent forth, sure of marching to victory. With the exception of the infantry of the guard, we had seen all the troops engaged and exposed to a murderous fire; the action continued with excessive violence, and as yet had produced no determinate result.

It was now near seven o'clock. Bonaparte, who had remained on the eminence where he had first taken his station, and from which he could clearly see all that passed, contemplated with a ferocious eye, the hideous spectacle of this butchery. The more obstacles multiplied, the more his obstinacy increased. He became exasperated at so many unexpected difficulties; and indifferent about sacrificing an army whose confidence in him was boundless, he incessantly sent fresh orders to press forward with the bayonet. Repeated messages were brought to him that the day went hard; that the troops appeared worn out. "Let them advance," replied he; "let them advance."

A general sent to advertise him that his position was untenable, being raked by a battery; and enquired at the same time what he must do to escape so murderous a fire. "Take the battery," replied he, and turned his back upon the aid-de-camp. A wounded English officer was brought to him a prisoner. He asked, among other questions, the strength of the English army; the officer replied that it was very strong and had just received a reinforcement of 60,000 men. "So much the better," said Bonaparte, "the more there are, the more we shall beat." He sent off numerous expresses with dispatches which he dictated to a secretary, and often repeated, with an air of wildness, "forget not to proclaim every where that the victory is mine."

At this time, after all his efforts had proved unavailing, it was announced to him that the Prussian columns were debouching on our right flank and menaced our rear. Resolutely incredulous on this score, he replied to the various messengers, that they were poor observers, and the supposed Prussians none other than the corps of Marshal Grouchy. It became necessary however to yield to evidence, and admit the truth of the statement, when these columns fell upon our right wing. A part of the sixth corps was sent off to sustain this new shock, until the arrival of Marshal Grouchy, on whom he calculated with certainty. A report was even circulated throughout the army, that Grouchy was already in line.

The fact was that a part of the army of Marshal Blucher having been concentrated after the battle of the 16th in the neighbourhood of *Wavre*, had concealed its movements from Grouchy, and being joined by the fourth Prussian corps under the command of General Bulow, had advanced with all speed to co-operate with Lord Wellington.

Bonaparte, still inflexible, and

thinking that the moment had arrived for deciding the fate of the day, formed a fourth column of attack almost entirely composed of the guard, and charged upon *Mount St. Jean*. He had previously dispatched orders to every point, to second this movement, on which the victory depended. These veteran warriors assailed the plateau with characteristic intrepidity; the army was electrified in every part, and the battle renewed along the whole line. The guard charged repeatedly, but was uniformly repulsed. Mowed down by a tremendous explosion of grape, these brave grenadiers closed their thinned ranks with promptitude and coolness; marching fearlessly, nothing could stop them except death or severe wounds: but the hour of defeat had come. Immense masses of infantry, sustained by numerous bodies of cavalry, to whom we had nothing to oppose, since ours had been totally destroyed, rushed upon them with fury, and surrounding them on all sides, admonished them to surrender. "The guard never surrenders—it dies," was the reply.—No quarter was given after this; almost all fell fighting desperately. This shocking massacre lasted as long as their resistance, which ceased only when it was too obviously fatal. The few survivors retreated in disorder to their first position.

But whilst these events were passing in the centre, the Prussian columns which had arrived upon our right, continued to advance and press vigorously the few troops who were there to oppose them. The sound of cannon and musquetry was heard in the rear and gradually approached nearer. Our troops fought but lost ground. The right wing at length retrograded perceptibly, and the Prussians were upon the point of debouching upon the road.

When it became known that the guard had been repulsed; when its battalions, scattered and dwindled to a remnant, were seen in precipitate retreat, a general panic seized the army. It broke in all directions, seeking safety in a headlong flight. Bonaparte, in despair, collected as a last effort some battalions of the old and young guard, which had not been engaged, and pushed them against the enemy, now issuing in masses from their position: but intimidated at what it saw passing around, and overwhelmed by numbers, this feeble reserve was soon routed.

The army then, spontaneously and at once, abandoned its positions and poured along like a torrent; the artillery-men deserted their pieces; the cannoneers and wagoners cut loose their horses; the infantry, the cavalry, the troops of every description formed a promiscuous mass, all flying for safety along the road and across the fields. A crowd of wagons which had been stationed on each side of the road followed in this precipitate flight, and rushing to one point blocked up the passage. No point of rendezvous had been indicated, and it was now too late to issue any orders; generals and other commanders, lost in the crowd and swept along by it, were separated from their corps; nor did there exist a single battalion behind which to rally. Since no provision had been made to secure an orderly retreat, it was impossible to remedy this universal confusion. A rout so complete could not be anticipated, and was hitherto unknown in the French armies, numerous as had been their disasters.

The guard too, that immoveable

phalanx, which had, in our greatest reverses, invariably served as a rallying point and rampart for the rest of the army, was now overthrown and fled with the multitude. Every one struggled to save himself; some pushed on to outstrip those before, whilst others collected in groups, and instinctively followed those in front; some were afraid to leave the road and attempted to force a passage through the wagons by which it was obstructed, whilst others pursued the plan of turning out to the right or left as they thought safest. Fear exaggerated the perils of the moment; and the night which supervened, although not very dark, contributed much to heighten the disorder.

The enemy, perceiving what passed, lost no time in detaching a numerous cavalry in pursuit. Whilst some squadrons took the road, and seized upon the wagons which had not time to escape, other formidable bodies advanced upon our flanks. The carriages of the imperial household, having remained at the farm where Bonoparte had lodged, were the first prize which fell into the hands of the Prussians, together with a vast quantity of baggage. All the cannon which had been in battery, and the ammunition wagons attached to them, had been left where they were stationed, and fell into the power of the enemy about the same time. Thus in less than half an hour, nearly all the *materiël* of the army had disappeared.

As soon as the English and Prussians completely effected their junction, the two Generals Wellington and Blucher met at the farm of La Belle Alliance, and concerted the means of following up their success. The former having suffered a heavy loss in the action, and his cavalry especially being much exhausted, would have scarcely been able to follow the French so closely as to prevent them from rallying, but the Prussian cavalry being fresh, pushed on and hotly pursued without allowing us a moment of rest. The fugitives thus pressed, quickly travelled the two leagues which separated Gemappe from the field of battle, and arrived at this little town with the intention of passing the night there. To oppose some obstacles to the approach of the enemy, they hasted to collect wagons in the road and barricade the entrance of the principal street; some pieces of cannon were placed to defend it; bivouacs were pitched in the town and its neighbourhood, and the wearied soldiers hurried to the houses to seek rest and food. But scarcely were these dispositions for defence completed, when the enemy appeared; a few cannon fired upon the nearest cavalry, kindled a universal alarm, the camp was instantly broken up; every one fled, and the retreat recommenced with more confusion than ever.

In the midst of this chaos, no one knew what had become of Bonaparte. It was asserted by some that he had perished in the battle. When this news was announced to a well-known general officer, he replied in the words of Megret after the death of Charles XII. at Frederickstadt, "The piece is finished." Others pretended, that having made several charges at the head of the Guard, he had been dismounted and taken prisoner. The same uncertainty rested on the fate of Marshal Ney and most of the generals in chief. A great number declared that they had seen Bonaparte pass, seeking his own safety in the midst of the

crowd; and averred that they knew him perfectly by his gray riding coat and his dappled horse. This account was the true one. At the moment when the last battalions of the guard which he led, were defeated, Bonaparte, borne along with them and surrounded on every side by the enemy, entered an orchard adjoining the farm of Caillou. In this place he was met by two wandering horsemen of the guard, to whom he discovered himself and who conducted him carefully through the Prussian parties spread over the plain, but, happily for him, intent upon seizing and pillaging the carriages. Notwithstanding the shades of the night, he was perceived and recognized repeatedly, and his presence indicated by the ejaculations of the soldiers, who said to each other in a low voice, "There is the emperor: there is the emperor!" These words were for him a signal of alarm, and he hurried off as fast as the multitude in which he was entangled would permit. Where were now those thundering acclamations with which his troops had been wont to salute him, as soon as he appeared among them?

During the whole night, the French army continued its disastrous march, strewing the road with its wrecks, and every moment assailed by charges which consummated its disorganization. The terror which prevailed was so great that numerous groups of well-armed cavalry and infantry suffered themselves to be attacked without attempting a defence, by a few miserable lancers, whom to repel it was only necessary to face. At the break of day the sad remains of our force arrived at Charleroi and Marchienne, and hastened to repass the Sambre. This unfortunate, but so recently magnificent army, in utter disorder and worn down with fatigue, presented a more shocking appearance from the great number of wounded who had followed on foot or on horseback. These, pallid, haggard, covered with bloody rags with which they had bound up their wounds, and intermingled with the disorderly columns which choaked the road, brought forcibly to our recollection the scenes of carnage which we had just witnessed.

In proportion as the wagons approached the *Sambre*, they were retarded by those in front, and collected in numbers on the roads which led to the bridges of Charleroi and Marchienne. The enemy's cavalry soon appeared and surprised them entangled with each other. The affrighted drivers cut their horses loose, and followed by all their train, rushed tumultuously towards the bridges and along the river to seek a passage. Thus all that remained of our artillery and equipage, was abandoned to the enemy, who likewise made here a great number of prisoners.

That portion of the army which had crossed the Sambre, supposed from this circumstance that they would have time to refresh themselves, and accordingly bivouacked in the orchards and meadows on the right bank of this river; but no sooner were they apprized of the approach of the enemy by the confusion on the opposite bank, than they made off in haste, without waiting for a single order, without attempting to cut down the bridges or giving themselves time to reconnoitre. All fled at once.

At a short distance from Charleroi, they fell in with two roads, one of which leads to Avesnes, the other to Philippeville. Having no

information as to the proper route, no leaders, they separated into two parties, the most numerous following the road by which they had issued, and which led to Avesnes, the other inclining to the left and moving to Philippeville. A number of scattered fugitives threw themselves into the neighbouring wood, without other drift than that of escaping the pursuit of the cavalry. It was the road to Philippeville that Bonaparte took himself in his flight. Once more a selfish deserter, he abandoned his army without an effort to rally it. He abandoned it not only to the common dangers of the occasion, but to anarchy, which necessarily aggravated those dangers to the utmost, and of which a total dissolution was the natural consequence. Thousands of dispersed soldiers, wandering as chance directed and issuing from the woods, spread themselves over the country and propagated their panic. The wretched inhabitants were overwhelmed with dismay, on learning the irreparable defeat of the French army almost at the same time that they heard of its first success, and on finding themselves, just as they fondly supposed the seat of war to be transferred far from them, a prey to an enemy who would probably be rendered more furious by a victory so dearly purchased. The fortified towns every where precipitately shut their gates. The fugitives who presented themselves for admittance were driven off, and thus obliged to wander among the villages and farms, where they committed every species of excess.

A fugitive himself in the midst of the affrighted multitude, and in still greater trepidation than they, Bonaparte came to supplicate admission into Philippeville. He had need of the protection of its ramparts against the eager pursuit of the Prussians, who tracked him with steady attention, and who had already dispatched in this direction numerous parties whom he could with difficulty avoid. At the gates of the town he had to endure the humiliation of being questioned by the guard, to whom he announced his quality of emperor, but who kept him at bay until the governor appeared to testify to his identity. He then entered with a very lowly suite and the gates were immediately shut. Orders were soon afterwards given to disperse the groups of fugitives that collected at every moment around the walls, and at the entrance of the town. The report being spread among them that their illustrious emperor was at last found and actually in the place, they deemed it their duty to fix their camp near him, and relied, moreover, upon his kind interposition for their admission into the fortress. But the prudence of Bonaparte is well known.

He supposed that such an assemblage would attract the enemy towards the spot, and disclose his asylum. He therefore sent them an order to continue their march. An able general, profoundly versed in moral influences, he had recourse to a stratagem of certain efficacy, to induce their prompt and perfect obedience to this mandate. Emissaries were dispatched from the town, who ran towards the camp in seeming agitation, crying out, "save yourselves—there are the Cossacks!—Quick—the Cossacks are coming!" It will be readily imagined that nothing more was necessary, and that every one disappeared in an instant.

This wretched crowd, in the accents of despair and grief, honestly disseminated as they went

along the *deplorable* intelligence that the emperor was blockaded in Philippeville. The thing was regarded as certain, and no one on the road to *Mezieres* and *Laon* ventured even to conjecture that this was only a new and curious stratagem of war imagined by the great man to conceal the skilful march on which his safety depended.

But, happily, the rumour of this fatal event was not long suffered to oppress the spirits of the people. After spending some hours at Philippeville, *His Majesty* sallied forth and directed his steps to Mezieres. The night approached as he passed under the walls of Rocroi, where it was thought he would stop. A part of the inhabitants ascended the ramparts, and he had the *mortification* to hear himself saluted with cries of *vive l'empereur* as long as he remained in sight. Thinking it advisable to gain ground in the night, he pushed on. Some officers of his household and the few survivors of his suite entered the town. All were on horseback, for his vehicles of every description had been taken by the enemy.

That branch of the army which had moved towards Avesnes and Laon, also felt the most lively disquietude concerning Bonaparte, as they were entirely ignorant of his fate. Persuaded that, as he was not with them, he must have perished on the field of honour, where he had led so many brave men to death, they were mourning over the unhappy destiny of one so dear, when they were informed of his safe arrival at Paris in full health and vigour!

Even since the affair of Ligny, all communication had ceased with the right wing of the army, composed of the corps of Marshal Grouchy; and although we expected to find them on the Sambre, yet we received no intelligence respecting them on our route. Entire ignorance prevailed as to their course, and the most depressing reports were circulated. It was said that not having been informed of the issue of the battle of Mount St. Jean, they had been surrounded by the allies in the environs of Wavres, during the night of the 18th and on the morning of the 19th, and that unable to effect their retreat, they had been, after an obstinate resistance, constrained to lay down their arms and surrender at discretion. Vandamme was particularized in the number of the dead. Although these reports were not true, yet they were extremely probable, and the army might be considered as totally annihilated.

We deeply bewailed the extinction of so beautiful a host, made up as it was of the noble remains of so many magnificent armaments already immolated by Bonaparte. Indeed, if the *intention* of involving them in total ruin could be imputed to him, confirmation of it might be drawn from the manner in which he conducted this short and woful campaign. But, we should rather attribute the enormous faults which he committed to his want of skill, evidenced by his signal rashness, and to his well known and incorrigible habit of advancing with blind confidence, without weighing plans or calculating chances.

It was from their knowledge of his leading tactics, that the generals of the enemy determined to lay the trap into which he rushed with pitiable security. Whatever foreign bulletins may affirm, for the purpose of exalting the glory of their generals and the

courage of their troops, it is evident, that the position of Mount St. Jean had been reconnoitred, marked out, and prepared as the spot to which the French army was to be drawn and where the battle was to be fought. No one indeed but Bonaparte always overweening, could help perceiving the design. The retreat of the English manifestly preconcerted, upon a position so strong; the obstinacy with which they maintained it; the facility which they enjoyed of masking their troops and artillery in an immense forest; and, more than all, the redoubts and batteries which it was evident they had constructed, would have inspired any other general with a salutary mistrust, or would, at least, have made him suspect that this spot, instead of being an accidental stand, had been long and warily selected. This idea would have been strengthened by noticing a wooden observatory erected upon a little hill in front of the forest, from which, with good glasses, could be discovered every thing that was passing as far as the Sambre, and which, destined, no doubt, to the end of watching our movements, could not have been the work of twenty-four hours.

In any hypothesis, did not prudence require that the nature of the ground and the dispositions of the enemy should have been thoroughly understood? Would a general of sound experience have committed the error of attacking, without communicating with his right wing, or at least being well informed of the result of its operations? Besides, on the supposition that he had succeeded in breaking the English line, which could not have been effected without a severe loss, what great advantage could he have reasonably expected, since they had behind them a forest of fifteen leagues in length by five in breadth? The road by which it was traversed might be regarded as a narrow defile, where 10,000 men and a few pieces of artillery could arrest any number of assailants. Was it then indispensable to attack, in front, a remarkably strong position, and was it impossible to turn it?

Such are the questions that would have presented themselves to the mind of a man truly expert in the art of war, and which indeed the bare inspection of the ground was enough to have suggested: but Bonaparte persisted in seeing nothing upon Mount St. Jean, except a strong rear guard, which being already intimidated, only assumed a bold attitude to allow time for the baggage and ammunition-train to cross the forest. He firmly believed that he had not to fight a battle but to continue a pursuit.

He both resisted, as it were, the evidence of his own senses, and refused to listen to the advice of some of his generals, who endeavoured to persuade him to permit the English quietly to evacuate the forest, or to postpone the attack until the next day, if such was not their intention. Fatigued with long and painful marches, and harassed, as I have said, by the incessant rain to which they had been exposed during the night, his troops were scarcely formed when he propelled them upon the enemy, without giving them a moment for refreshment. Persuaded that nothing could resist them, he made them attack an impregnable position in front, and disdaining even the common manœuvres which would have rendered their approach less perilous, he gave them up, with

his usual callousness, to the murderous fire of the many batteries by which it was defended. Enraged at the resistance that he met with, and still madly aiming at the enemy's line, he caused all his cavalry to advance and charge at any cost. In less than an hour they had perished, cut to pieces by the cavalry of the enemy, and swept away by their grape shot. By this cruel and prodigal sacrifice, he deprived himself of the means of pursuing the English, had he afterwards defeated them.

Instead of yielding to the admonition given by his enormous losses, of the force and projects of the enemy; instead of then taking measures for the safety of at least part of his army, he descended furiously from the plateau whence he had directed its operations, put himself at the head of the guard, and continued to exact from them the performance of impossibilities, until they disappeared from his sight, in the midst of a whirlwind of flight and carnage.

All was then lost; and the destruction of the French army became so much the more unavoidable, from their right flank being turned and no arrangement made for a retreat. Bonaparte alone understood not the crisis: He still wished to press forward, and collected a few scattered troops to renew his attack upon the centre. An inconceivable folly!—to hope that a few battalions would overthrow forces which had just baffled his whole army.

Yet this is he who is considered the greatest captain of the age! His title is no doubt good, if to gain a battle, it be sufficient to make men rush upon and massacre each other without plan or a calculation of cost. At mount St. Jean, Bonaparte unquestionably displayed his utmost skill, for he was too deeply interested in the victory not to strain his highest powers. The alternative is then left, of confessing that he owed his previous victories to chance, or that he was insane on the 18th of June; for his arrangements on that day can only be considered as skilful, on the supposition, that he intended to have his army entirely destroyed. Such is the opinion expressed by some of his general officers the most capable of judging; who unable to conceal their astonishment or restrain their indignation, exclaimed during the action: This man has lost himself —he is mad!

Some however pretend that, putting out of view the conformation of the ground, the manner in which the attack was made and its corresponding manœuvres offer a close resemblance to the battle of Marengo; so that if a strong column commanded by another Dessaix had, at the moment when the English left their positions to fall upon us, sprung out of the earth to oppose them, the chances would have been in our favour!

Many agree in affirming that when he saw the unlucky turn which the affair was taking, he charged bravely at the head of the guard, that he had two horses shot under him, and that he threw himself repeatedly into the midst of the English in quest of death!—But this act of despair could only be regarded as a fresh instance of folly; and far from refuting our opinion of his unskilfulness comes powerfully to its aid; it contributes to prove that at Mount St. Jean, as elsewhere, he was incapable or careless of providing

for a secure retreat; that his tactics were confined to risking every thing to break the enemy's line; that all was staked on this cast: which accounts for the astonishing disasters that have invariably characterised his defeats.

It is impossible not to deplore the fate of an army thrown upon the discretion of a man thus invincibly obstinate; regardless of all impediments, and inaccessible to any other alternative for his followers, than victory or death. Inconsiderate bravery is to be censured in a general, who belongs altogether to his army. But did Bonaparte really display it in his own person? If this question be answered in the affirmative (and it cannot be denied, that on many occasions, he confronted danger with coolness and intrepidity,) we are obliged to acknowledge in him two essentially different beings; one, bold, daring, freely exposing his life in battle, and ready to perish gloriously on the field of honour; the other pusillanimous and nerveless, haunted incessantly by the fear of death, and to avoid it shamelessly braving infamy and disgrace.

It is this last being who instead of making efforts to rally his army, instead of throwing himself in their path to stop their flight, and snatch something from the wreck, hides himself in the crowd of his soldiers, steals from them as a deserter, and in the course of his uninterrupted gallop to his capital, consults his personal safety alone. If the one has shown himself at times courageous on the field of battle, or at least unshaken and insensible among the scenes of carnage in which indeed he appeared to delight, the other has always been found cowering at the aspect of danger, and so panic-struck at the approach of death, as to lose all power of self-government, and be irresistibly impelled to an ignominious flight.

The soldiery manifested more tenderness for his glory than he felt himself. Whilst in making his escape, he glided furtively, although not undetected, through their broken ranks, they, in the fulness of their generous, but mortified attachment, exclaimed—*Ah! if he had only died!* In vain were they reminded that he was a sovereign, and that his duties were radically different from those of a mere leader; this reasoning was not to be understood, and they saw in it merely a specious colouring for a desertion, of which nothing could palliate the baseness, or veil the disgrace.

The battle of Mount St. Jean, was one of the most destructive that has ever been fought. The French army consisting of 120,000 men, was, after having performed prodigies of valor, almost entirely destroyed; 300 pieces of artillery, all the caissons and carriages, together with an immense number of prisoners, fell into the hands of the enemy; more than 20,000 Frenchmen were stretched upon the field, horribly mangled with grape shot. The English, likewise, suffered a heavy loss, but not so severe as that of the French, owing to the advantage of their position. The number of slain, however, in the whole allied army, may be estimated at 20,000. We are induced to believe that at the commencement of the action, the two armies were equally strong in point of numbers, but the English had the superiority, as they were attacked in their entrenchments, and still more by reason of the effectual

co-operation of the Prussians at the moment when the affair was about to be decided.

It was easy to foresee the consequences of this battle. No doubt was entertained that the allies would shortly be in possession of the capital of France. Nothing could henceforth arrest their victorious march. Although a part of the French army had collected in the environs of Laon and Rheims, it was too weak and dispirited to make head. Advancing by rapid marches, the allies soon, in fact, appeared under the walls of Paris, where they would have found no resistance, but for the arrival of the right wing of the French army. This corps, which had been looked upon as lost, had retired with singular good fortune by Namur. After having marched for eight days, in the midst of the allied troops, and parallel to them, it had, contrary to general expectation, and all probability, effected its junction with the rest of the surviving force, without having suffered much loss.

Seventy thousand men were thus concentrated before Paris, and threatened to defend the capital. But what could such a force hope to accomplish, against the congregated troops of Europe, now rapidly approaching this central point!

After some days of hesitation, alarming to the inhabitants, whose safety it endangered to the highest degree, the obstinacy of the troops was overcome. They had not only determined to hold out to the last extremity, but were disposed to exact the heaviest sacrifices from the people, to attain their object. The capitulation into which they were gradually drawn, was, in fact, a victory of incalculable importance for France, and, perhaps, saved the capital from utter destruction.

The battle of Mount St. Jean, by causing the occupation of Paris, and the restoration of a legitimate authority, put an end to the desperate struggle into which Bonaparte had dragged the nation. The loss of so many thousand men, is, no doubt, a shocking calamity; but when we consider it as the speedy issue of a dreadful war, to the ravages of which France would have been a prey for an indefinite period of time, we must be convinced, that it was, in reality, the least fatal event that could be expected, or have happened for us, in our unfortunate situation.

It is evident, on whatever side we examine the question—even if France had been unanimous in her efforts, that she would have been incompetent to resist the combined forces of Europe; she would have been compelled to yield, after a defence, more or less protracted, more or less bloody,—but, in any event, exceedingly disastrous. The decisive battle of Mount St. Jean, rescued her from a great part, at least, of the horrors and calamities, by which she would have been overpowered, had she become the theatre of an active and homicide war. In this cruel condition, there could be no distinction between friend and foe, the native and the stranger. Animated by that savage spirit, which has scourged Europe for five and twenty years, all would have conspired to sack and ruin our unfortunate country. Facts have undeniably proved, that the sacred tie of country is a nullity for men, whom force has elevated above all laws.

If, as history teaches, by frequent and awful examples, the military are always prone to se-

parate themselves from the rest of their countrymen, and turn against them the arms entrusted to their care, for the common defence, what could have been expected from an army who worshipped Bonaparte with undivided fealty, who, by delivering the nation into his hands, proclaimed themselves his devoted satellites, the blind instruments of his will.—This army, moreover, had been trained to a vagabond life, and disciplined in plunder; they had renounced country, and become cosmopolites; they breathed nothing but war, because war was for them every thing, and a return to that unbounded license of pillage, which had become a passion as well as a habit. After the ruin of all the countries which they had overrun, France presented to them a virgin mine; a rich harvest of spoil, upon which they would have preyed with equal avidity. The spirit of insubordination which they had carried with them every where, whether victorious or otherwise, had been communicated, not only to the foreigners who served under their banners, but also to the troops against whom they fought. Thus, our unhappy country would not have been able to escape the deplorable ills with which we had visited other nations at home.

It must be confessed, that, although the French set the example of exaction and pillage, during their incursions into the nighbouring countries, they have been equalled by some who formed themselves upon their model. One nation in particular, which had however some excuse for indulging in reprisals, is now competent to give lessons in this line. But this general demoralization is the inevitable consequence of the military system that Bonaparte had established. We have reason to fear, that it has taken deep root in Europe, and will with difficulty be eradicated.

In its very nature subversive of all principles of morality, destructive of all justice and laws, the avowed enemy of civilization, this military system is the greatest possible scourge of governments and society; or rather, neither governments nor society any longer exist, when it becomes exclusively established. It gives rise to continual wars, because interest actuates the world, and the desire to rule is natural to all men. Hence the military, who, considered as fiduciaries charged with the defence of their fellow citizens, are eminently entitled to respect, are too apt to forget that it is this object alone, together with the preservation of social order, that can render their strength legitimate and themselves honourable. Substituting their own particular interest for the general good; seduced by the desire of monopolizing the honours and emoluments of the state, they too often, when the opportunity offers, pervert the public force to the attainment of their private ends. Their desires increase, as the means of gratifying them are multiplied. The season of war is that of their harvest; and war, therefore, must necessarily be their incessant aim.

The exclusive preponderance of the military power is the heaviest calamity that can separately afflict a state, and inevitably brings on its ruin. All conquering nations have been subjugated in their turn: oppressed by the same power which they had employed for the extension of their sway,—bowed beneath the iron yoke which they had imposed upon the vanquished.

Alas! no nation has had a more fatal experience on this head than France. She can best appreciate that military government which has cost her so many sacrifices, and the pretended advantages of conquests, and glory in arms.—Has not each one of her numerous triumphs diminished her intrinsic force? and have not all those brave and brilliant armies, acknowledged to be the best in the world, conducted her from victory to victory, almost to her ruin?

Who does not distinctly perceive that this deplorable system of military despotism was carrying us back with rapid strides to the night of barbarism? Already, as in the times of anarchy at Rome, factious troops acknowledged no law but their will, and raised to the throne of an oppressed people a favourite leader; or, as among the Asiatics, audacious janissaries made or deposed the sovereign according to their caprice.

We were approaching fast, not under the auspices of the Bourbons, but those of Bonaparte, to the *feudal* state in its essence.—The feudal system originated with military communities, and was nothing more than martial laws applied to civil purposes. Military chiefs, who had raised themselves to supreme power, granted to those who had rendered them important services, entire domains peopled with vassals reduced to servitude by the laws of war. Conquerors, from the same motive, stripped their victims of their lands, and parcelled them out among their soldiers. It was thus that Cæsar often rewarded his legions. But, what were Bonaparte's *dotations* to his officers and troops, if not rewards of a similar description and tendency? Were not the towns and villages included within these *dotations* subjected, or very nearly so, to the law of vassalage? was not, in fact, this degrading *feudality* realized all over France? were not the citizens, in many respects, the real vassals of that vast horde of soldiery whom they supported—who devoured the produce of their property, and the fruit of their toils? If the power of the new proprietors had been consolidated, would they not have enjoyed all the seignorial privileges which they chose to exact?

We have all history attesting, that military governments are the most oppressive, the least in accordance with a state of enlightened civilization, and the best adapted to bring us back to the ages of darkness. Servitude had its origin in the midst of the military ranks, and it was only by gradually freeing themselves from the yoke of military despotism, that nations were enabled to advance towards a more tolerable condition of society. It is therefore incumbent upon us, to unite all our efforts against that spirit which threatens to plunge us again into barbarism. It is time that order should succeed to anarchy, and the reign of law be substituted for that of force.

If Europe has assumed her military and truly alarming attitude, only to repel the unjust and perpetually impending aggressions of France, directed by the most ambitious and unprincipled of conquerors, the cause existing no longer, the effect should likewise cease. We have a right then to hope that these late events will restore to all nations that repose which they all invoke with equal fervour; and that admonished by so many convulsions and disasters, Europe will hasten to reduce those vast armaments, the continuance of which will only give birth to fresh revolutions.

OF

ENGLAND AND ENGLISHMEN.

From the French of J. B. Say, Author of a Treatise on Political Economy.

THE long interruption of the communications between France and Great Britain, has rendered very valuable the few moments elapsed since the peace. We have been at liberty to seek, on the other side of the channel, an explanation of several phenomena, the results of which only were known to us; and to measure the lever which more than once has raised Europe.

The prodigious influence exerted by the British nation on the continent is not to be traced to her military force, or indeed to her navy. Nor is it to be attributed to British gold; for, ever since the year 1797, Great Britain has had no other than paper money, which does not rest upon any metallic security; and perhaps of all the nations in the world, England, considering every thing, owns the least quantity of the precious metals. The wealth and the credit of this nation have worked the wonders which we have witnessed, and as those powerful arms are the result of her whole public economy, it is the system of her economy which is her characteristic feature, and which deserves to fix our attention.

Until the year 1814, France who had the ascendancy on the continent, and Great Britain who had the same ascendancy at sea, could not fairly be said to have come to a direct, close contest, and as neither their existence, nor indeed their power, was endangered by the numerous engagements which they had with each other on both elements, however much humanity may deplore the effect, those engagements can be considered in no other light than as skirmishes. But their total result has been to deprive England for nearly twenty years, of her easy and regular communications with the continent, and France of almost all her maritime relations. The colonies separated from the mother-country, have either rendered themselves independent, or become a prey to the British; and all the commerce beyond seas has fallen into their hands. And, if we except a small number of straggling vessels, most of which even could not escape them, it was in their ships, or at least by their permission, that the merchandise of Asia and America was brought to our quarter of the globe, and that the produce of the European soil and industry found its way to the other parts of the world. Whether this preponderance have been confessed or not, whether this commerce was carried on by smuggling or licenses, in disguise or openly, still such is the fact.

What have been the consequences of this monopoly? The commercial profits of Great Britain have increased in a wonderful degree. More than twenty thousand vessels of all nations, have entered every year the ports

of Great Britain. The wealthiest merchants of Holland, Bremen, Lubeck, and Hamburgh, terrified at the approach of a conqueror, who advanced not only with cannon bi *tems*, took refuge in England, and carried with them their capitals Commercial enterprises multiplied; a greater number of agents of every description, from the supercargo to the porter, found employment; and as families augment in proportion to the means afforded to procure a livelihood, the population of the maritime cities of Great Britain increased in a very remarkable degree. London is no longer a city: it is a province covered with houses. Glasgow, which in the year 1791, contained a population of only 66,000 inhabitants, has now 110,000: Liverpool, which in 1801, reckoned 77,000 inhabitants, contains now 94,000: Bristol in the same space of time has advanced from 63 to 76,000 souls.

The establishment of docks and warehouses free from custom house duties, in all these ports, facilitated the distribution throughout Europe, of the goods which arrived there from every corner of the world, and the exportation of the produce of the interior was encouraged by the drawbacks. But another cause which had never been thought of, favoured this immense commerce still more.

After Bonaparte had succeeded at last, by gradual encroachments, in usurping all power in France, his restless activity, the gigantic project of universal domination, made every people of Europe, one after another, an enemy to France. Republican France had no enemies but kings. Under Bonaparte, nations became her adversaries. Those who appeared to be the allies of Bonaparte, were his secret enemies. The abominable system by which immense armies are made to subsist at the expense of the country which they occupy, whether friend or foe, had by degrees heightened this enmity into rage. But Europe exhausted by long and obstinate wars, compelled, when she dared to resist, to oppose a whole population under arms, to an invading population, could not support the expenses of so difficult a defence. Nothing but the most prodigiously active industry, could produce annually, the means of defraying the immense cost of wars, such as those which have been waged for fifteen years past.

All the countries already invaded, and those threatened with invasion, without being partial to England, were yet compelled to look to her for subsidies. British agents spread over every accessible part of the continent, and in the allied armies, in Portugal, in Spain, in Germany, forced to procure either in kind, or in cash, all the succours which Great Britain had engaged to furnish, offered their drafts on London, an operation which rendered bills of exchange payable in England, abundant on the continent; and this lowered the exchange to such a degree, that a pound sterling, which at first was equal to twenty-four francs, could, for a while, be bought on the continent, at from sixteen to seventeen francs.*

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* It is an error to suppose that the depreciation of exchange on London, originated in want of confidence in bank notes, the only currency with which a bill of exchange on England can be paid. Twenty-three francs are now given for one pound sterling, which formerly sold for not more than sixteen francs. Still we all know, in 1816, that the bank of England is now no more

The same depreciation obtained with respect to the currency of Hamburgh, Vienna, and Lisbon.

What was the result?

Every speculator of whatever nation, could draw goods from England, and procure at a profit, the money with which he was to pay for them. If he bought in Birmingham goods to the amount of a pound sterling, instead of giving twenty-four francs French for the pound sterling, which he was to remit for the goods, he had to pay at most, eighteen francs, so that he could well agree to make no profit on the goods; nay more, he could even agree to lose upon them, since by the exchange alone, he gained twenty-five per cent, or one fourth of the sum to be remitted. We ought not then to be surprised at the activity of the British manufacturers at certain times, and at the increase observable in the population of both their manufacturing, as well as commercial cities, although in these last in a less remarkable degree.

Such are the causes of the progress made during the war by the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain; But this is not all.

The population of the cities increasing with the profits of industry, the demand for all articles of food increased likewise. Wheat, the average price of which in 1794, was 56 shillings the quarter, (about 445 pounds of 8 ounces,) was sold in 1813, as high as 136 shillings.

This enormous price having considerably increased the profits of the farmers, by a necessary consequence, the rent of the farms advanced at the renewal of every lease, and both farmers and proprietors made considerable gains.

But whilst the war induced this forced exertion of British industry, the British themselves derived but little advantage from it. The taxes and loans wrested from them all the profits. The taxes weighed at once upon the labours of all classes, and robbed them of the best portion of their earnings; and the loans absorbed in part, the savings of those bold adventurers, of those knowing speculators, who were on the watch to make the most of circumstances.

The facility with which the government could obtain loans, that is to say, spend any sum provided it could pay the interest on the same, led to the most enormous prodigality. The expenses of the war were greater to England than to any other nation. In the first place, the administration, in what relates to the purchase of necessary supplies, suffered, as well as every other consumer, by the increased price of all articles; of which increased price, itself was the first cause. Great Britain has to pay not only for her own supplies, but for those of her allies; not only the stipend of her own armies, but those of many others. The military and naval forces of Great Britain are scattered all over the globe.

Supplies to be sent, magazines to be formed in Asia or America, cost twice as much as the same would cost in Europe. Every soldier sent there, costs as much as

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able to redeem its notes in specie, than it was in 1813.

During the war, one hundred guineas in gold payable in London, might have been bought with ninety-three guineas in gold on the continent. There was no want of confidence connected with this transaction. The cause was the abundance of depreciated English currency, that is, of the kind of currency payable in London, and not the want of confidence in the notes.

two soldiers near home; and this is a great advantage secured for ever to the United States, in their quarrels with Great Britain.

I speak not here of the abuses in expense; they are carried to a most scandalous height: nor of ancient abuses, which have crept in by degrees; nor of late ones, which have been introduced on purpose; nor of those which are pointed out, and inveighed against, by the opposition party, because none but the friends of the ministry profit by them; nor of those upon which all parties are silent, because they are countenanced by the national vanity. I speak of the whole together, the result of which is, that, although taxes have quadrupled since the year 1793, the expenses of each year have progressively exceeded the amount of the revenue;—that it became necessary to provide for this progressive deficit by loans more considerable from year to year, and which have ultimately carried the principal of the debt of Great Britain, to the enormous sum of seven hundred and seventy-seven millions, four hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling; the annual interest of which, added to the current expenses, rendered, in the year 1813, the total amount of the public expenses of the central government no less than the incredible sum of one hundred and twelve millions, three hundred and ninety-one thousand pounds sterling.

One is apt to conceive himself mistaken, in contemplating such a frightful result for the expenses of one single year, which, according to all appearances, has been exceeded by the expenses of 1814, and still more by those of 1815. But this statement is founded on official communications, and attested by writers devoted to the British administration.

Of this amount of annual expense, about sixty-nine millions sterling, were supplied by the taxes of the year. The rest was procured from loans and anticipations; in other words, about one milliard, seven hundred millions of francs have been raised upon the revenues, or if you please, on the annual profits of the British nation, and one milliard* on its capital or savings, and that too, independent of the taxes which the nation pays for local expenses, for public worship, and for the poor, which, as every one knows, amount to considerable sums. So that, it is not perhaps far from truth, to declare, that the British government devours one half of the revenues which spring from the aggregate produce of the soil, of the capital, and of the industry, of the British nation.

In the moral, as in the physical world, facts grow out of each other. A result becomes the cause of another result, which in its turn will become a cause. The enormity of the burdens supported by the British nation, has rendered exorbitantly expensive all the products of its soil, and of its industry. Each of the articles consumed by the productive classes, each of their movements, if I may say so, being taxed, the produce of their industry has become dearer, while they are not benefited by the increase of price. In each profession, the gains are not sensibly greater, in consequence of the increased price of the articles produced, because, this increased price goes to the discharge of the additional taxes to be paid by the producer, and thus adds nothing to

* A milliard of francs is about 600 millions of dollars.

his profits; and this general enhancement compels the producers, in their capacity of consumers, to impose upon themselves continual privations.

An Englishman who trades with a capital not his own, if he is obliged to pay an interest on that capital, cannot maintain his family. A landed estate, or a capital in the stocks, which every where else would be competent to procure ease, without labour, are not enough in England to enable their owner to live. If he does not employ them directly himself, he must exert some particular art; he must be concerned either as principal or subaltern, in some separate undertaking.

In a word, the Englishman who has it not in his power to exercise some sort of art or industry, he who has a fixed, moderate revenue, and who is not bound to the soil, travels into countries where living is less expensive; and this is the motive which has driven towards France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, those swarms of English travellers, in the number of whom, there are indeed a few to be found, actuated by curiosity alone. To this cause is likewise to be traced the great distress of that class of workmen who are engaged in manufactures. A labourer in England, according to the number of persons in his family, and notwithstanding the most praise-worthy exertions on his part, cannot earn more than the three-fourths, and sometimes not more than one half, of what is necessary to defray his expenses. The parish, that is, the produce of the tax laid for the maintenance of the poor, must supply the deficiency. One third, it is said, of the population of Great Britain, is thus obliged to resort to public charity. Few beggars are to be met with, because the assistance which they receive, is delivered to them in their houses; and this assistance not being of itself sufficient to support them, they are still compelled to work. An honest English traveller, who journeyed lately from one end of France to the other, manifested, at every step, his astonishment that people there could earn a livelihood by their labour. This astonishment indicates clearly, what takes place in Great Britain.

There are, no doubt, likewise, to be met with in England, wealthy proprietors, rich capitalists, who have no business to pursue but their pleasures. Their revenues are so immense, that they exceed all their wants, and set at defiance all dearness. But their number is always inconsiderable, compared with the totality of the nation. The British nation in general, except these spoiled children of Fortune, is wedded to perpetual labour. It can enjoy no rest. There are in England, no idlers by profession. Every man, who is not actively engaged in some pursuit,—every man, who, if I may use the expression, looks around him, is remarked at once. There are not in England, coffee houses, or billiard rooms filled up with loungers from morning till night; and the public walks are deserted every other day but Sunday. On that day they are frequented by every body; but still every body appears there, as it were, wrapped up in speculations about his business. Such of the British as allow themselves the least relaxation in their labours, are soon overtaken by complete ruin; and I was assured in London, that several of those families who had but little beforehand, had fallen into the

greatest embarrassments during the stay of the allied sovereigns in London, because these princes strongly excited curiosity, and in order to see them, the people had intermitted their usual occupations, for several days in succession.

Those even who, being in tolerably good circumstances, still continue to labour, although they might do without it; labour in order to become rich, in order to place themselves above the reach of events, and to vie with those richer than themselves, in every kind of extravagance. The greatest reproach in France, is, to be deficient in courage. The severest reproach in England, is, to be deficient in guineas. The opinion is, perhaps, not more reasonable on one side, than on the other.

This economic position has a most deplorable effect on the progress of science; and the philosophical observer may fairly apprehend, that the country of Bacon, Newton, and Locke, is doomed to retrograde rapidly towards barbarism. It seems certain, that people there do not read as much as they formerly did. They have no time for it, and books are too dear. The rich, who may think only of amusement, have other enjoyments than those connected with scientific pursuits; and, in fact, their pleasures disqualify them for the study of the sciences. The best books are seldom read by people of fashion. The reading truly useful, requires an application which is irksome to them; and if, perchance, they happen to read a good work, it is as seed which falls on an exhausted soil. The middle class is the only one which studies usefully for society; but before long, it will be impossible even for the middle class, to study in Great Britain.

There are still, however, two sorts of publications which are read, and which indeed are of first necessity, to wit, the Bible and the newspapers It remains to be ascertained what information is to be derived from either.

I have said, that dearness does not lead necessarily to profit. Often even the producer of an article gains so much less, in proportion as this very article sells high. The increased price diminishes the number of consumers, because it places the goods, beginning with those which may, by any possibility, be dispensed with, out of the reach of certain fortunes. Those who do not altogether give up the article, are more sparing in its use: hence it is in less demand than it was before. The competition of the consumers diminishes, although that of the producers remains the same.

It is thus that the latter, in proportion as they deprive themselves of the articles which they were accustomed to use, feel more imperiously the necessity of selling even at a very moderate profit, the articles which they produce. No where are exertions to attract the attention of purchasers, carried farther, than in England. Hence the studied nicety in the setting off of their shops to the best advantage; the ridiculous ornaments by which attention is challenged. Hence the multiplied advertisements, the goods offered below the usual price, the tone of quackery which strikes a foreigner. The directors of the first theatre in London boast themselves, in the most pompous style, of the applause which their performers have received from an enraptured

audience; an audience by the by, in a great degree, collected by themselves. In order to inform the public of some new enterprise, or indeed of a simple change of domicile, it is not deemed sufficient to fix a notice at the corner of a wall, but you are met every step in the streets of London, by ambulatory advertisements, displayed like so many banners, in the midst of the busy crowd, and which you can read as you walk along, without losing a minute.

This necessity to sell, creates a sort of struggle between the producers. The question is, who shall sell cheapest. But, as the article is unavoidably expensive, on account of the taxes with which it is saddled, the grower must save on the quality. Thus is it to be seen in England, as every where else, that goods are so much less perfect of their kind, as they are dearer; some qualities which formerly were excellent, have become good for nothing. The woollen stocking manufactory of the British, their work in leather, cutlery, &c. the reputation of which extended all over Europe, are no longer worth what they were. The silks manufactured by them, are but a cobweb, and under the name of wine, the nation which is said to be the richest in the world, is condemned to drink the most dangerous poison.

To the same cause are to be traced the numerous crimes which are commited in Great Britain. There were fifteen thousand persons convicted in 1813. The whole of Europe does not exhibit such a multitude of convicts, and this number increases progressively from year to year as do the taxes, the public debt, &c. What is to be the end of this appalling progression? I put the question.—This dreadful state of things has been ascribed to the want of religion. There is no country where there is more religion than in England. Methodism which is the fanaticism of christianity has made there a progress which every body has noted. It is principally in Catholic countries that incredulity has gained ground. It is time to put an end to absurd declamations not justified by experience, and candidly to confess that the economic situation of a nation, or, if you please, wants considerable in comparison with the means of gratifying them, are the principal cause of this multiplicity of crimes which are a source of affliction for philosophy, not less than for religion.

When we see a nation so active, so noble, so ingenious, compelled in consequence of a bad economic system to labour so intensely, and to suffer notwithstanding so many privations; when we see a country abounding in talents, in virtues, yet disgraced by so many crimes, we are apt to ask ourselves with bitterness: of what use then is civil and religious liberty? of what use the liberty of the press, security of property, and the empire of the seas? The great misfortune of England is that, for a number of years, it has been governed by men who at the same time that they have committed every possible blunder, have never failed to fulfil the public engagements. This regularity become a fixed principle, together with the publicity of national accounts and the specious edifice of the sinking fund consolidated by Mr. Pitt, has raised the credit of the government to such a point as to enable it consume before hand the principal of the future revenue of the nation; to make

after generations bear the weight of the errors of the present; and thus a thousand times over, to increase the fatal importance of these errors, by the vast resources which this unlimited credit placed in the hands of the political cabinet.

Let my reader take the trouble of combining in fancy the effect of these incalculable resources, with the pride of a nation which, provided she be flattered about her naval glory, her maritime rights, can be lead on to every possible absurdity and extravagance.

There is, no doubt, much information in Great Britain. But what is the use of information, what matters a knowledge of the true nature, and true situation of things, when once the passions are roused? Do we not see every day gamblers risking their money upon chances which calculation demonstrates to them to be unfavourable? We must at last pay, and pay with usury too, for all the extravagancies we indulge in, and the nearer we approach the term when we must necessarily calculate, the less we are at liberty to commit new errors with impunity. Political economy is no longer a science of speculation, and confined to a few: ignorance of it is excusable in no man who administers the finances of a nation, and I venture to assert that every government which shall either mistake or disregard the principles of political economy, is destined to receive its death blow from the administration of its finances.

But let us return to our subject:

Some good effects, among a great many bad ones, have however resulted, in England, from the necessity of economising all the expenses requisite for the producing or manufacturing of every article. This necessity has, if we may be allowed the expression, perfected the art of production, and has led to the discovery of more expeditious, simple and consequently economical means of obtaining any end whatever. As manufactures upon a large scale are generally the least expensive, the most trifling things are now attempted upon that scale. I have seen at Glasgow, dairies consisting of not less than three hundred cows, where they retailed milk as low as two-pence-worth. The education of the poor which constitutes, perhaps, the only security of the rich, was impeded by the high price of books and tuition; and in the course of a few years there would have been no more personal safety in the midst of one of the most civilised nations of Europe, than among the Esquimaux or the Caffres.

All at once schools are established in which the preceptor alone teaches with success and rapidity, reading, writing, and figures, to five hundred children at the same time, without the assistance of either pens or books.

But it is principally the employment of machinery in the arts which has rendered the production of wealth more economical. There is scarcely a large landed estate in England, where the threshing machine, for instance, is not employed, by means of which, upon a large scale, you do more work in one day, than in one month by the ordinary method.

But the labour of man, which is rendered so expensive by the dearness of all articles of first necessity, has been in no case supplied as advantageously as by the

steam engine. There is no object of labour to which they have not been applied. They are used for spinning yarn, for weaving wool and cotton, for brewing beer, and for cutting crystal. I seen some employed to embroider muslin, some to make butter. At New Castle, at Leeds, ambulatory steam engines propel waggons laden with coals, and nothing is more surprising at first for the traveller than to meet, in the country, a long string of those waggons advancing by themselves, without the assistance of any living being.

Every where steam engines are prodigiously multiplied. There were but three or four in London thirty years ago. There are now thousands. They are to be found by hundreds in the large manufacturing cities; they are even to be seen on the farms, and the labour of industry can no longer be carried on with advantage but by means of their powerful co-operation. But they require a vast quantity of coals, of that combustible fossil which nature seems to have held in reserve to supply the exhaustion of the forests—an unavoidable result of civilisation. Accordingly, we might by means of a mineralogical map alone trace a map of the industry of Great Britain. Wherever coal is to be had, there industry prevails.

But it is in vain that the modes of production are simplified. The taxes, the terrible taxes increase every day their voracious demand. They devour; and what they do not devour, they make almost unattainable. Not unlike the night mare which gains upon you notwithstanding all the efforts you make to escape from its pursuit, the taxes overtake, they outstrip the economy of the industrious producer; and the nation instead of enjoying her admirable industry and the unremitted activity of her labourers, is obliged to pay high for what she produces cheap. It being made impossible for her to sell as cheap as other nations less bent under the burthen of public taxes, she has no means of entering the markets abroad on the same terms as other foreigners. Thus she is cut off from a foreign market. For, if the government can compel the nation to buy things beyond their value, it does not, thank God, exercise the same power over the French, the Germans, and the Russians.

May it not be, moreover, that the long estrangement of the British from the classic grounds of Europe has by degrees altered their taste in the fine arts—that their vases, their furniture, their candelabras exhibit neither correctness, lightness, nor elegance in their forms; —that they have relapsed into the Gothic and distorted style? Witness those heavy and complicated ornaments which mean nothing. The figuring of their stuffs, the choice of their colours would make them seem far behind the rest of Europe, and needing a long and active communication with the continent, to overtake us in these respects.

Are we then to wonder at the disrepute in which British goods are held in the great markets of Europe? and can we predict for them better success in future until there shall be an alteration in their economic system.

This critical position, which I have endeavoured to exhibit, and the causes of which I have tried to investigate, is the subject of animated debates not only in both houses of parliament but among the whole nation, and gives con-

siderable weight to the attacks of the opposition not so redoubtable by its numbers, as for the solidity of its reasoning, and the celebrated names, the large fortunes, and the distinguished talents by which it is supported.

The question respecting corn, and that respecting paper money, are chiefly agitated. The government has lately enacted laws upon these two subjects: but laws cannot remedy difficulties springing from the nature of things, and embarrassments of greater perplexity will still be felt.

To form a clear idea on these subjects some explanations become necessary.

We have seen at the beginning of this pamphlet what circumstances, by favouring the activity of the commerce and of the manufactures of Great Britain, have raised there, the price of corn. The contributions of the cultivator of the soil, the rent paid by the farmer to the proprietor, rose in the same proportion; and now those who attend to agriculture maintain that, in order that the price of corn may reimburse the cultivator for his advances it must must keep up to between ninety-five and one hundred shillings the quarter, and that, accordingly, it is proper to prohibit the importation of corn from the moment it falls below such price.

They add that if the legislature does not adhere to this principle, it will be impossible for the farmers to pay the proprietors their rents, or the state its taxes; that the cultivation of corn being attended with loss, the cultivation of land of an inferior quality will be entirely given up, and the good land will be devoted to some more profitable crop than corn; that, thus, corn will grow more scarce, that a greater increase in the price will necessarily take place, and that the British nation will be more and more at the mercy of foreigners for its subsistence.

On the other hand, the manufacturers and the merchants maintain, that if the articles of first necessity continue at the present extravagant prices, the price of labour must increase instead of being diminished, and that thus their goods must be offered every day with additional disadvantage, in foreign markets.

The alternative is terrible. If the price of corn be not kept up, agriculture and the proprietors of land must be ruined; or if it is, commerce and manufactures are to perish.

The British parliament by fixing at eighty shillings the price below which corn shall not be imported into Great Britain, have taken a *mezzo termine* which will satisfy nobody.

But I will suppose that without displeasing the cultivators, parliament had found the means of reducing the price of corn to sixty-five shillings; still this would not extricate the nation from her embarrassments. In the British islands corn is but an item in the food of the labouring class. Potatoes, meat and fish form another considerable part. It is ascertained that each person upon an average does not use more than a quarter of wheat per annum, so that the quarter of wheat, if reduced to fifteen shillings less than the present price, would afford to the labouring men no more than a saving of about a cent per day.

This reduction would scarcely be felt with respect to the price of labour, which is itself but a part of the expenses attending the producing or manufacturing of any

article. Fifteen shillings more or less on the price of corn would have then but a feeble influence on the price of the articles of British production and on their sale in foreign markets.

It is not the price of a single article, no, not even the price of corn itself, which has a great effect on the price of the things produced or manufactured in a country. It is the price of every thing, and the price of every thing is increased in the same ratio with the public burthens, which, under a thousand forms, reach the consumer, and affect all his expenses. It is the direct taxes, it is the prejudices and the manners of a country that impose upon the people obligations and burthens which it is not more easy to decline, than it is the payment of the taxes.

The matter of bank bills, theoretically more difficult, offers, however, fewer inconveniences in practice. In order to understand it well we must be acquainted with the basis of the present monied system of Great Britain, which is somewhat curious.

The bank of England is a special company of capitalists which discounts bills of exchange, and, for a remuneration, assumes several public services, such as the payment of the interest of the public debt. The bank has loaned at different times to the government, a sum not only equal to the amount of the capital of the stockholders, but other sums in notes issued for that purpose, and which rest on no other security than the funds received in exchange from the government. These funds bear an interest, but the principal is not demandable, and of course they cannot be used for the discharge of the notes which have been issued upon their credit.

The bank of England, less prudent in that respect than the bank of France, has obtained, on these terms, the renewal of its charter. The bank of France has lent to the government the sum which the government, by an abuse of its power, compelled it to lend out of its capital. Its capital was the property of its stockholders, who were at liberty to dispose of it as they pleased. But they did not coin notes (representing no sort of capital) to lend them to the government. Now, what has been the consequence of the operations of the bank of England? The notes lent by the bank to the government, and given by the government to its creditors, were sooner or later presented for payment to the bank. But this institution having received no real value as a security for these notes at the time of their being issued, could not reimburse them.

Then it became necessary, either that the government should pay the bank, to enable the latter to take back its notes, or that it should authorise the bank not to pay them. This last expedient was resorted to in 1797. The suspension of payments in specie by the bank, authorised at that time, has been since several times, and but recently revived. The bank notes have thereby acquired the character of a truly national coin. Individuals could not be compelled to do what the bank could not be compelled to do. From that time commercial transactions have been settled in nothing else but bank notes, and now when we buy a bill of exchange payable in England, we know before hand that it is to be paid in the same way.

There resulted from this what most uniformly result from similar measures. The currency either in bank notes or in specie having

thereby become more considerable in comparison with the other articles of value in circulation, and being no longer susceptible of being reduced by the reimbursement of the notes, was of course depreciated; lost its value comparatively with the value of every thing else, and therefore in comparison with bullion. From this moment gold coin, which circulated concurrently with bank notes, participating in the general depreciation of the currency of the country, gained an additional value by being converted into bars, and guineas disappeared.*

The directors of the bank have increased this depreciation by never refusing to discount bills of exchange endorsed by wealthy commercial houses;—an operation which extended the speculations of some individuals beyond their real capital, by means of a fictitious one (the bank notes) the real and venal value of which decreased in proportion to their nominal augmentation.

Now that gold and silver have disappeared from circulation from the causes above explained, and that there does not remain to perform the office of money a single piece of national coin, not one minted by the government, the only money in use consists of the notes of an individual company, known by the name of the bank of England, which notes contain the promise which is never performed, of paying pounds sterling in specie of the quality and weight determined by law.

There are no bank notes below the sum of one pound sterling. Still as people are in need of small change for every day transactions, and a dread is entertained that if the government should issue legal coin of a small value in specie, it would soon be melted, and converted into ingots,—the bank has been authorised to circulate a small change in silver pieces called tokens, which are nothing else but medals containing not more than the three fourths of the quantity of metal which ought to be contained in legal coin of the same denomination. No profit could result from melting them, but in the event of bank notes falling below the three fourths of their nominal value; for then with a value less than the three fourths of a pound sterling in specie, one might procure bullion which would be worth these three fourths.

In this state of things the mint of London, the only mint in England, would have nothing at all to do if it were not engaged in coining for a stated price, on account of the bank of England, the metallic tokens for small change, of which we have just been speaking.

There are in every county and indeed in every city, provincial banks, which put in circulation notes and metallic subdivisions of

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* The word depreciation does not mean *discredit*, but only diminution of value. Paper money, as well as sugar or any other commodity, increases or diminishes according to the quantity at market for sale, and the quantity demanded by the wants of the community, independently of the opinion which may be entertained of the probability or improbability of its final reimbursement in specie. Metallic currency itself varies in its value compared with the value of other things; but its variation is not as sudden because such large quantities of it cannot at once be put in circulation. It is proved that metallic currency itself was depreciated in England, although it is out of the question that people should cease having confidence in gold currency.

their notes; but not having like the bank of England, the privilege of refusing the payment of their notes when asked for, they now discharge their own at sight in those of the bank of England, which cannot be refused as being the substitute of national coin.

The sum total of the notes of the bank of England amounts to about 31 millions sterling. It is supposed that the sum of the notes of all the provincial banks is about equal. The amount, then, of the paper money circulating in the British islands is about 62 millions sterling.

Including old shillings and the tokens in silver and brass issued by the bank of England and the provincial banks, the whole of the specie of the three kingdoms does certainly not amount to a value of more than two millions of franks.

Excepting these shillings and tokens the circulating medium of Great Britain has no intrinsic value, that is no value as material; but its value as money is real and could not be replaced but by an equivalent real value.

The value of this paper money compared with the value of other articles is no longer liable to very great variations, a proof that the bank of England keeps up the issue of its notes in the same proportion, according to the wants of circulation. If the bank should reduce the amount of its notes in circulation, which might easily be accomplished by calling in some of the notes due, and discounting no new ones, and if at the same time a law were passed limiting the amount of the issues of the provincial banks, it is probable that bank notes would soon be at par; that is with a note of one pound sterling one might buy a pound sterling in gold or silver of the quantity and weight prescribed by law.

I say that bank notes would be at par owing to the indispensable necessity, in a complicated social state in which an immensity of business is transacted, of the commodity called money, be its form and substance what they may.

The question of discredit has nothing to do with all this, because the want of money greatly outweighs the bad opinion which may be entertained of the bank notes; and, indeed, in a country where there is no specie, what can be done by the man the most cautious in his dealings, but to keep in his hands, as short a time as possible, the money in which he places no confidence? This is what all do. This is even the case with specie when a man does not choose to lose the interest. But let the British do their best, let them rid themselves as soon as possible of the notes which come into their hands, let them employ what expedients they may to economise the use of notes, still it is not less certain that in the present state of things, England cannot do with less than about 62 millions sterling of paper money at the rate of its actual value;—that if its nominal value should be diminished by one fourth, (*i. e.*) if instead of 62 millions in circulation, there should be only 46 or 47 millions, the venal value of these 47 millions would increase, and could purchase as many goods as are now to be bought for 62 millions.

It is then the quantity of the notes and not discredit which has an influence upon their value. The discredit, whatever it may be, has

not the least influence upon that value; a result founded upon facts, very different, it seems to me, from the common opinion, and which ought to have a great weight in determining the idea to be entertained with respect to the paper money of England, to the means proposed for its discharge, and to the fears which the suspension of specie payments may occasion.

If I were asked at what time I believe that the bank of England will pay its notes at sight, I should answer—I know nothing about it, but that my opinion, if I could give one, would be of no kind of importance. And indeed when money of any sort is used by people so cautiously that it is evident no confidence is placed in it, it matters not what it consists of; it is the same as if I were asked, when will a gold coin be substituted for a silver coin.

These phenomena of money entirely new throw great light on its general theory, and will produce in the sequel some very extraordinary data.

There is another topic which is not as intimately connected with our purpose, but upon which it seems to me that public opinion requires to be enlightened. It is the power which it is supposed England derives from her colonies, and principally from India, the quarter where a company of British merchants possesses an extent of territory more vast than the three kingdoms, and reigns over forty millions of subjects.

The English cannot draw wealth from India but as sovereigns or as merchants. They can bring thence nothing but the amount of taxes laid upon the people, or profits upon the goods sent there.

Let us see what amount of taxes they receive as sovereigns.

We find in Colquhoun that the several governments of India yield a gross revenue of eighteen millions, fifty-one thousand four hundred and seventy-eight pounds sterling.

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The expenses of administration and defence, according to the same writer, amount to - - -	16,984,271
But we must add to this, the expenses for keeping up and repairing the establishments of the company in India and in Europe, and those of the factories of Canton, in China -	355,067
And besides this, the interest of the debt of the company, which is not less than forty-six millions, and which originated in the expenses and losses which it met with in establishing its sovereignty	1,691,363
Total of the expenses of the company -	19,030,701

Thus it appears, that the expenses of the company exceed its revenues, by a sum of 979,223 pounds sterling. It is then a sovereignty more onerous than useful.

As a company of merchants, let us enquire what their profits may be. Upon an average of four years, from 1807 to

1810, the profits made by the company, were,	*L.* 1,728,958	
Out of which sum, deducting first the excess of the expenses of the company over and above its revenues, as sovereign,	*L.* 979,223	
And the annuities which the company receives from the bank of England, and which are not the result of commercial speculations	36,226	1,105,449
There remains clear profit		*L.*713,509

These profits for a company which has a capital of six millions sterling, and debts to the amount of 46 millions, are certainly not very considerable. Still they appear to be exaggerated. They are the result of the average profits of four years, which appear to have been more productive than the others. Several respectable writers affirm that the stockholders of the East India company do not gain as merchants what they lose as sovereigns; and this result seems confirmed by the loans which the company has often been obliged to negotiate, in order to afford a dividend to its stockholders.

What are we to think of a company which borrows in order to make dividends!

Nevertheless the partisans of the East India company maintain, that even admitting the East India company to be losers, still the company is useful to England.

They say that a very considerable part of its expenses in India goes to the enrichment of the civil and military officers employed by the company. I agree to this. But the greatest part of these salaries are for services performed in India. These salaries are spent there, and add nothing to the power of the British nation in Europe.

They say that the British goods to which the India trade affords a market, bring profit to England. I agree to this likewise. But if the capital and the industry of the British were not applied to the supply of the East Indies, they might be applied to other objects; and what could prevent the British from trading with India, and from selling there nearly the same articles which they now do, if they were not its sovereigns. This circumstance does not enable the people of India to buy what they can not pay for, or what does not suit their habits and manners; and if offered what suits them, they would be willing enough to buy it, although they might not be the subjects of the East India company.

We must not, either, make too high an estimate of the British goods which find a market in the East Indies. Every one knows that the countries of the East value specie more than the goods of of Europe. I find that in the space of six years from 1803 to 1808, the exportations of England to the East Indies amounted to a total sum of 16,306,825 pounds sterling, out of which 6,286,344 were exported in specie, which leaves for the exportations in goods, 10,020,481*l.*, and exhibits, upon an average, for every year an

exportation in goods of 1,670,080*l.* This, then, is the full amount of the so much boasted encouragements, afforded by the East Indies to British industry, which encouragements would be the same, if Hindostan now were, as it will be sooner or later, an independent state. It is a fact acknowledged by every body that independent America is much more profitable to England, than when a colony. But this presupposes a time of peace, and accordingly nothing can be more impolitic on the part of the British cabinet, than the quasi war which they carry on constantly against the United States, and which must always end in open hostilities.

The privilege of the East India company, which includes the faculty of exercising under certain conditions a political sovereignty over the countries which have been conquered at their expense, or acquired in virtue of the treaties which they have concluded, and of enjoying in certain respects, the commerce of the East Indies,—this privilege, I say, has been renewed several times, and as, in proportion as nations become more enlightened, they are more sensible of the advantages which result from liberality of principles, at each renewal of the privilege, the fate of the British subjects in India has been ameliorated, and a greater freedom allowed to commerce.

For the most part, what has been said of the British colonies in India, applies to the other British colonies, with this difference, however, that government, which exercises the sovereignty in the latter, but is not engaged in commerce, is not compensated by commercial benefits for the losses which it experiences as a sovereign. The old colonial system will fall universally in the course of the nineteenth century. Nations will give up the ridiculous pretensions of administering countries situate at a distance of two, three, six thousand leagues, and when these countries shall have become independent, a profitable commerce may be carried on with them. There will be a saving of a multitude of military and maritime establishments, that resemble expensive props applied to support an edifice which is crumbling into ruins.

Such is, at least in its principal points of view, the situation to which the events of our days have reduced Great Britain. Conceive a great land owner, prodigiously active and industrious, who from his lands and the manufactures he had established, could make every year 170 thousand francs, but who has had the misfortune of marrying a spendthrift wife who actually squanders 260 thousand; in such sort that this poor husband, notwithstanding all his genius and his intense labour, is compelled to borrow every year 90 thousand francs to face his expenses. This is the case of England. I have only suppressed four zeros.

But it will be said that the money lent to the British government is lent by British subjects. Is the burthen of the debt the less oppressive on that account?

In such a situation of things there are but two alternatives. The one is to continue to borrow. But the power of borrowing depends on that of paying interest; and already, notwithstanding all the resources of fiscal genius, it is not without the utmost difficulty that the British government can afford

to pay the present interest of its debt, and this interest is increasing every year. The other alternative is to quit, under some pretence, or other, paying the interest at all, to enact a bankruptcy more or less imperfectly disguised. But then there must be an end to the faculty of borrowing in order to cover the annual deficit, and the whole of the political system must give way from the moment the government has become unequal to the expense by which it is supported.

There is still a third expedient, to wit, a diminution of the expenses of government; and with a view to such diminution, Great Britain must desist from embroiling Asia, America, and Europe. But this is the course least likely to be adopted.

I believe that I have neither disguised nor exaggerated the difficulties in which Great Britain is involved, for I feel myself free from all prejudice. I wish well to the British nation, not less so than I do to France, and to every other country. The prosperity of one country, far from being incompatible with the prosperity of another, as men are too apt to believe, is, on the contrary, favourable.

It is my design to record some curious facts, and great experiments in political economy, because these experiments occur but seldom, and cost immensely dear. They may, perhaps, suggest some useful reflections to well informed and well disposed men. Events merely succeed each other in the opinion of the common run of men. In the opinion of a reflecting mind, events are concatenated, and dependent upon each other. At times, the thinking man may perceive some of the links which connect the present with the future. He then knows of futurity, as much as it is given to men to know, since fortune-tellers, and judicial astrology, have gone out of fashion.

THE STATE

OF THE

United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland,

AT THE PEACE OF PARIS, NOVEMBER 20, 1815.

BY GEORGE CHALMERS, F. R. S. S. A.

AFTER so violent a convulsion in Europe, with its natural effects, a war of two and twenty years' continuance, it is a very reasonable wish, to inquire what has been its real consequences to Great Britain and Ireland, in the genuine sources of their energies, and their wealth.

I.—Of the People.

In every inquiry of this kind, the people are the chief object: whether they have increased, or diminished, throughout so long a struggle, is a question of great importance. During the war of 1756, it was disputed, between Brakenridge and Foster, whether the people had increased, or diminished, and what was their amount? but without any decision. During the colonial war, Doctor Price revived the same question; but he was more successfully opposed; he insisted, that there could not be more than 5,000,000 of inhabitants in England and Wales: his opponents showed, from very sufficient documents, that there were, in England and Wales, upwards of 8,447,000 souls. These contrarieties of opinion were at length settled by the parliamentary enumeration of 1801, which, in opposition to the doctrine of Dr. Price, found in England and Wales 9,340,000 souls: but did the population continue to increase during the subsequent war? Yes; as the people had continued to multiply during the wars of 1756 and 1776, so did they multiply during the war of 1803; for the parliamentary enumeration of 1811, found, in England and Wales, 10,150,615. The state of the inhabitants of Scotland, at successive periods, gives the same result: in 1801 the enumeration found 1,618,303 souls in that country; the enumeration of 1811 found 1,805,000. The same observation equally applies to Ireland: the population of Ireland, when the Union was formed, in 1800, was supposed to be 4,000,000; by the late imperfect enumeration, in 1814, it appeared that Ireland contained near 6,000,000 of people. It is a fact, then, that the people of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland have increased, during the late long wars, to 17,208,918 souls, and continue to increase and multiply.

II.—Of the domestic enterprizes of the People of the United Kingdoms.

The best evidence of those enterprizes, together with their extent, and of their increase, is the Journals of Parliament. From this record, we know how many Acts of Parliament have passed, session after session, for making local improvements of every kind, during

the last thirty years, of which there have been so many periods of distressful hostilities.

	Acts.
In the first period of eight years, when the peace ended in 1792, and the first war began, there were passed, of Acts of Parliament, for local improvements - -	750
In the subsequent period of war, which ended with 1801, the number of such laws, for such local improvements, amounted to - -	1,124
In the eight years ending with 1814, the number of such laws amounted to -	1,632

These enumerations evince clearly three points: the first, that the energy and enterprize of the people continued to increase, without interruption, during those long periods of warfare; secondly, that the people, making those local improvements, turned their energies upon the improvement of their several districts; and thirdly, that the undertakers of those vast enterprizes found the means, and money, to carry them into effect, in their own industry, their reproductions, and consequent wealth. Ireland, in the mean time, has had her full share of those domestic improvements.

III.—Of the Agriculture of the United Kingdom.

During the present reign, at least 3,500,000 acres of waste, or common land, have been inclosed, and brought into tilth. Of those local improvements, there were 1,591 Acts of Parliament passed, for dividing common lands, for draining wet lands, and for inclosing open lands: those facts alone demonstrate, that the United Kingdom has been much improved in its surface, during the last thirty years; and, consequently, is much more valuable, as a collection of farms. A Board of Agriculture was meantime established, for ascertaining the state of husbandry in every district; for energizing the husbandmen; for instructing all those who are connected with lands: their reports evince a very improving agriculture every where, within the kingdom; and a very active spirit of improvement, upon better principles, appears to have gone forth in all parts of our country: hence, by a necessary progress, the body of the people, either as land-owners, or occupiers, became more skilful, more enterprizing, and more opulent; of consequence there was more land cultivated, with more knowledge, and more capital: so that from more cultivation, more skill and more capital, thus employed in agriculture, there were more of the products of land brought, every season, to market, from an improved husbandry, at home. But, since the demands of war have ceased, the prices of those products have fallen: this is a natural consequence; as price is always settled by the vibrations of supply and demand; the supply being greater, and the demand less, the prices must necessarily be less. Outcries have arisen in the country, as if our whole agriculture were ruined. Those outcries merely arise from the mutual complaints of landlord and tenant; of those landlords and tenants, who entered into improvi dent contracts during the war: there is neither outcry, nor complaint, in those districts where the landlords did not raise their rents, during the war, when it was idly supposed that rents would rise, without limitation. It does not, however, belong to my inquiry, to enter with-

in the verge of those outcries and complaints. I have demonstrated what I undertook to prove, that the United Kingdom is infinitely better improved, than it ever was before; and of consequence would sell for more: that the lands are every where cultivated with more skill and capital, with more enterprize and labour; and of consequence must produce much moe than they ever did before: it is thus apparent, that our agriculture has prospered greatly, during those long wars.

IV.—Of our Foreign Trade.

The next object of inquiry, is, whether our commerce has kept pace with the progress of our agriculture, during our long enduring wars. The average of the three years 1755-56-57, shews the amount of the value of our exports, when the war of 1756 began, to have been, - *L.*12,371,552

The value of the exports, when the war of 1793 began, appears, from the average of three years 1793-4-5, to have been - - 24,753,867

The value of the exports when the war of 1803 began, will appear, from a three years average, ending with 1805, to have been - - 33,614,902

The greatest year of exports, during the war, was that of 1809; amounting to 50,301,763

But this vast amount was far surpassed by that of 1814, amounting to 56,591,514

From the Custom-house accounts, which have been made up to the 10th of October, 1815, there is reason to believe, that the exports of 1815 have even surpassed the vast export of the preceding year. Such, then, was the prodigious augmentation of the foreign trade of Great Britain; while the British traders, owing to their capital and enterprize, and to the protection of the British fleets, in some measure engrossed the whole traffic of the commercial world; though the nation was embarrassed, but not obstructed, by the great demands, and smaller supplies of bullion, owing chiefly to the convulsions of the American countries, and the continental system.

2dly. With regard to the trade of Ireland:—

The value of the whole exports of Ireland in 1701 was only - - -	*L.* 779,109
In 1751 - - -	1,854,605
In 1801 - - -	4,100,526
In 1809 - - -	5,739,843
In 1814 - - -	7,139,437

Now, it is quite evident to all, who are capable of reasoning on such subjects, that it required, both in Ireland and in Britain, more people and industry, more capital and enterprize, to export the cargoes of 1809 and 1814 from both, than the cargoes of 1801 and of 1751: and, whence did Great Britain and Ireland derive all those augmentations of enterprize and capital, of industry and people? The answer must be; from their own powers of reproduction, under a happy constitution, and a mild government.

V.

The fifth object of inquiry must be with regard to the shipping, which were necessary for exporting those vast cargoes:—

	British.	Foreign.	The Total.
	Tons.	*Tons.*	*Tons.*
The quantity of tonnage, British and foreign, which were required to transport the exports of the years 1755-56 and 57, were, upon an average of those years	496,654	76,456	572,710
The quantity of tonnage, British and foreign, which were necessary for exporting the cargoes of the years 1793-4 and 5, were, upon an average of those years	1,255,939	262,558	1,518,498
The quantity of tonnage, British and foreign, which were necessary for exporting the cargoes of the years 1803-4 and 6, were, upon an average of those years	1,470,520	589,404	2,059,924
The whole shipping, which transported the great export of 1809, amounted to - - -			2,230,902
The whole shipping, which transported the greater cargo of 1814, amounted to -			2,447,268

It is thus apparent, that shipping were successively found, for transporting these several cargoes, as our trade augmented, from various causes.

VI.

The sixth object of inquiry must be, what was the whole amount of shipping, which belonged to the British dominions, in the following periods; as the same were registered under the directions of law. There were registered

	Ships.	*Tons.*
In 1786-7	14,143	1,343,473
In 1792	16,079	1,540,146
In 1802	20,568	2,128,055
In 1814	24,418	2,616,965

Such, then, was the gradual but extensive increase of our shipping, since the year 1792; and such their general amount, at the end of 1814.

VII.—Of Bullion and Exchanges.

The seventh object of inquiry must be respecting bullion, exchanges, and the collateral questions, arising from these enigmatical topics.

What I published in 1811, on those litigated topics at that period, I see no reason to change: what I wrote was derived from the experience of the commercial world, and from the practice of daily business: what I then foretold, has actually occurred. I then said, that what had happened before, as to the price of bullion, and the fluctuation of exchanges, would again happen, when the commercial pressures of the continental system were removed. That system, and its author, are both undone for ever. Commerce, and exchanges, have already begun to run in their usual channels. The exchanges have become favourable; and the prices of bullion have fallen to five per cent. above the mint price of 3*l*. 17*s*. 10½*d*. though the countries of bullion are agitated with desires of independence. In another country of agitations, the exchanges are, indeed, unfavourable, owing to the decline of prices, in all the products of agriculture. I do not learn that the Doctors in Political Economy have any other prescription for such a disorder, which is not unfrequent in Ireland, than patient perseverance in well doing.

VIII.—Of the Finances of the Country.

While the inhabitants of the United Kingdom appear to possess in a greater degree than formerly, all the enjoyments of a free, intelligent, and enterprizing people, is not THE STATE much embarrassed with debts? Yes: every war, since that of the Revolution in 1688, has left the public more and more in debt. When all those several debts of successive wars were sum-

med up, in January 1786, a debt was found to be due, by the public, of 238,231,248*l.* Mr. Pitt, who then, happily, conducted the affairs of this country, not only made the annual income quite equal to the national expenditure; but, provided a sinking fund of a million, for the gradual payment of that debt. The Parliament, who effected his measures of finance, and the people, who heartily concurred with both, have covered themselves with glory. The sinking fund was strengthened by annual grants of money: it was energized by various measures of finance; and the sinking fund, as its management had been wisely established, was providently applied to its real object; so that before December, 1813, the whole of that vast debt was completely paid off, and a surplus remaining in hand of 20,000,000*l.* Here, then, is an example of a very large debt being paid off, by a sinking fund, when conducted under prudent management; and this example is one of the resources of the State. After liquidating that debt, and sustaining the public credit, throughout the pressures of such a war against the nation, and its commerce, there remained, on the 1st of February, 1815, a sinking fund of 11,324,760*l.* the sheet-anchor of the State.

But the war of 1793, as it was the longest, and conducted on the largest scale, having other nations to sustain, has involved the State in larger debts than all our former wars had created. The public, on the 1st of February, 1815, owed a funded debt of - - - 649,076,905
And an unfunded debt of - - - - 68,580,524

But to these must be added the debts contracted for the various expenses of the year 1815. And then the unredeemed debt for Great Britain, for Ireland, for Germany, for Portugal, and for East India, will amount to - - 819,145,385

For interest thereon 29,681,664

For management thereof - - - 294,946

For the sinking fund 14,131,548

The total annual charge thereon - 44,294,037

Another resource of the State is, the clearness wherewith the public accounts are stated, and the publicity which is given to the incumbrances, and means of the community.

The people of the United Kingdom, during the reign of king William, could not have moved under the weight of such incumbrances. But, the much more numerous people of the present times, who are better instructed and usefully employed, with an agriculture infinitely superior, with manufactures vastly more extensive and profitable, with a foreign trade, and shipping, beyond all comparison greater, move with ease under such incumbrances. We have seen with what facility, notwithstanding the pressures of war, the people executed such numerous and various works, for the local improvements of their country, which, considering their vastness and utility, emulate the Roman labours: hence we may infer,

that time is one of the resources of the State.

If we inquire from what source the people of the United Kingdom have derived such vast and increasing wealth, we shall find, that it was not owing to conquests, or mines; but to the perfect safety, which they derive from their salulary laws; to the energetic industry, which is urged and rewarded by that sense of safety; to the immense commerce, domestic and foreign, of inspirited people: so that, from those causes originate those prodigious reproductions of opulence, which appear, at successive periods, to the astonishment of the world; and which have induced commercial writers to maintain, that the resources of such a people are *inexhaustible*, while fostered by *circumspection*.

THE FLORIDA QUESTION STATED.

BY H. M. BRACKENRIDGE.

FEW questions have produced so much discussion, as the conflicting claims of the United States and the king of Spain, to that part of Florida, which stretches from the Mississippi to the Perdido. It has been brought before the public in every possible shape; it has been the subject of debate on the floor of congress; it has been the theme of numerous newspaper essays; and has lately given rise to unpleasant recriminations, between the Spanish minister in this country, and our secretary of state. To Spain, the subject of dispute is more a matter of pride, than of interest; to the United States, however, for the most obvious reasons, it is of the greatest value: this is not mentioned, however, as entitled to weight, on either side, in the discussion. The possibility of a rupture with Spain, renders this affair particularly important at the present moment; as it will undoubtedly constitute one of the principal points of difference. The first consideration with every people, should be to act justly and honourably in all their dealings; in the end, this will always prove the truest wisdom. If we have been led into error, let us retrace our steps, and endeavour to make atonement; if right, let us persist in our course with the confidence and courage of self-approbation; but let us first examine the ground on which we stand, fairly and dispassionately.

The very nature of this question, it must be admitted, presents a serious difficulty. It bears too much resemblance to those obstinately litigated causes in courts of justice, where all the feelings and passions are enlisted, where it is almost hopeless that the parties will of themselves ever come to an agreement, and where the interposition of a judge is therefore indispensable. On either side of such cases, the most cogent reasons may be urged, but absolute demonstration, from the nature of the subject, is impossible; all that the ablest judge can do, is to weigh the arguments of the parties, with due impartiality, and then decide according to the best of his understanding. But when nations are the parties in similar questions, who shall decide between them? The most sober, and disinterested among them, and among other nations. The best mind, when swayed by passion or interest, can no longer be trusted. Perhaps, no people on earth are less entitled to decide promptly or alone, on such occasions, than we Americans; our intimate connexion with all affairs of government, almost identifies the public interests, with our private concerns. The greater, therefore, the necessity of self-distrust, and of being particularly cautious, that our opinions, where the interests of the nation are at stake, be truly the result of honest examination and not the workings of selfish feelings. If justice be our object, no case can exist, wherein this impartiality is more necessary than the Florida question.

That the reader may have be-

fore him, every thing that may aid his mind in coming to a satisfactory conclusion, it will be proper to state some political facts, avoiding carefully, whatever is not conceded on either side.

The name of Florida, was given by Sebastian Cabot, to the whole extent of coast from North Carolina to the most northern province of New Spain; and I have seen in an old map, published before the discovery of the Mississippi, the whole of the interior, and then unexplored region, designated under that name, even to the very border of the lakes. The progressive extension of the English settlements, and those of the French on the upper and lower Mississippi, gradually lessened the extent of country called Florida, until it was at length restricted to the comparatively inconsiderable portion, now called East Florida, lying between the Perdido, and the English colony of Georgia. Dr. Postlethwayte, in his Dictionary of Commerce, published about the year 1745, says, "cer- "tain it is, that Louisiana contains "the greater part of those new "discovered lands, east and west "of the Mississippi, which at first, "had the name of Florida." The facts stated thus far, will not be denied on either side; it is true, there exists some difference of opinion, which I will notice presently, as to the precise boundary between Spanish Florida, and Louisiana; it is however, admitted that this province in the hands of the French, did extend as far at least, as the Mobile river, although beyond it, the boundary was undefined.

The first permanent establishment in this part of Florida, was made by the Spaniards, who built the fort of Pensacola, a few years prior to the settlement of Iberville, at the river Dauphin, near the Mobile. The whole country, was at first claimed by the Spaniards, as its discoverers, while the French also claimed, on the ground of having, a number of years before, made some fruitless attempts to settle it. The jealousies which at first prevailed, in a short time, gave way to mutual good understanding, and acquiescence in the establishments of each other. They were even in the habit of reciprocating kind offices, and for at least fifteen years, no dispute took place between them. The settlements of the French, were at this time, principally at the Isle of Dauphin, on the Mobile, and at the old Beloxi, near the mouth of the river Perdido. The war, which broke out between the parent states, put an end to this friendly intercourse. According to Charlevoix, in the year 1719, the river Perdido, situated about half way between the Mobile, and Pensacola, was selected as the place of rendezvous, for the white troops and Indian auxiliaries, destined to make an attack on the Spanish fort of Pensacola. The two infant colonies, had been separated by the Perdido, which formed by tacit consent the boundary, and at which a small French post had generally been kept up. Pensacola was taken, retaken by the Spaniards, taken a second time by the French, but according to the author before cited, was restored to the original owners, by the treaty of 1721. Whether the Perdido was fixed upon as the boundary at this period, by some express stipulation, is not known; certain it is, that it is marked as such, both in maps published by England and France, long before the year 1762. The manuscript of a French officer, named *Bernard De La Harpe*, which contains the history of Loui-

siana from its settlement, for the first twenty-five years, and which was discovered some years ago at Natchitoches, expressly speaks of the Perdido as the boundary between the French and Spanish provinces,—between Florida and Louisiana. This matter is, however, of less importance, as it is admitted, that the French were in possession of the Mobile as a part of Louisiana; and as to the sandy coast towards the Perdido, it is scarcely worth a contention. For the first thirty years, after the settlement of Louisiana, by Iberville, there was scarcely any establishment on the Mississippi; the colony of Louisiana was principally to be found, in the neighbourhood of the Mobile.

We now pass over a period of nearly half a century, without meeting any occurrence, which is any way material to the discussion. By the unfortunate war commenced about the year 1756, France was despoiled of nearly all her American colonies; she first lost Canada, and laid the ground work of a subsequent war, which led to the loss of all her possessions on the continent of America. Until the year 1761, Spain had kept aloof from the disputes between England and France: at this period, the celebrated family compact was entered into, by which, all those of the house of Bourbon, agreed to defend each other's possessions in whatsoever part of the world they might be situated. The scheme originated with the French minister, the duke de Choiseul, with whom, it had been for some time, a favourite idea. The greatest possible intimacy and friendship, existed at this moment, between the Spanish and French monarchs. The effect of this alliance, was to engage Spain in a war with England, and which turned out most ruinous to her. The Havana, the key to her American possessions, fell into the hands of the English. France, so far from being able to afford relief to her ally, was, at this moment, in a most deplorable condition; she had neither money nor men, and was a complete bankrupt in credit; her West India possessions were at the mercy of the enemy, and the whole of Louisiana, should the war be prolonged, would fall an easy prey to the forces in the British colonies. In this situation, the English minister was able to dictate to her, the peace of a conqueror. The attitude of her affairs in Europe, was, besides, such as to render her distant and expensive colonies, in America, of little consequence. Negotiations for peace were entered into, and the preliminaries signed by France, Spain, and England, at Fontainbleau on the 3d of November, 1762, and ratified at London on the 10th of February, 1763.

In this treaty, (which we shall call the treaty of '63) we find these two important articles, relating to the present subject, which we shall here transcribe.

Article 7th. " In order to establish peace, on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the British and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that for the future the confines between the dominions of his Britannic majesty, and those of his most Christian majesty, (king of France) in that part of the world, shall be irrevocably fixed, by a line drawn along the middle of the river of the Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas

and Ponchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose, the most Christian king, cedes in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic majesty, the river and port of Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of Orleans, and the island on which it is situated."

Article 20. "His Catholic majesty, cedes and guarantees in full right to his Britannic majesty, Florida, with fort St. Augustin, and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses, on the continent of North America, to the east, or to the south east of the river Mississippi, and in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession and rights, acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholic king and crown of Spain, have had till now, over the said countries, lands, places and their inhabitants, so that the Catholic king cedes and makes over the whole, to the said king and crown of Great Britain."

Thus it appears, that Louisiana was first divided by France, into two parts, making the middle of the Mississippi the line of separation, as far as the Iberville, and through the lakes, &c. The section lying on the left bank of the river, including what is now the Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi and West Florida, she gave to England, reserving to herself the island of Orleans, and western bank of the Mississippi. It is impossible for any countries to have a boundary more simple, and better defined, than that which separated these two sections. There was no survey, or calculation requisite, to ascertain this line, since it was so distinctly marked by the hand of nature.

The grant on the part of Florida, (East Florida,) that is Pensacola and St. Augustin, and their dependencies, was made in consideration of the restoration of the Havana, and was so expressed; but it is presumable, that the cession of the immense tract of fine country, by France, conjointly with Spain, was taken into consideration; for it will not be pretended, that the barren soil of East Florida, was any thing like an equivalent to the Havana. It was only by thus joining the portion of Louisiana ceded by France, extending to the banks of the Mississippi, and rounding her territory in North America, by natural boundaries, that England, then dictating a treaty, would be content.

But Spain had suffered considerably from this war, into which she had been drawn, in the interruption of her commerce, the occupation of Havana, the loss of property captured there, and finally by the sacrifice of Florida. France, desirous of making amends for these losses, offered to cede the colony of Louisiana, which to Spain, would be of immense value, from its connection with New Spain, and from the covering which it would afford, for the provinces in that quarter. To France, the colony at that moment, was not of great value, since the best part of it was about to be ceded to England. It is said, however, that on the part of Spain, the acceptance of this offer, was at first, generously declined, and not acceded to, until after it had been reiterated.* By a secret treaty, executed on the same day, with the preliminaries of peace, (3d Nov. 1762,) but which has never been published,

* *Histoire General de la diplomatie Francaise, vol.* 6, *page* 473.

Louisiana was accordingly ceded in general terms. What other provisions this treaty may have contained, we do not know. It has been said, that from the want of a just equivalent, in the cession of this vast territory, (Spain having only incurred losses in consequence of her express stipulations in the family compact, which had proved still more ruinous to France) and from the intimate connection between the two sovereignties, it may be presumed, that it had been agreed, at some future favourable opportunity, to replace France in the same situation, as she had been, before this unfortunate war. To this, it is answered, that the family compact, had been entirely in favour of France, and that the losses of Spain had been altogether on her account; that Louisiana was of little value to the former; and to the latter could not be considered as more than a just equivalent. It is certain, that such an opinion prevailed in Louisiana, where the cession was notified in the year 1764, two years after it was made, but possession was not taken, for several years subsequent to that period. The cruel and treacherous conduct of Creilly, in butchering a number of the principal inhabitants, suspected of disaffection, is mentioned, to show the understanding of the colony as to its fate. It had continued during this long interval, under the government of officers appointed by France, and the inhabitants fondly hoped that the transfer was not real. Perhaps, deception might have been practised by the French government, to reconcile the minds of the people, who were thus transferred without having been consulted. When these things are noticed, it is not with a view of giving them importance in the discussion; nothing better than mere conjecture, can be drawn from them on either side. Topics which are themselves involved in doubt, can be of little service in elucidating others.

In pursuance of the treaty of 1762, ratified in 1763, England took possession of the part of Louisiana, which had been ceded to her, and which included the territory now in dispute. The limits beyond the Mobile, as we have seen, had been in doubt: it was probably in allusion to this, that the king of France, made use of the words, "*and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess,*" implying, that this was a matter still to be settled and ascertained. This ceded country, had moreover, no definite boundary towards the English colonies of Georgia, Carolina and Virginia. Great Britain continued to hold this territory, for twelve or fifteen years, forming several settlements on the banks of the Mississippi, and on the Mobile. She extended the name of Florida to the Mississippi, dividing it into east and west, but as has already been said, its limits to the north were undetermined. Thus, the *name* of Louisiana on the east side of the Mississippi, may be said to have been extinguished, and that of Florida resumed something of its former extent.

Spain taking part with the United States, in their struggle to throw off the yoke of Great Britain, was enabled to regain, not only Pensacola, St. Augustin, and all of Florida, that she had lost in the former war, but also to obtain possession of a considerable portion of what had been held by France as Louisiana. She took possession of the left bank of the Mississippi, for several hundred

miles above the Iberville, and of all the country which lay between the great river, and the Mobile. As the United States succeeded to the territorial rights of England this possession could only be held for their benefit; and as they had contributed to the retaking Pensacola and East Florida, there was no ground for a claim of indemnity. These things, were however amicably adjusted by the treaty of peace in 1783. By the provisional treaty between the United States, and Great Britain of the same year, the northern boundary between the Canadas and the United States, having been fixed, they proceed to say, "thence due west, to the Mississippi; thence by a line drawn along the middle of the said river, until it should intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude: south (that is the south boundary of the United States) by a line due east, from the termination of the line last mentioned, in the latitude of 31 degrees north of the Equator, to the middle of Appalachicola, thence &c."

Here was a new boundary, different from what is contained in any former treaty, and differing from the boundary (the Iberville) assigned to the part of Louisiana, which had been ceded to Spain. It also gave to the United States, a southern, and south western boundary, and settled what before had been indefinite. In this treaty, the existence of an East and West Florida was acknowledged. By the definitive treaty between England and Spain, the Floridas were ceded to the latter, making the 31st degree of latitude, the northern limit. Spain bound herself by the same treaty, to abandon all conquests not recognised by it. She continued in possession, notwithstanding, of a great extent of territory, which evidently did not fall within the limit assigned to her, and this for more than twenty years. Her unfriendly deportment to the United States, which almost led to an open rupture, gave rise at length to the treaty, 1795.

By the 2d article of this treaty, " the southern boundary of the United States, which divides their territory from the Spanish colonies of East and West Florida, shall be designated by a line beginning on the river Mississippi, at the northernmost part of the 31st degree of latitude, north of the Equator, which from thence shall be due east," &c. corresponding with the line established by the treaty 1783. By the 4th article of this treaty, " the western boundary of the United States which separates them from the Spanish colony of Louisiana, is in the middle of the channel or bed of the Mississippi, from the northern boundary of the United States, to the *thirty-first* degree of latitude, north of the Equator," &c.—The colonies of East and West Florida, were at this time, under a government distinct from that of Louisiana. According to other provisions of the treaty of 1795, Spain was to have surrendered the American posts within six months after its date, and commissioners were to be appointed to ascertain the 31st degree of latitude, and to run the line. This was delayed, principally on the part of Spain, as will appear from Mr. Ellicott's Journal, for several years, and she at last surrendered the American territory, with great reluctance. The line was at length completed about the year 1800, and the United States obtained possession.

We now come, after having stated all the facts relied upon by

the parties in their construction of the contested article of the treaty, to the treaty itself. By the treaty of Ildephonso, 1st October, 1800, "His Catholic majesty promises and engages, on his part, to give back, (retroceder) or to *retrocede* to the French republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the condition and stipulations, relative to his royal highness the duke of Parma, the colony, or province of Louisiana, with the same extent (*avec la même étendu*) that it now has in the hands of Spain, (*qu'elle a actuellement entre les mains de L'Espagne*) and that it had when France possessed it, (qu'elle avoit lorsque la France la possedoit) and such as it ought to be (doit etre) after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states." This treaty was confirmed by the treaty of Madrid of 1801; and by the treaty of cession between the United States and France of 1803, Louisiana is ceded to the former, and the clause before recited, referred to as descriptive of its limits. The United States, therefore, stand precisely in the situation France did after the confirmation of the treaty of Ildephonso, and whatever she would have been entitled to claim at that time, the United States are entitled to now. As it is my wish, as well to present every thing material, as to free the case from any thing foreign, I will notice several topics which have been sometimes connected with it, very improperly. In the pamphlet of *Verus*, which has been attributed to a Spanish gentleman of high standing, much is said of the fraudulent conduct of Bonaparte, and of the unfairness of his conduct in the purchase of Louisiana; that he obtained it by what was little better than swindling; in fact, that in justice, the treaty ought not to bind Spain; that Bonaparte has acted contrary to express agreement in transferring the colony to another power, without her consent. Verus may be right in all this; the king of Spain may have been miserably duped or betrayed; but this objection applies, not to the occupation of West Florida, but of any part of Louisiana. This is a distinct question from that now under examination, and it is unnecessary to enter upon it. The present question takes for granted, that the cession was fair, or, at least, that it is not to be disputed; else, a discussion, respecting boundaries, would be absurd.

It is, besides, a question of *mere boundary;* the clause refers to nothing else, and this between France and Spain; therefore, the dispute between the latter and the United States, on the subject of the right of deposit, or the propriety of the conduct of the president in subsequently occupying West Florida, has nothing to do with it. The case is confined to the interpretation of the clause before cited in the treaty of Ildephonso. Under that clause, what extent of territory had France a *right* to claim of Spain, by a just interpretation? Not what she did claim, or, what she has declared, since her interest has passed into the hands of another, she would have claimed.

The justice of these principles appears to me incontestable.—Before I enter upon the arguments of the contending parties, I will venture to lay down a plain rule of interpretation, which cannot be disputed, and that is, the words of the treaty are to govern, as the best evidence of the meaning and intentions of the parties;

that if doubt exists on this score, their situations at the time, their meaning. otherwise, clearly expressed before, or, at the moment of contracting, or the evidence of circumstances over which they can have no control, may be admitted to explain the apparent ambiguity; to this, if we add, the subsequent admissions of a party interested, we shall have a rule as liberal as either side can claim. To go further, would be to render written stipulations useless, as one of the parties might afterwards understand them according to the convenience of the moment.

The arguments by which Spain contends against the including West Florida in the cession of Louisiana, under the treaty of Ildephonso, are these:

1. By the dismemberment of Louisiana, in 1762, its boundaries were fixed in the most certain and definite manner; and, as they were then settled, they must continue for ever, unless specially and expressly altered by the possessor. The name of Louisiana, on the left bank of the Mississippi, was entirely extinguished by the cession to Great-Britain. This name, then, was expressly agreed to by all parties then interested, and the boundaries of states, once fixed, ought not to be altered without some convention for the special purpose. The whole country on both sides of the Mississippi was once called Florida; but this name was extinguished by those of Louisiana, Georgia, Carolina, &c.; the name of Louisiana was once attached to the left bank of the river, but was extinguished by those of Florida, Mississippi Territory, Tennessee, Kentucky, &c. The boundaries of East and West Florida were equally well settled, and as distinct from Louisiana, as from Georgia: to this arrangement the United States had been parties, by the treaties of 1783 and 1795. It would, therefore, be as absurd to claim in a cession of Florida, a part of Louisiana, as a part of Florida in a cession of Louisiana. To the whole world it was well known that West Florida had, for almost half a century, ceased to bear the name of Louisiana; and, surely, if meant to be included in the cession, it ought to have been particularly named. Here is, professedly, a cession of Louisiana, not of what had ceased to be such.

2. The word *retrocede*, clearly proves the intention of the parties. It implies, that Spain was about to restore what she had received from France, that is, the west side of the Mississippi and the island of Orleans. How then could she *restore* West Florida, which she never received from France? It belonged to Spain by right of conquest; it had never been re-attached by her to Louisiana, but was always kept distinct and under a separate government. With respect to it, she had never any transactions with France; as respected her, it was the same as if it had continued in the hands of another state. France might as well claim East Florida, or New Spain. The name of Louisiana, on the left side of the Mississippi, had been blotted out of the map, and cannot be restored in this manner.

Suppose that Spain should cede all the Floridas, would it be contended that Spain had ceded Georgia and Carolina? Louisiana was not obtained gratuitously, in the the first instance, from France; she was not demanding what she had ceded to Spain, or parted with

on her account; a just equivalent had been given; and, as to her cession of the country on the east side of the river to Great-Britain, it was her own act, with which Spain cannot be considered as having any concern. The land-marks of states are of too much importance to be removed with so little ceremony.

Again, if the intention had been to cede West Florida, would there not have been a boundary fixed between it and East Florida, which Spain still retained? The word retrocede, is, therefore, to be taken in conjunction with the name of the country ceded, and proves that nothing more was intended than a restoration of what Spain had obtained from France herself. There is nothing to contradict this in subsequent parts of the clause.

3. *And that it had when France possessed it.*—Its limits had been settled by France previously to the transfer to Spain, and, as thus settled, did she receive it. The only common form in which it was ever held by them, is that which it possesses at present.—When Spain ceded it, she did not cede what might once have been Louisiana, but what she then really held as such. In its present form it was held by France, how long, it matters not; otherwise, how could she have so transferred it to Spain? This is, therefore, the true meaning of the expression, *that it had when France possessed it.* The other expressions which have been considered doubtful, may be perfectly reconciled with the explanations already given.

4. *And such as it ought to be, after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states.*—Louisiana was ceded to Spain on the 3d of November, 1762, and on the 10th of February following, jointly with France, she ceded all her possessions, east of the Mississippi, making this river the boundary to the Iberville; this may, therefore, be considered a subsequent treaty; for, although framed on the same day with the treaty ceding Louisiana, it was not ratified until several months afterwards. Again, the treaties of 1783, and 1795, make the middle of the Mississippi the boundary between Louisiana and the territories of the United States; it is true, they also relate to the boundaries of Florida, but we are not, by a forced construction, to make them relate to more than is necessary, for the explanation of this transaction.

5. Although this interpretation is regarded as sufficient to satisfy any rational person, there are other arguments, which may be deemed conclusive. "If Spain *denies that she sold it*, and if France *denies that she bought it*, or *that she disposed of it to the United States*, no intelligent person will justify the violent step which Mr. Madison has taken."* M. Laussat, authorised by the French government to take *possession of Louisiana*, was perfectly satisfied with the manner in which it was delivered to him. As the United States received it in no greater extent than France, the act of Laussat must bind them; or, if France has not delivered the country to them, as she engaged to do, it is of France the United States have to complain for failing in her engagements. But the French government has declared, that it was not understood that any part of Florida was included in the cession. M. Talleyrand expressly says, that the eastern limits of Louisiana are described *by the*

* See the pamphlet of Verus.

course of the Mississippi, and afterwards by the river Iberville, Lake Ponchartrain, and Maurepas. Besides this, an American agent, Mr. Ellicott, employed to trace the boundary between the king of of Spain and the United States, speaks thus: "It does not appear, by the cession of Louisiana, that we obtain the whole of both sides of the river; for, by consulting No. 5 of the maps, it will be seen that the island of Orleans only extends to the Manshack, and thence, &c. is still held by his Catholic majesty as a part of West Florida."

Such are the arguments used by those in favour of the right of Spain, and opposed to the claim of the United States. I now proceed to detail the arguments by which the claim is supported.

1. Nothing can be more flimsy and futile than the last argument, on which the advocates of Spain appear chiefly to rely. The denial of Spain, and the letter of Talleyrand, are brought forward with a kind of triumph, as furnishing something conclusive and unanswerable. Yet, without any great effort of reason, a most satisfactory answer may be given. What is the amount of this denial on the part of Spain, of having ceded any part of ancient Louisiana east of the Mississippi? Nothing more than that she is at issue with the United States who hold the affirmative. This would, indeed, be a strange mode of avoiding an obligation, or rendering a contract null: it would be precisely similar to the case of a party in a law-suit, who should plead as a circumstance to cause the scales to turn in his favour, that he is at variance with his opponent. This is, indeed, too ridiculous to merit a moment's attention. Spain might as well deny the having ceded any part of Louisiana; in fact, she has denied it by a formal protest, she afterwards thought proper to withdraw, for which no cause has ever been assigned.

The construction, or interpretation of the treaty, is to be made by an examination of the words in which it is expressed, and not by the subsequent declarations of one of the parties in his own favour. But, it is said, that France had the same understanding of the cession, and that since both the original parties are agreed on this point, the United States have no right to set up a claim in contradiction. What evidence have we to prove that such was the understanding? Is there any document to prove the admissions of France before the acceptance, at the time, or even afterwards, while she continued to be interested? There is none; the only evidence is the letter of M. Talleyrand to the Spanish minister, after Louisiana was ceded to the United States, filled with abuse of the Americans, and evidently written for the purpose of amusing the childish folly of the Spanish government. Was France called upon as an umpire to decide, or as a witness to disclose facts? No; it was either an impertinent interference on her part, or it was a compliance with the request of Spain, in order to obtain other objects, in comparison with which, this diplomatic falsehood was of little consequence.

The situation of France, at that moment, would not permit her to be either an impartial judge, or an unbiassed witness. It was her interest to sooth Spain while she was engaged in schemes of of the grossest fraud, and the small matter of satisfying her with words at the expense of the

United States, would form no obstacle to the execution of her plans. Nay, events afterwards proved that she was directly interested as much as Spain in circumscribing the United States, for she entertained, at this very time, designs against Spain and all her possessions; and, foreseeing that she might one day stand in the place of Spain, is it wonderful that she should endeavour to aid her in defrauding the United States? Moreover, how can Spain reconcile the inconsistency of charging the French government, in one breath, with the most shocking frauds in the manner of obtaining Louisiana, the violation of honour and good faith in transferring it to the United States, and the most unparalleled iniquity in her conduct to the Spanish monarchy, and yet, in the next, repeating the *mere words* of "the artificer of frauds," as worthy of deciding a dispute, in which the difficulty is to ascertain the truth? Here is most certainly a glaring inconsistency, and proves still more the necessity of recurring, not to the words of M. Talleyrand, but to the words of the treaty, or to "circumstances that cannot lie," as the philosopher, Paley, would say.

It is also asked, with an air of triumph, why did not the French commissioner take possession, or at least demand possession of West Florida? It is well known that a disagreement took place between M. Laussat and the Spanish authorities respecting the western boundary. Why was there no difference as to the eastern? All this is easily answered. Louisiana was transferred to the United States by Mr. Laussat, in less than twenty days after it had been delivered to him; and the actual occupancy, or taking possession, of the different posts situated at some distance from the capital, was left to the Americans. The Opelousas, Attakapas, Washita, were not delivered to M. Laussat any more than Baton Rouge, or Mobile. *But it is a well known fact in Louisiana, that the Spaniards, at these last-mentioned posts, had actually prepared to deliver them up, and that their refusal to do so, was an after-thought.* It is also equally well known, that the claiming these posts was not an after-thought on the part of the United States, but that the American commissioners, at the moment, protested against the refusal of the Spanish officers and that the first act of congress, as well as that of the executive, relative to the government of Louisiana, (and this probably as a matter of course, and before the refusal was known) treated Mobile and Baton Rouge as within the acquired territory.

That there should have been a difference of opinion respecting the western boundary, is natural enough, when we recollect that Spain and France, from the earliest period of the settlement of Louisiana, disagreed as to the boundary in that quarter; France having uniformly claimed to the Rio del Norte. The silence respecting Baton Rouge and Mobile, rather furnishes a presumption in favour of the United States; for, surely, they cannot be charged with being more ambitious and grasping than France. To France they would not have been refused; it was a thing too well understood to admit of doubt. As respected the United States, it was a different matter. But, granting that M. Laussat neglected his duty, this cannot affect the interests of the United States. It is not pretended

that he had any instructions from France to govern him in the taking possession, excepting the treaty of Ildephonso: and even such instructions, if given after France ceased to be interested, could have no weight; for the United States are substituted to the rights which France possessed, or acquired *under the treaty*, and not by any private understanding between her and Spain. It is to the treaty, then, that we must once more return as the guide in this affair.

Previously to entering on an examination of the treaty, it will be proper to notice another of the artifices by which the advocates of Spain have endeavoured to embarrass the proper and regular discussion of the question. I allude to the opinion of Mr. Ellicott, which has been cited as precluding all further dispute on the part of the United States. It would seem to be insinuated, that the business of Mr. Ellicott had been to ascertain the limits of Louisiana by actual survey, and that his judgment is, therefore, an official act, and binds the American government. How is the fact? The errand of Mr. Ellicott was to ascertain the 31st degree of latitude on the Mississippi, and to assist in running the boundary under the treaty of 1795, and had nothing to do with Louisiana, although the line when ascertained by him became, by virtue of subsequent treaties, the boundary of the ceded province. The amount of the observation of Mr. Ellicott, in the preface to his work, is nothing more, than that the line of 31 degrees is not so low down the river as the Iberville; he does not say that from his interpretation of the treaty of Ildephonso, West Florida is not included in the cession. If he were to say so, it would be nothing more than the opinion of an enlightened individual opposed to the opinions of others not less enlightened. In fact, it does not appear that this opinion was formed from a view of the disputed clause, for it is supported by no reasoning; it is more probable, that what he has expressed, was founded on misapprehension; his book having been published at the very moment of the cession, when he might have supposed that nothing more was intended to be ceded than western Louisiana, together with the island of Orleans.

In opposition to the opinion of Mr. Ellicott, and the declaration of M. Talleyrand, the expressions of a French author may be cited, who wrote at the very moment that France was about to take possession of Louisiana, to wit, in the year 1802, and may be supposed to express the general understanding of the French on the subject. After defining the boundaries of the province of Louisiana, of which he considers West Florida as a part, he expresses himself thus: "It will be seen by this view, that the river (Mississippi) divides the colony into two parts; on the right bank, and from its source at the Red Lake, to its discharge into the gulf of Mexico, stretches the vast territory of Louisiana; and, upon the left bank, a narrow tract that extends towards the east, the length of the same gulf, to the bay and river of Apaluchia; bounded on one side by the ocean, and on the other by the frontiers of the United States, about the thirtieth or thirty-first degree of latitude."* This is suf-

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* See the translation by John Davis, New-York.

ficient to satisfy the most prejudiced, that if the United States conceived designs of ambition, the same were harboured by France. Indeed, every notice taken in France of the treaty of Ildephonso, interpreted the cession in the whole amplitude ascribed to it now by the United States.

2. The next source of argument, is that of circumstance, which speaks for itself, and is beyond the control of the parties. With respect to the intentions of the parties, as inferred from their situations, it will not be pretended that Louisiana was restored to France as a matter of right. Spain was at liberty to cede the whole, or a part, or add to it, or withhold it altogether, as she might think proper. Whether that portion of ancient Louisiana, called West Florida, came into the hands of Spain by conquest, or cession, is entirely immaterial: If she chose to restore it to France she had certainly a right to do so, and the only question is, whether, by a description sufficiently certain, it has been included in the cession. There is nothing more improbable in her cession of Florida, than in that of Louisiana. What was there to prevent her from giving away all her American possessions, if she chose to do so? If she has been duped by Napoleon, or betrayed by her own ministers, that is surely not the fault of those who have become fair and honest purchasers.

But if we permit ourselves to infer the intentions of the parties from their situations, the intention of France cannot be mistaken. It is not to be presumed that Napoleon obtained Louisiana merely with a view of giving it to the United States, as a token of friendship; and if he did intend to take possession of it, and was actuated by that inordinate ambition ascribed to him by Spain, he would seek to obtain it in the shape and form that would best suit his purpose. A slight knowledge of the country will show, that without the possession of Baton Rouge, and some other heights which command the river, together with the lakes and their shores, Louisiana, so far from facilitating his ambitious projects, would be defenceless: for, all the swampy region below the high ground of Baton Rouge, the last on the river, would be entirely at the mercy of an enemy possessing those points on its margin. Spain has frequently complained of a want of equivalent for the transfer of Louisiana. Has she been aware that this might lead to a suspicion, that her policy to the United States was not very fair or honourable *in thus placing a serpent at their feet to sting them to death!* In truth, she had, in the cession, another object besides the European equivalent. She trembled for her Mexican provinces, and wished, as she felt herself nearly impotent in Louisiana, to interpose between them and the United States a power that would arrest the progress, and monopolize the attention of the latter. Her disappointment was two-fold when she found that what she had meant as a stumbling-block for the United States, had been converted into a stepping-stone, in consequence of their unexpected acquisition of the province.

If Napoleon harboured any designs against the United States, as some very intelligent men have believed, the possession of the heights at Baton Rouge and the lakes, would have been indispensable. It is, therefore, under every

point of view, a fair presumption, that he meant to obtain Louisiana in its most extensive form. To save appearances, and nothing more, was the word *retrocede* employed, by which Spain restored merely what had belonged to France, instead of making any new formal cession of territory. For the same reason, the word Florida was avoided, and the part of ancient Louisiana, bearing that name, was ceded by a reference to a period of time when it was not so denominated, but was known as Louisiana.

3. We come at last to the grant itself, after having removed the minor obstacles thrown in the way by the ingenuity of the advocates of Spain. It were unnecessary to repeat those established rules founded upon the most obvious good sense which govern in public as well as in private pacts: that all the words of a contract, should be made, if possible, to mean something, that they are to be taken most strongly against the party who is supposed to utter them, and that things are to be considered certain which may be rendered certain. Much weight is attached to the circumstance of the name of Louisiana having been used, and that of Florida omitted; but it will not be pretended that there is such a magic in names, that they can control the most satisfactory description, because it does not comport with them. Rather, the name is totally immaterial, provided the thing itself be sufficiently described.

If this be a mere cession of Louisiana according to the limits contended for by the advocates of Spain, then every other word in the clause would be useless. According to them, the limits of the province were so clearly ascertained, and so firmly established by France, and as thus established, acceded to by other nations, and among the rest by the United States, that the *name alone* was sufficiently descriptive of the extent of Louisiana. Then why was any farther description used? Even M. Talleyrand, can define the boundary as he wishes it to be understood, when the United States are to be affected, in ten words! The boundary, he says, is, "the Mississippi to the Iberville, and then the lakes." There is certainly no ambiguity here: but why was it not thus expressed in the treaty of cession? Where was the necessity of referring to a period of time when France was in possession of Louisiana, or to its actual extent in the hands of Spain, or to what it ought to be after subsequent treaties? All this, was not merely superfluous, but much of it absolutely irrelevant, *unless it refers to something more than Spain is willing to admit*. M. Talleyrand has convicted himself either of a downright falsehood, or of having in the most shameful manner, wrapped his meaning in ambiguous terms. It seems that where he chooses he can explain himself in half a line, in such a manner as to render it impossible for any one to mistake it.

How many different ways could not the grant as contended for on the part of Spain, be so expressed as to preclude the slightest doubt! Indeed the phraseology must either convey a more extensive meaning than Spain is willing to admit, or it must have been used for the sole purpose of producing doubt. The advocates of Spain themselves acknowledge that the expressions are ambiguous; but this, the United States on the contrary have never admitted; to them, the construction has always appeared

sufficiently clear, if it be conceded that it was the intention to transfer the part of ancient Louisiana, now called West Florida. In this case, every word of the clause means something: otherwise, many of them mean nothing. Why was it not specified that Spain retroceded Louisiana in the same extent as *France had delivered it to her?* These would have been sufficiently clear. Why not specify the west side of the Mississippi and the island of Orleans? Why not express it in this form: "Spain retrocedes Louisiana according to the limits fixed by the treaty of 1763, and in the same extent as it was ceded by France?" Or why not a reference to the treaty of 1762, in the same manner as the United States were referred to the treaty of Ildephonso? This would have been the proper course, if it were a fact, as the advocates of Spain contend, that the limits of Louisiana *were settled* by the treaty of 1762, and nothing ceded to Spain, but the island of Orleans and Western Louisiana.

The interpretation given by the advocates of Spain, to the expression, *when France possessed it*, is forced and unnatural. They say it refers to the short period of time between the transfer to England and the transfer to Spain, as France might be said to hold Louisiana for a time, in the limited extent in which it was afterwards delivered to Spain. This is resorting to an ingenious refinement, when the true meaning strikes the mind at once. The expression plainly refers to the general and uniform possession of France, to the mode and extent of holding, previous to the cotemporary transactions here referred to; not to the possession, or rather constructive possession, of a day or a month, while the province was *in transitu*. It refers to the possession before the year 1762, and from the earliest settlement of the colony, not to an actual possession before its delivery into the hands of Spain.

It might even admit of a question, what is meant by the expression in *the hands;* whether the province is to be considered as in the hands of Spain after the treaty of transfer, or not until after the actual delivery: but all this idle subtilty is avoided by taking the words to mean the general possession, previous to the dismemberment as it is called. This dismemberment, and the transfer of one part to Spain, and the other to Great Britain, was accomplished at the same instant, so that the province may be said never to have been held by France, without what has since been called West Florida as a part of it.

There is, however, a much easier way of answering this objection. France on the same day of signing the preliminaries of peace, by a secret treaty ceded Louisiana to Spain, under this name generally, and without describing its boundaries. This consequently included not only Western Louisiana, but all the Eastern side of the Mississippi, as far as France claimed towards the British colonies: for, it must be recollected, that the conquests of Great Britain were, at this time, only in Canada and what had been surrendered as its dependencies; and although there was some dispute about the country on the Ohio, there was no claim of conquest to either bank of the Mississippi. This fact throws light upon the whole affair. It is in vain to speak of dismemberment, (a convenient word for the occasion) and to contend that Louisiana was

first ceded *in part* to Spain. Of this there can be no evidence.

If we consider the ratification of the treaty of London, as the date of the cession to Great Britain, it was posterior by several months. It is evident that the province in general was transferred to Spain, subject, however, in all likelihood, to any treaty which might afterwards be concluded with England. This transfer was made with a view of securing the province in the hands of a friend, in case the preliminaries should not be ratified by a treaty of peace, and lest,—the war being rekindled between France and England—the whole should fall into the hands of an enemy. If the object was to furnish a compensation for the loss of Spain, without including any thing further, where was the necessity of keeping this treaty a secret for several years? It is highly probable, that it was her intention to make a compensation of some kind; but is it not equally probable, that she looked to being compelled to yield Louisiana at last, in default of other means? The dismemberment was, therefore, subsequent to the cession to Spain, and with her assent; and this cession was not, as I have said, confined to the western side together with the island of Orleans, but extended to all Louisiana.

And what at this time was Louisiana? The western side was a mere wilderness, its chief settlements were at the Illinois, at the Yazoo, at the Natchez, at the Mobile, and on the island of Orleans. When the name of the province was mentioned at that day, these were the places which occurred to the mind as the scale of its population and importance. The first settlements of the colony were formed on the eastern side, and gradually approached the river; the government was uniformly administered on this side, first in the Illinois under La Salle, next at the Dauphin, under Iberville, then at Beloxi, and afterwards by the order of the Duke-Regent transferred to New-Orleans. At that early day, when Louisiana was spoken of, this is the country which was meant. The seat of jurisdiction for the whole province was always here.

We need look no further for the meaning of the word *retrocede*. This country had once been ceded to Spain, and although she was not put in entire possession, by France, fortune had afterwards placed it in her power to *retrocede* the whole. Although the cession of the east side of the Mississippi, was made by France to England, as the ostensible owner, Spain was in fact the owner by virtue of the secret treaty. The argument of Spain, founded on the idea that this word *retrocede* should control every other expression, which follows, is at once overthrown, if it refers to what was *ceded* by France, and not to what was *delivered*. But even taking the meaning which Spain wishes to attach to it, is this not to be qualified by the subsequent words, "*as it was when France possessed it*"? otherwise, where would be the use of specifying the then possession of Spain, and the treaties subsequently entered into? But suppose the word *retrocede* were applicable only to the western side of the Mississippi, &c. must not the other words, *as it was when France possessed it*,—if they are admitted to have any meaning at all—apply to the east side of that river?

Is this word *retrocede* necessarily confined to the narrow meaning

sought to be given to it? Could not Spain *give back, or cede back* to France all of Louisiana, then in her power to give, whether derived from France or from any other state? What France had at any time *ceded*, might very well be *retroceded* to her, by an assignee of her original grantee. The term *retrocession* does not exact that the latter should be the acting party, but merely that the original subject-matter should be the disposeable property of such party. France and Spain had been parties to the treaty of 1763, by which Eastern Louisiana, and Florida, (East Florida) had been ceded to England, and what France threw into the scale, was in part the price of the restitution of the Havana. The word in its proper sense, and unexplained by those which follow, is not necessarily in favour of the Spanish construction.

The interpretation contended for is again attempted to be supported by the expressions—*as it now has in the hands of Spain*, which are said to be restrictive of the words which refer to the possession of France. But this phrase would be altogether unnecessary, if it were intended to refer merely to the part of Louisiana, of which Spain had been put into possession by France, since that part, as was well known, had undergone no change or alteration in the hands of the former. It was in fact intended to include specifically whatever part of ancient Louisiana, Spain had afterwards acquired, and then held. She had afterwards acquired that part of it, which the English had called West Florida, and which was for a time actually governed by Spain as Louisiana under Galvez. This is rendered still more certain, by the reference to the treaties, by which the Mississippi territory, Kentucky, Illinois, &c. were ceded to the United States, which reference would have been equally unnecessary, if there had been nothing in contemplation but the western side of the river.

The simple meaning is that all of ancient Louisiana which remains in the hands of Spain, after her treaties with other states, shall be restored to France. There no longer remains any ambiguity when it is affirmed, that the intention was to *retrocede* the province, so as to restore all that had been ceded by the secret treaty of cession of 1762, or all that had been ceded by France in the general treaty of 1763, and not merely that which Spain came to occupy in 1766. The wording of the treaty of Ildephonso has a very clear signification if we take this construction, otherwise much of it is senseless in spite of all the strained readings of the advocates of Spain.

The most difficult topic for them is, that which relates to the treaties of Spain subsequently entered into with other states. Whatever plausibility there may be in their other constructions, in this they have entirely failed. It is in vain to tell us, that this clause refers to treaties with Indians, or on the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi. The question is here of boundary and nothing else, and of the boundary of Louisiana. Where was the necessity of referring to treaties between Spain and other states, if the boundary of the province was already so well established? By the word *subsequently*, is meant after the treaty of 1762, or the possession of Spain. It is said that the treaty of London of 1763, was a subsequent treaty. Without noticing the fatal inconsistency into which they are

forced by this acknowledgment, it is sufficient to reply, that this was not a subsequent treaty between Spain and other states, as relates to the boundaries of Louisiana, *but between France and England.* Nor are they more fortunate in the suggestion, that this referred to the treaties of 1783, and 1795, was intended to confirm the line established by the treaty of 1763, to wit, the middle of the Mississippi to the Iberville. Do they pretend to say that there was any necessity for this? Both these treaties make the river the boundary as far as the 31°, which would be important to one holding both Western Louisiana and West Florida, but would be of no consequence to one holding the former only. From the 31° to the Iberville, according to the Spanish construction, there would be no fixed boundary. The reference to these treaties had then something more in view, than merely to recognize the boundary established between the United States and Spain from the source of the Mississippi to the 31°; it had in view the boundary between West Florida and the possessions of the American states.

The words (*doit etre*) *ought to be*, which follow, sufficiently explain what was meant. There is an allusion to something that was yet to be ascertained; not the course of the river but the line of West Florida, *which the commissioners of Spain and the United States were then actually engaged in surveying.* France placing herself in the situation of Spain agreed to be bound by the stipulations entered into by Spain and the United States, for the purpose of ascertaining and establishing this line. It is worthy of remark, that nearly the same expressions, *doit etre*, were made use of in the treaty of 1763, when France ceded to England, with the rest of Louisiana, that part now in dispute, the line between which, and East Florida, had never been completely fixed. There is a third treaty to which, in all probability, the parties intended to refer; and that is the treaty of England and Spain of 1783, by which East and West Florida were ceded to the latter; this part of ancient Louisiana now coming into the same hands that held the province, the province was, as to so much, reintegrated, no matter by what name it might be called.

Such are the arguments used, or which might be used pro and con, in this much disputed question. I have endeavoured to state them fairly and with impartiality; how far I have succeeded, it will remain for the reader to judge. I will now proceed to give my construction of the contested clause, in a few words.

1. *In the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain.* It was not in the power of Spain to restore Louisiana in the *whole extent* in which it had been held by France, inasmuch as a great part of what had been thus held, then appertained to the United States, conquered from Great Britain, and recognized by Spain as theirs.

2. *And that it had when France possessed it;* that is, all Louisiana, then in the actual possession and under the control of Spain, under whatsoever name or municipal distinction.

3. *And such as it ought to be, after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states;* that is, Spain was not to be accountable for such portions as she had actually ceded or renounced, and were at that moment

beyond her control; as by the treaty of 1795, the Natchez, and a part of the Mississippi territory, had been ceded to us.

This clause then could not have been expressed with more critical accuracy, precision and circumspection: and if at first view, somewhat difficult to be understood, this arises from the nature of the subject matter, and not from any ambiguity of expression.

I am disposed to find M. Talleyrand guilty of an untruth, in his letter to the Spanish minister, on the construction of the clause, and not of a studied ambiguity in the phraseology. Had it not been stipulated, that France was to repossess in the same extent as she had possessed before the year 1762, Spain might have said; "true, West Florida did form a part of Louisiana, but it can no longer be so considered, since it was obtained by us as a conquest from another state—it has ceased to have any identity with Louisiana—it is a distinct province under a distinct government." *This is obviated, by a reference to a time anterior to the alleged dismemberment—to the year* 1762. On the other hand, had it not been stipulated, that Louisiana was retroceded in the extent *then* held by Spain, it might have been contended, that Spain had undertaken to restore the province in its *entirety*, without any regard to the treaties with other states, which she had made *subsequently to her coming into possession.*

But, that which may be taken as conclusive is this: why all this guarded caution, this studied phraseology, if it were intended to cede no more than the island of Orleans, and the western side of the Mississippi? Was it merely for the sake of the pomp of language? This is hardly to be presumed. Why was not the cession in a few and simple words confined, as Spain contends it ought to be? Could not West Florida have been excluded? Why no mention of the name of Florida, which according to Spain, should form the boundary of Louisiana from the 31st degree to the Iberville? Why go back to the ancient possession of France, or refer to the actual possession of Spain when it had undergone no other change since she first obtained it, excepting in the addition of that part of ancient Louisiana called West Florida?

Many similar questions might be put, to which no other answer can be given, but that the French have artfully contrived an obscurity of expression for the purpose of deceiving Spain. According to the American mode of construing these expressions are all clear, and not one unnecessary. That Spain had a right to cede all of ancient Louisiana, which she actually possessed, there can be no question; and to know whether she has done so, we must look at her own words as expressed in the treaty.

In the pamphlet of "Verus," great stress is laid upon the noncompliance with the conditions of the treaty of Ildephonso, on the part of Napoleon. It has already been observed, that this is foreign to the question, inasmuch as it goes to invalidate the right of the United States, to Louisiana generally, and not, in particular, to West Florida. Since, however, so much importance is attached to it, a true exposition of the affair may not be improper in this place. It is asserted, that the exchange of Parma for Etruria, which was the ostensible equivalent for Louisiana, never having been accomplished, on the part of the French, the consideration for the transfer has entire-

ly failed, and the treaty is therefore of no force. In the work of M. Du Pradt,* published this year at Paris, we have a different history of the transaction, and at the same time, one little to the credit of either France or Spain.

The transfer of Louisiana so far from being the chief object of the treaty, was but an appendage to a scheme of injustice, to be practised towards the princes of Parma, and the crown of Portugal When I say an appendage, I do not mean that it was not regarded as a matter of importance, on the part of Spain at least, but that it had other ends to answer. The French directory had desired the destruction of the princes of Parma, whose vicinity was incompatible with the occupation of Turin. The care of the Spanish cabinet, during the administration of Urguijo, had shielded them from the impending danger. But on the accession of Bonaparte to the first consulate, the Spanish minister conceived it good policy to meet his views, by putting Parma in his power, in order that Austria might be weakened in Italy. The exchange for Etruria was therefore proposed, and agreed to by the treaty of Ildephonso.

This exchange, had a still more tempting object. The princes of Parma were in the annual receipt of a pension from France and Spain, which since the revolution, had fallen upon the latter alone. In this arrangement, there was consequently, at once an augmentation of dignity to Spain, and a relief to her finances. From these facts it would appear, that the stipulation to cede Louisiana, was not the sole object of this transaction, which redounds so little to the honour of the parties concerned.

Further: Etruria was actually obtained, and the acquisition of Louisiana by France thus completed. Spain received the stipulated equivalent. But the king of Etruria, by the celebrated treaty of Fontainbleau, of 27th October, 1807, bartered away to France again, this equivalent—his kingdom, for another to be carved by France and Spain out of the kingdom of Portugal, in violation of every principle of justice and good faith. The king of Etruria foolishly relinquished the substance for the shadow, and was content to exchange his title for that of king of Northern Lusitania.

The princes of Parma were to be defrauded, and the king of Portugal to be robbed; the disappointments which followed this iniquitous combination, ought surely never to be brought before the world as a subject of complaint.

It requires no great sagacity to discover, that the *whole* consideration for the transfer of Louisiana, was not expressed in the treaty of Ildephonso. This may be inferred from the fact, *that Louisiana nad before been offered to the Directory without any compensation.* The object as we have already hinted, of Spain, was to protect her Mexican possessions, by interposing a power sufficiently strong to arrest the progress of the American settlements to the westward. The various efforts of Spain to withdraw the western states from the union had failed; she was aware that a serious conflict with the United States, could not be long retarded, and should it take place, that the progress of the American arms would not be checked by the Mis-

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* *Memoires Historiques sur la revolution d'Espagne*, (1816.)

sissippi. By the treaty, ten ships of the line were placed at the disposal of France; an army of twenty-five thousand men had been actually embarked in one of the ports of Holland, which, fortunately for the United States, at the moment when all was ready for sailing, was blockaded by a British fleet. Where was the necessity of so great a force to take possession of a feeble colony. The object was to close the navigation of the river to the Americans, by fortifying some of its heights, and to break up the American confederation. Frustrated in this design, and standing in need of money, France made a bargain with the United States. It is here that we are to look for the disappointment, and mortification of Spain. The very means she had taken to keep us at a distance, eventuated in bringing us into contact with her, a catastrophe which she cannot forgive, but which, whatever may be her efforts, she cannot remedy.

ELOQUENCE OF THE SENATE.

Speech of Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH *on the Treaty of Peace with America, delivered in the British House of Commons, April 11th, 1815.*

Sir *James Mackintosh* said, that he rose after his hon. relation, partly to express the pride as well as pleasure with which he had listened to his arguments, though he was obliged to controvert their justice. He would begin by avowing, however unfashionable such principles had now become, his partiality to America, because she was not only bound to us by the ties of common origin, but by the closer fellowship of civil and religious liberty. The spirit of liberty had given us an American empire: the spirit of domination had robbed us it. Peace with America he considered as one of the greatest of national advantages; for of all separate objects of our foreign policy, he thought friendship with America was the second. The strength and security of Holland he allowed to be the first. He had at all times equally lamented and reprobated those vulgar prejudices, and that insolent language against the people of America, which had been of late so prevalent in this country, and which had reached so extravagant a height, that men, respectable in character as well as station, had spoken in this House of the deposition of Mr. Madison as a justifiable object of war, and had treated a gentleman of English extraction and education with a scurrility which they must now be the first to regret, for no better reason than that we happened to be at war with the great republic over which he presides. He did not, therefore, object so much to the treaty as to the address. He objected to it because the treaty was not concluded sooner, because the delay was unfavourable to its conditions, and, above all, because the negotiations were not conducted in the spirit most likely to render the peace permanent. The question before the house was twofold:—Whether any unnecessary delay had occurred in the negotiation; and whether that delay was culpably imputable to his majesty's ministers?

He should venture to assume, that the negotiation would have been better conducted if it had been commenced in April or May, and closed in July, than as it was from August to December. Every thing during the first period was favourable to Great-Britain. That government in France, which America might consider as the check on British power, had just been overthrown. The allies were closely united; they were in possession of the French territory. The renown of their success subdued and overawed the minds of of all men. It was the moment for England to prove her sincerity in disclaiming views of American aggrandizement. The cause of war was removed. Peace was in substance, if not in form, made with France. No maritime war existed. All questions respecting the right of impressment, or any other right of a maritime belligerent, were become matters of pure speculation. The subject in dispute was vanished. *Cadit questio.* " Shall we

continue at war for a theoretical principle of public law?" was the language openly held by the American negotiators on their arrival in London in April. To go still further back, he could not discover why ministers had rejected the mediation of Russia. A mediator is a common friend, who counsels both parties with a weight proportioned to their belief in his integrity, and their respect for his power. But he is not an arbitrator to whose decision they submit their differences, and whose award is binding on them. Russia, at the moment of the proposal, was the most hearty ally of England. No two states were ever joined by stronger bands of common interest. Russia had, by the convention of 1801, renounced the principles of the armed neutrality. She had, indeed, renewed them when she fell under the influence of Napoleon. But as soon as she was emancipated from that yoke, she must have disclaimed all the doctrines that she was then forced to profess. She must have supported our general maritime rights; and it would have required extraordinary disinterestedness for her, at that moment, to have been even impartial respecting the single right in dispute between America (from whom she had nothing to hope or to fear), and England, her most effective and indispensable ally. Ages might elapse before such an opportunity of pledging Russia in favour of our maritime rights would again occur. But at least, why was not the congress opened in April? Will it be said, that the American ministers had not then received instructions adapted to the success of the allies, and the new state of Europe? But enough must have been known in America in January to dispose that government to terminate a war which had no longer any object, in which they could no longer hope for aid or diversion, and in which their enemy was the ally of all Europe. The battle of Leipzic, the passage of the Rhine, the occupation of a third of France, the conqueror of Europe reduced to a doubtful and perilous defence of his capital, were surely motives enough for putting an end to a contest about the laws of naval war, at a moment when all war was about to close. And how could the English ministers then know the instructions given by the American government? It is perfectly ridiculous to urge these instructions now, and to say, as his hon. friend (Mr. Grant) had in substance said, that the ministers had prophesied truly by chance, and were right, though they did not know it. Men cannot be justified by instructions, of which they did not know the existence at the moment of action. It was impossible to explain this delay from the convention with monsieur in April, or the treaty of Paris in May, unless on the miserable policy of protracting war for the sake of striking a blow against America. The disgrace of the naval war, of balanced success between the British navy and the new-born marine of America, was to be redeemed by protracted warfare, and by pouring our victorious armies upon the American continent. That opportunity, fatally for us, arose. If the congress had opened in June, it was impossible that we should have sent out orders for the attack on Washington. We should have been saved from that success, which he considered as a thousand times more disgraceful and disastrous than the worst defeat. This success he charged on

the delay of the negotiation. It was a success which made our naval power hateful and alarming to all Europe. It was a success which gave the hearts of the American people to every enemy who might rise against England. It was an enterprise which most exasperated a people, and least weakened a government, of any recorded in the annals of war.

For every justifiable purpose of present warfare it was almost impotent. To every wise object of prospective policy it was hostile. It was an attack, not against the strength or the resources of a state, but against the national honour and public affections of a people. After twenty-five years of the fiercest warfare, in which every great capital of the European continent had been spared, he had almost said, respected by enemies, it was reserved for England to violate all that decent courtesy towards the seats of national dignity, which, in the midst of enmity, manifests the respect of nations for each other, by an expedition deliberately and principally directed against palaces of government, halls of legislation, tribunals of justice, repositories of the muniments of property, and of the records of history—objects among civilized nations exempted from the ravages of war, and secured, as far as possible, even from its accidental operation, because they contribute nothing to the means of hostility, but are consecrated to purposes of peace, and minister to the common and perpetual interest of all human society. It seemed to him an aggravation of this atrocious measure, that ministers had attempted to justify the destruction of a distinguished capital, as a retaliation for some violences of inferior American officers, unauthorised and disavowed by their government, against he knew not what village in Upper Canada. To make such retaliation just, there must always be clear proof of the outrage; in general also, sufficient evidence that the adverse government refused to make due reparation for it, and at last some proportion of the punishment to the offence. Here there was very imperfect evidence of the outrage—no proof of refusal to repair—and demonstration of the excessive and monstrous iniquity of what was falsely called retaliation. The value of a capital is not to be estimated by its houses, and warehouses, and shops. It consisted chiefly in what could be neither numbered nor weighed. It was not even by the elegance or grandeur of its monuments, that it was most dear to a generous people. They looked upon it with affection and pride as the seat of legislation, as the sanctuary of public justice, often as linked with the memory of past times, sometimes still more as connected with their fondest and proudest hopes of greatness to come. To put all these respectable feelings of a great people, sanctified by the illustrious name of Washington, on a level with half a dozen wooden sheds in the temporary seat of a provincial government, was an act of intolerable insolence, and implied as much contempt for the feelings of America, as for the common sense of mankind. On the right of searching foreign ships for English seamen, he mentioned a remarkable instance of its ancient and general acknowledgment, which he had lately found in the manuscript memoirs of king James II. That prince, being in Holland in 1657, was desi-

rous of returning to France, and first proposed to go by sea, but renounced that intention from "the hazard his royal highness would run, in case they met with any English man of war, whose custom it was to search any strange ships to see if they had any English seamen on board, and, if they should find any such, to take them out."* Here was an instance of the exercise of this right a century and a half ago, the practice being then spoken of as familiar, and acquiesced in by the ships of so great a nation as France. This passage, which had come to light thus accidentally, he considered as decisive evidence of the ancient and unresisted exertion of this important right.

The right of every state to the perpetual allegiance of its natural born subjects, was an undisputed principle of public law. But it was one of those extreme rights which were peculiarly liable to degenerate into wrong, if the utmost caution and humanity did not regulate its exercise. Notwithstanding this right, Irish officers in the service of France, during all the war of the eighteenth century, had been treated as French subjects. Notwithstanding this right, Louis XV. treated his natural-born subject, marshal Ligonier, as a prisoner of war, and a conversation between them is supposed to have had some share in producing the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But never yet did a case arise in which the application of the principle was so difficult as in the relation between Britain and America; nations of the same language, of similar manners, of almost the same laws, the one being a country of overflowing population, and the other of a boundless extent of vacant land to receive it: the two first maritime states in the world, the one habitually belligerent, under the necessity of manning her prodigious navy by very rigorous means; the other disposed to commerce and neutrality, alluring seamen by every temptation of emolument into her growing mercantile marine. Never was there such a dangerous conflict between the rigorous principle of natural allegiance, and the moral duty of contributing to the defence of a protecting government. To reconcile these jarring claims by general reasoning, or by abstract principles, was a vain attempt. To effect a compromise between them, would be an arduous task for the utmost caution, and the most conciliatory spirit. Yet it must be tried, unless we were willing that in every future war America should necessarily become our enemy.

He proceeded to examine the causes of delay after the congress was assembled at Ghent. These were all reducible to one,—a pretension set up by the British negotiators, to guarantee what was called the independence of the savages whom we had armed, and to prohibit the Americans from purchases of land from them. The first remark on this pretension was, that it ought never to have been made, or never abandoned. If honour and humanity towards the Indians required it, our desertion of it is an indelible disgrace. It is abandoned. The general words of the treaty are of no value, or amount to no more than the Americans were always ready to grant. Having been abandoned, it can

* Manuscript Life of James II in the library of his royal highness the prince regent, p. 824.

have been made only as a philanthropic pretext for war.

But, in truth, it was utterly untenable, and it must have been foreseen that it was to be abandoned. It amounted to a demand for the cession of the larger part of the territory of the United States, of that territory which is theirs by positive treaty with Great Britain. Over the whole of the American territory, even to the Pacific Ocean, the crown of Great Britain formerly claimed the rights of sovereignty. By the treaty of 1783, the United States succeeded to the rights of the British crown. The Indian tribes, who hunted in various parts of that vast territory, became vassals of the United States, as they had been vassals of the king of Great Britain. Possessed, doubtless, of the most perfect right to justice and humanity; entitled, like all other men, to resist oppression; undisturbed, in regulating their internal concerns, or their ordinary quarrels with each other; rather to be considered as subjects of their own chiefs, than as directly amenable to the paramount authority of the territorial sovereign; they had still, in all treaties respecting America, been considered as vassals and dependents, bound by the stipulations of their superior state. However undefined this character might be; whatever doubt might be entertained of the original justice of such treaties, it was not now for Great Britain to deny the existence of rights which she had herself exercised, and which she had solemnly ceded to the United States; and, once more, if the Indians were her independent allies, it was disgraceful in the highest degree to surrender them at last into the hands of the enemy. Never was a proposal, in fact, so inhuman made under pretence of philanthropy. The western frontier of North American cultivation is the part of the globe in which civilization is making the most rapid and extensive conquests on the wilderness. It is the point where the race of men is most progressive. To forbid the purchase of land from the savages, is to arrest the progress of mankind—it is to condemn one of the most favoured tracts of the earth to perpetual sterility, as the hunting ground of a few thousand savages. More barbarous than the Norman tyrants, who afforested great tracts of arable land for their sport, we attempted to stipulate that a territory twice as great as the British islands should be doomed to be an eternal desert! We laboured to prevent millions of millions of freemen, of Christians, of men of English race, from coming into existence. There never was such an attempt made by a state to secure its own dominion by desolation, to guard by deserts what they could not guard by strength. To perpetuate the English authority in two provinces, the larger part of North America was for ever to be a wilderness. The American ministers, by their resistance to so insolent and extravagant a demand, maintained the common cause of civilised men—and the English, who by advancing so monstrous a pretension, protracted the miseries and the bloodshed of war; who had caused the sad defeat of New Orleans, and the more disgraceful victory of Washington, had rendered themselves accountable to God and their country for all the accumulation of evils which marked the last months of an unfortunate and unnatural

war.—For these reasons, he heartily concurred in the amendment of his right hon. friend.

Sir *James Mackintosh* having been accused of sacrificing justice and humanity to his sanguine views of progressive civilization, observed, in explanation, that if in the year 1600, any European powers at war with England, under pretence of humanity for the Indians, and of the injustice which they always suffered from Europeans, had compelled us to promise by treaty that we should make no purchases of land from these Indians, the whole of North America would at this day have contained fifty thousand cannibals, instead of ten millions of British freemen, who may be numbered among the most intelligent, the most moral, the bravest, and the most happy of the human race. Sentence of desolation and barbarism would have been passed on a considerable portion of the globe. Our ministers, in this proposal, had tried to doom to the same fate all that yet remained to be reclaimed.

Speech of Marquis WELLESLEY, *respecting the Negotiation for Peace with America, pronounced in the British House of Lords, April* 13, 1815.

Marquis *Wellesley* rose, pursuant to notice, to lay before their lordships the grounds of his motion relative to the manner in which the late negotiation with America had been conducted. The war with America he had considered as almost one of the most calamitous events that could befall this country; and when that event did unhappily take place, we had at least one consolation, that the aggression which led to it was theirs and not ours; but we had only that one consolation. It was a war in which little glory could be acquired by success, in which success itself must be mixed with feelings which would embitter any glory that could be derived from it, and in which the smallest defeat would be attended with a disgrace infinitely disproportionate to the highest advantages that could be expected from such a contest. Engaged in such a war, what was the plain and clear course and policy to be pursued by the government of this country? To be ready to seize every opportunity to put an end to it,—not to omit even the smallest occasion of bringing about an amicable discussion to allay that feeling of irritation in which the war had originated. Even supposing the war had been attended with the greatest success on our part, he could not conceive one object which Great Britain could have, except that of putting an end to it. Fatally deluded as ministers had been by the appearance of affairs in Europe, which induced them to change the ground which they had originally taken, and to rest upon a point which had never before been brought into the discussion—for that such was the delusion under which they acted, he was convinced—the question now came to be, what was the course which our ministers ought to have taken? They ought not to have been deluded by the fatal error that their success against one power ought to be turned against another—by the fatal error, that instead of immediately and magnanimously making use of that success as the means of bringing about an amicable adjustment of differences with America, they ought to consider it as a ground of

rising in their demands and urging undue pretensions. The only use of the greatest success in the case of America, would be to enforce such demands as were fair and moderate. Nothing could be more erroneous than that policy which would turn America from views of internal improvement, of commerce, of civilization, and from that line of pursuits which enabled us, with respect to that country, to give full scope to those great principles of political economy by which the intercourse of the world would be most beneficially regulated. It was the clear and manifest interest of both parties to cultivate that amicable connection resting on these solid principles which rendered the mutual advantage so important. The effect of war was to turn them from these views of peace and internal improvement, to views of a far different and less beneficial nature. A state of war would naturally lead that rising community to look to the formation of a great military, and even a naval power, to be turned against the parent from which that community issued. After a long continued war, peace would leave us in a condition, with respect to that country, very different from that in which we before stood; for if America did become a great military power, she would mix herself with the disputes and arrangements of all the civilized world, and this country would find a rival springing up in that people which had issued from its bosom. The pursuits of commerce and peace, and internal improvement, might be then but secondary concerns; and the great object would be to cultivate and establish a great military and naval power to act even on our frontiers, as they had in fact done by their naval exertions on the lakes, about which we had heard so much. This was the view in which our ministers ought to have considered the subject. The great fundamental principle on which they should have acted, was to turn America from this fatal policy, as adverse to the real interests of America as to those of this country; and to neglect no opportunity of bringing the fatal contest into which we had been unfortunately driven, to an amicable conclusion. He assured the noble earl (Liverpool) it would give him great satisfaction if he could approve of the manner in which the ministers had carried on the war, or the principles upon which they appeared to have conducted the negotiation. It was not on this day that he need argue, that peace, merely as such, could not be considered as a subject or ground of solid satisfaction. It was the situation in which peace ought to place us, that formed the only solid ground of satisfaction. This principle had been amply recognized and acted upon by this country with respect to other quarters. Peace—mere peace—had been offered, but rejected by their lordships and the nation. It was not, therefore, the mere circumstance that peace had been concluded—it was not the mere words or aspect of the treaty that ought to decide their lordships to approve of it, if it could be shown from information and documents indisputable, that the peace had been concluded under circumstances in which neither honour nor security had been provided for.

In discussing this question, their lordships had to consider what had been done to bring the war to a termination. It would be recollected, that soon after the war broke out, two propositions were made

for an armistice, and a discussion of the points in dispute in the mean time. He did not blame ministers for their conduct on that occasion, being perhaps of opinion, that the carrying on negotiations for peace during an armistice, was generally an imprudent course of proceeding; but he only wished to call their lordships' attention to this fact,—that at that time there was no expression of the slightest desire to alter the grounds of dispute; and that with respect to the impressment of seamen, a wish was expressed to come to a full and fair discussion, in order, if possible, to form some amicable arrangement on that difficult and arduous subject. The next point to be considered in the view of the question which he had stated, was the proposed mediation of Russia, and he had never yet been able to discover why that mediation had not been accepted. Their lordships were aware that the business of a mediator was merely to bring the parties together for the purpose of amicable discussion. The business of an arbitrator was no doubt different, and perhaps with respect to our maritime rights, the emperor of Russia might not have been the most proper arbitrator, supposing we had been disposed to admit of any arbitration on that head; for, essential as these rights were to this country, yet they were not, perhaps, more popular with some nations in Europe, than they were on the other side of the Atlantic. But the emperor of Russia's mediation was not accepted. Yet at last, in a question about territory, in which the dignity and honour of a country might be as much involved as in any question whatever, the emperor of Russia, though not accepted as a mediator, was to be the arbitrator. With respect to the emperor of Russia, however, there was no character existing at the present day, no character recorded in history, which more commanded his respect, his admiration, and, as far as the expression might be used as to the sovereign of another country, his affection, than that great monarch: but he rather imagined that the mediation was refused, because at that moment a notion had arisen some where, that as America had been the aggressor, the contest ought not to be brought to a close without some measure of revenge, without some punishment for her indiscretion—than which a more unwise and destructive sentiment could not be conceived. After the refusal of the mediation of the emperor of Russia, a proposal was made for a direct negotiation. To that proposal, he had no objection; it was in every respect proper, if it was right to have rejected the offer in the first instance. But after this proposal was accepted, what was done? The American commissioners arrived at Gottenburgh, from whence they proceeded to Ghent, two months before our commissioners were sent to meet them. He would allow that, in ordinary cases, this would be a matter of little importance; but in the teeth of a war, and of a war so conducted, who could undertake to calculate the consequences that might ensue? It had been said that the transaction at Washington could not have been prevented, even if peace had been made on the first day the commissioners met; but might it not have been prevented if they had met before?

He would now call the attention of the house to the state of Europe at that time. A series of glorious successes had attended the arms of his majesty and of the allies.

We had concluded peace at Paris; and, long before that event, it appeared not to be doubted, that the result must be favourable to the objects for which we were contending. This country might then have met America with a great artillery of character, and then was the time to have come forward with powerful strength and moderate demands. But, instead of taking any advantage of the situation in which we stood, we sent a paltry force of nine thousand men from Bordeaux, and by an expedient the most preposterous, endeavoured to supply the want of military strength, by the force and magnitude of our diplomatic demands. He would contend that the instructions sent by the American government to its commissioners, were such as to admit of peace. On one branch, it was true, they had no instructions. They were not authorised to cede territory, or to negotiate Indian pacification. They thought it could never have entered the heads of the negotiators at Ghent to have made the first demand, or to have introduced the second, in the way in which it was introduced, under an idea of altering the relations of the Indians towards the American states. This was the undoubted reason why they had no instructions upon these points. There was an extraordinary fact connected with this subject, that was amusing, if one could be amused in contemplating those transactions—that while our negotiations for the peace and independence of the Indian nations were going on, a peace was actually concluded by Mr. Madison with many of them, one of the terms of which was, that they should enter again under the protection of the United States. The noble earl opposite, (Liverpool) appeared by his gestures to contradict what he had said, but he spoke on the authority of the existing documents. In this manner the negotiation commenced. Our first proposition was one that never was before suggested, with a view to peace or war, or even as a matter of speculation and argument. We demanded a cession of territory, on the ground that it formed the natural limit of Canada. This territory included the whole of the lakes, and a large strip of ground on the other side. It was accompanied with a further condition, that they should build no fortresses on the banks of the lakes, nor adopt those measures which were necessary to protect their commerce against the Indians. On the subject of natural limits, he could not help amusing himself with inquiring from whence the doctrine had issued. He remembered it was once introduced by the famous Mr. Anacharsis Clootz, the orator of the human race, who, in a book called "Revolutionary Diplomatics," had described the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Ocean, and the Rhine, as the natural limits of France. He was surprised to find, that after we had conquered the French revolution, and carried our arms into Paris, this doctrine should be revived by a secretary of state, and applied to America. But was this done in the time of our strength? Was the demand insisted on in a commanding attitude? No such thing; we approached *in formâ pauperis;* we laid the British crown at the foot of the American president, and besought that to us, the weaker party, he would afford that security which we knew to be necessary to defend us against his pretensions. And what was the security we asked? That he should aban-

don all means of defence. Again, when we were asked by the Americans, why did we bring forward this demand at a moment when we professed to be negotiating in the spirit of peace? Our answer was, because your ambition is so unbounded. What could be expected after this? We set up monstrous, egregious, and unreasonable demands, and justified them by the ambition of that party upon whom we made them. When the question was asked, "Is this a *sine quâ non?*" the answer that followed was, perhaps, the most extraordinary that was ever given by a set of diplomatists—"We will not tell you whether it is or not—we have already given you one *sine quâ non*—and, until that is decided, we will not give you any information as to another." But this point, in whatever way considered, whether as a *sine quâ non* or not, was completely rejected—no attempt was ultimately made to insist on it—it formed no part of the present treaty. Now, he would ask, was it necessary to insist on this point? If it was, what security could be found in a treaty which did not contain a word on the subject? The ground on which you called for it was, not your strength, but your weakness. You stated that a mutual possession of the lakes produced additional danger in war, and formed a perpetual source of disagreement in peace, and you insisted on additional security—whether as a *sine quâ non* or not, the noble marquis did not pretend to say, since it was a matter very difficult to be unravelled. He had, however, been informed, that it never was intended to insist on this proposition, as a *sine quâ non*—but that it was thought to be a grand display of diplomatic address, to demand more at first than would ultimately be insisted on. In conformity with this principle, the commissioners conceived it to be wise and prudent to ask more, in the commencement of the negotiation, than in the latter end they conceived it proper to adhere to. Amongst some negotiators, of remote times, this principle was certainly acted on. And, with reference to their conduct, the negotiation of the present treaty resembled, in a great degree, many of the proceedings he had recently seen. Every precedent was adopted, as if it were the offspring of some sacred doctrine—and, it was here supposed, that if persons, at a former period, had ultimately taken less than they at first demanded, that, therefore, in all cases, it was proper to ask for more than, if resisted, you would deem it necessary to take. But here he would observe, that insincerity must, generally, be the basis of such conduct—that insincerity was unworthy of all public councils—and he desired to abjure a participation in any such feelings or principles. It was true, indeed, that occasions might occur, in which it was requisite, while treating, to make demands which it was not intended to insist upon; but the circumstances inviting this course were of a peculiar nature, and none but cases of an extraordinary description could call for, or justify it. In the case of Great Britain, he contended, that should have been stated at first, which it was intended to have been abided by at last. If ever there was a case in which the system of making a great demand, and afterwards receding from it, was inapplicable to the circumstances under which it was resorted to, that case was the present. A glorious career of success in war—a long series of ad-

vantages—these might induce a nation to look for a peace corres pondent with the exertions that had been made, and the successes that had been achieved. But even here, it was neither just nor wise, to demand that which, according to the law of nations, it was most improper to seek. It was not right, under any circumstances, to ask for the possession of that, which a state must deem essential to its honour, its security, and its independence. On this principle, he arraigned the demand with respect to the military possession of the lakes, both on the ground of policy and of justice. He denied that it was necessary for the security of our possessions to demand such a concession. He thought the effort to obtain this boon was made in a manner that ought to cover with shame those who tolerated it; for the majesty of England was placed, as a suppliant, at the foot of the president of the United States. And, he thought, that those who permitted the demands, generally, ought to be punished, for countenancing a spirit of aggrandizement, against which this country had been so long contending. It was, he conceived, in the highest degree imprudent, impolitic, and unwise, to tell America, at the outset of the negotiations, that if certain points were not conceded to us, there was no security for our dominions, in that quarter of the world. He was astonished that America should have been called upon to submit to the claim that was made; a claim which she could not have recognised, without degrading her national honour, and sacrificing her national interests. No country had a right to make such a demand on another.

The next question was, that of the Indian boundary—and here it was necessary to examine on what ground that question rested. By the treaty of 1783, which established the independence of the United States, the line of demarcation, between the territories of the United States, and those of Great Britain, in America, was to be drawn through the centre of the lakes of the woods, and was to be terminated by a line continued from the lakes of the woods to the Mississippi. It so happened, that a line thus drawn, would not have proceeded due west, as was stipulated—but that, to define it, it ought to be drawn almost south-east. But the stipulations of that treaty, thus defining the boundary of the United States, gave to the new government the same right and control over the various places within the stated boundaries, as had before been enjoyed by Great Britain. Within those boundaries many Indian tribes resided; and it was the policy of the United States to encourage amongst them habits of civilization. By the proclamation of his present majesty, issued in 1763, all private individuals were prevented from purchasing any of the lands appropriated to the use of the Indians. But it was provided, that if, under any peculiar circumstances, the Indians themselves were anxious to dispose of those grounds, that they should be purchased for the crown. By the treaty of 1783, the full rights, formerly possessed by the king of Great Britain, over certain parts of the American territory, were fully and completely vested in the government of the United States. How, then, could this government, with any degree of justice, call for a new boundary for the Indians, when, in fact, all power and control respecting

them had been long before given up? For he would contend, that all the land ceded to the United States by the treaty of 1783, was within their sovereignty, as completely as it had before been within the sovereignty of the king of England. And here he begged leave to make one observation, with respect to the employment of the Indians in war. To make them instruments of vengeance, was one of the most dreadful systems that ever the spirit of man, directed to a mischievous and cruel object, could possibly devise. He must suppose it to arise from necessity; but it was a fatal necessity. This necessity had already awaked the attention of the house; it had, in its earliest state, awaked the eloquent indignation of the wisest and most eloquent statesman that ever charmed that house,—the great earl of Chatham. The noble marquis said, he should have rejoiced to have seen the practice at once done away. It would have been with him almost like a second abolition of the slave trade. He should have been rejoiced if we had closed at once with that proposal of the commissioners, never to employ the Indians again. But did the noble lord forget that this territory which he claimed for his independent Indians, was actually divided into American states—that it actually sent members to congress —that it was pledged for a share of the national debt?—And was it to be expected, that they would consent to give a boundary thus out of their own bosom, against themselves? But the American government had made frequent treaties with them, undoubtedly; and so had we done; but we had not, therefore, relinquished the full possession of our sovereignty. The fact was, that however the Americans might have been disgusted by the demands of our negotiators, the treaty restored things to exactly the same state in which they were before. He had also to notice another most curious intimation on our part. Ministers thought proper to propose, as it seemed to them desirable to maintain the excellent state of society which existed among the Indians, that the Americans should assent, never to purchase any lands of their Indians, while we did the same with regard to ours: that the Indians should only dispose of their lands to a third party. Who was this third party? Was it France?

All these propositions were said to be grounded on the necessity of checking a spirit of aggrandizement on the part of America: but what were their effects on the public mind when they reached America? It was well known that there prevailed among a numerous party in that country, a strong sentiment that the war with England, if not absolutely unjust in its origin, was at least impolitic and unnecessary. The whole nation had also begun to feel its disastrous effects, and would have hailed with pleasure any really pacific proposals; but when these propositions arrived, their tendency was the very reverse of accelerating a peace. The noble lord had, indeed, blamed the president for giving them publicity during pending negotiations; but the American negotiators declared in their dispatch, that they thought the prospect of peace at an end; and he believed that the noble lord, who was so niggardly in the production of papers, had he been situated as the president was, would immediately have submitted to parliament such claims of an enemy, with

the view of arousing any flagging spirit of hostility in the country. The effect of the proposals was instantaneous in America; the determination to resist them was unanimous and strong to a degree almost incredible under a government so constituted. They excited a general military spirit; means were adopted for raising an efficient army, and attention had been paid to the formation of a navy on a regular systematic plan, which no man in this country could look forward to but with the deepest regret. If the proposals were urged insincerely, there was no degree of criminality too high which did not attach to ministers: if they were sincere in their apprehensions of American ambition, it remained for them to show how the engagements at last entered into, were either honourable and safe.

The noble marquis next adverted to the mode in which the war had been prosecuted. He deeply lamented that it had ever been thought right to conduct the war on a system of predatory incursion. The true way would have been to apply the massy strength of this great naval and military country on some central point, where it might have commanded success, instead of producing more irritation. There was one point which required illustration, and that was the allegation that some of our officers had excited the negro slaves of Virginia to rise upon their masters. Another point was the fatal transaction at Washington. As an attack on the naval arsenal and depot of the enemy, the plan was wise, and conducted with singular ability and vigour; but he never could contemplate, without pain, the destruction of buildings entirely devoted to pacific purposes, and some of them to those of the arts. The defence set up was, that it was an act of retaliation; but he must condemn the principle. Retaliation was of two kinds—defensive or vindictive. The former might be employed when necessary for self-protection; but the latter went to consider vengeance as a duty: it was to reverse the Christian principle, and substitute instead of it, that you should do unto others as they have done unto you.

But the charge of unbounded ambition was brought against America. This was discoverable, it was said, in her attacking Canada, at the commencement of the war; as if, because she gave it out to be a war for her maritime rights, she was bound to confine it to the ocean, where you were strong, and she was weak. America might think that the best way of conducting a war even for maritime rights, was by attacking Canada, where ministers had confessed that we were weak. But the American government never made Canada a point in the negotiation, and nothing could be drawn from the proclamation of an invading general, which he believed was afterwards disowned by his government. Another charge was, that she manifested an encroaching spirit, against which it was necessary to guard, by her acquisition of Louisiana, an event that took place not less than eleven years ago. That transaction simply originated in this,—that in consequence of the transfer of Louisiana to France by the Spanish government, the Americans were dreadfully alarmed lest they should have Bonaparte and the French as a perpetual blister on their backs. Their alarm was not without reason; for no sooner had Bonaparte

obtained the transfer, than he refused to the Americans their depot at New-Orleans, which was absolutely essential to the whole their north-western trade. Thus actuated, they eagerly purchased Louisiana; but so little was their purchase considered a ground of jealousy at the time, that our minister, in a letter to Mr. Rufus King, the then American ambassador in this country, congratulated him on the acquisition, as favourable to the interests of both countries. It was therefore most extraordinary, that the acquisition of Louisiana should now be set forward as an outrageous act of aggrandizement. But it was said, that the protest of Spain against its occupation had been studiously concealed. That protest, however, certainly was withdrawn; at least it was so stated in a speech of the American president to congress in 1804. But, supposing the whole allegation true, was it wise or prudent to bring it forward now, when the measure had been acquiesced in for the last eleven years? The next ground of charge was the question of West Florida. During the progress of the Spanish revolution, Florida was divided into various factions, struggling for the supremacy. The American government interfered, improperly, he thought, and occupied the province, on the ground that it was necessary to prevent it from falling into hands that might be dangerous as neighbours. They declared at the same time that they had no intention of permanent occupancy. We ourselves had recently done the very same thing, by occupying a part of West Florida, for the purpose of making war on the United States. Was this temporary occupation to be held as a proof of our desire of aggrandizement? Could any imprudence be so monstrous, as during a negotiation to produce such articles of charge as these were? The last ground on which the charge of ambition was founded, was the spirit of encroachment the Americans had displayed in purchasing Indian lands. But this was the system of extending their cultivation which the Americans had always pursued, and this was the system which we ourselves pursued in Canada.

The noble marquis next proceeded to make a variety of remarks on the negotiations respecting the boundaries on the Canada line. He observed, that in his opinion, the American commissioners had shown the most astonishing superiority over the British during the whole of the correspondence. The noble earl opposite probably felt sore at this observation; as he (lord W.) had little doubt that the British papers were communicated from the common fund of ministers in this country. The results of the prolonged negotiation had been dreadful; and when the treaty itself appeared, it contained really nothing but the cessation of hostilities. No one point had been settled. Having considered what the treaty did include, he should now advert to what it did not include. It described no boundary line from lake Superior to the Mississippi; it stipulated for no direct communication between Halifax and Quebec; the islands of Passamaquoddy were to be the subject of no discretion at all, and they were referred to the arbitration of the emperor of Russia. Above all, it contained not one word respecting the original causes of the war, or the maritime rights in contention between the two countries. He knew

that by some this omission had been called an effort of extraordinary wisdom; and it was thought much wiser to leave those rights upon the general principles of public law. The American commissioners had offered us a peace which should include the pacification of the Indians, and proposed to open an amicable negotiation for the purpose of forming such an arrangement as should protect us from the miseries of an American war, in the event of a renewal of our war with other powers. The time that should have been spent in discussing these important rights, had been squandered in bandying about imputations of a desire of personal aggrandizement. The question, because it was intricate, was not insoluble, or incapable of adjustment, or to be fled from. It seemed to be the principle of the ministers of this day, that because questions required great application, and zeal, and vigour, and diligence, they were to be shrunk from. To leave such a question as this to the decision of public law, was to leave it to the appeal of the sword. If there were no other reason for the present motion, he trusted their lordships would support it, in order to have this question set at rest. He had never heard that America had disputed his majesty's maritime rights ["Yes," from the ministry.] He understood that she only asserted the extreme difficulty of applying them to the relative situations of their ships and rights. If they did dispute the right in question, did ministers hope by leaving it untouched to prevent war? There was no question but in that case we should very soon be at war about it. It was, therefore, that he thought the treaty defective: whatever of substance it contained might have been arranged in less time, and there had been time enough to put these important subjects into some shape.

The noble marquis only required the house to say whether he had not laid before their lordships sufficient grounds to warrant them in desiring to have the papers produced, to enable them to exercise their own judgment on the case, and give such counsel to the prince regent as should seem to them best founded in justice and policy. He had argued this case as it if were above the rule of precedent, and he wished to keep it so: it had so peculiar a character, that no established rule could be applied to it; for where, he would ask, was the treaty ever before seen which contained no article whatever upon the point which had been first insisted on, and which was so well put in the prince regent's first declaration of the grounds of war? —a state paper which he felt happy to compliment for ability and justice.—The treaty contained nothing of the points then insisted upon, nor did it even refer to the original causes of war. If the question of precedent were argued on the other side, he was prepared with very excellent precedents for his motion for granting papers after the conclusion of a treaty of peace, of which the circumstances were as nearly similar to the present as possible. There was one more ground on which the present motion would be irresistible. Although there might be many cases, in which, after the conclusion of peace, the particulars of the negotiation had better be concealed under the mysterious veil of diplomacy, yet much of the correspondence on this treaty had already been before America, and had there the effect of healing

divisions among the provinces, of actually changing the character of the government from commercial to military, and of disposing the nation to make the greatest exertions for the purpose of raising a tremendous navy. It was, therefore, important for us to show to the American government the moderation of our views, and the justice of our intentions towards her, and that our object was to rest our connexion upon the foundation of reciprocal confidence.

Speech of Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, *on Bonaparte's Escape from Elba.*

Sir *James Mackintosh* said, that he should not undertake to decide whether any thing substantially new had been, or could be added to the judicious and unexaggerated statement of his honourable and learned friend (Mr. Abercrombie); but sure he was, that whoever were to know the excellent speech of his learned friend only from the answer which had been attempted to it, must be totally mistaken in its purport and scope. The question was not, as it had been argued on the other side, whether there was a case for the conviction of ministers, but whether parliamentary ground was laid for inquiry into their conduct. On the question thus stated, he really could scarcely see a plausible pretext for difference of opinion. The right hon. gentleman (Mr. B. Bathurst) had indeed been pleased to charge the representations made on this side of the house of the mischievous effects of this fatal error with exaggeration, and had deigned in his generosity to say that he made allowance for the feelings of his right hon. friend (Mr. Elliott)—so much distinguished in the house by that power of compression, and that union of elegance with gravity, which required a calm, as well as a comprehensive understanding. No man was more master of himself, as well of his audience; no man was less likely to be hurried away by the impetuosity of disorderly feelings. How had his right hon. friend been so unfortunate as to incur the indulgence, and require the merciful consideration of the right hon. gentleman? Could any feeling be too warm for the case? Was it in the power of eloquence to magnify the evil? Wars which had raged for twenty-five years throughout Europe; which had spread blood and desolation from Cadiz to Moscow, and from Naples to Copenhagen; which had wasted the means of human enjoyment, and destroyed the instruments of social improvement; which threatened to diffuse among the European nations the dissolute and ferocious habits of a predatory soldiery; at length, by one of those vicissitudes which bid defiance to the foresight of man, had been brought to a close, upon the whole, happy, beyond all reasonable expectation, with no violent shock to national independence, with some tolerable compromise between the opinions of the age, and the reverence due to ancient institutions; with no too signal or mortifying triumph over the legitimate interests, or avowable feelings of any numerous body of men; and, above all, without those retaliations against nations or parties which beget new convulsions often as horrible as those which they close, and perpetuate revenge, and hatred, and blood from age to age. Europe seemed to breathe after her sufferings. In the midst of this fair pros-

pect, and of these consolatory hopes, Napoleon Bonaparte escaped from Elba; three small vessels reached the coast of Provence; their hopes are instantly dispelled, the work of our toil and fortitude is undone, the blood of Europe is spilt in vain—

Ibi omnis effusus labor!

We had now to commence a new career of peril, at least as formidable as that from which we had fondly hoped that we had been for ever delivered. Was this a case of which it was easy to exaggerate the evils? Could his right hon. friend have felt lukewarmly on such a subject, without throwing doubts on the sincerity of his love for his country, and of his regard for the general welfare of long-harassed Europe? Surely if he had on such an occasion deviated from the usual calm dignity of his eloquence, he might rather be praised than excused. And was this a case in which the house would refuse to inquire whether the misconduct of the government of Great Britain had any share in bringing so many evils on Europe?

Some insinuations had been thrown out of differences of opinion on his side of the house, respecting the evils of this escape. He utterly denied them. All agreed in lamenting the occurrence which rendered the renewal of war so probable, not to say certain. All his friends, with whose opinions he was acquainted, were of opinion that in the theory of public law, the assumption of power by Napoleon had given to the allies a just cause of war against France. It was perfectly obvious that the abdication of Napoleon, and his perpetual renunciation of the supreme authority, was a condition, and the most important condition on which the allies had granted peace to France. The convention of Fontainbleau, and the treaty of Paris, were equally parts of the great compact which re-established friendship between France and Europe. In consideration of the safer and more inoffensive state of France when separated from her terrible leader, confederated Europe had granted moderate and favourable terms of peace. As soon as France had violated this important condition by again submitting to the authority of Napoleon, the allies were doubtless released from their part of the compact, and re-entered into their belligerent rights.

By the dissolution of the treaty of Paris, war was in right renewed. It depended upon the prudence of the allies whether they should exercise their belligerent right, or seek security in negotiation. But as against France a war to compel the observance of the treaty of Paris, was indubitably just. On these matters he knew of no difference among his friends—shades of difference might, indeed, exist among so numerous a body of independent men on other parts of the subject. Some might doubt more than others whether recourse to hostilities, in the first instance, were wise; whether it were safe and consistent with the duty of the allied sovereigns to their own subjects, and to all Europe. Justice, as against the enemy, is an indispensable, but sometimes the smallest part of the morality of a war. To be just towards subjects, towards allies, and towards posterity, princes must be convinced of the prudence and safety of war, as much as of its being justified by the conduct of an enemy. What is called the

policy of a war, is generally a greater part of its whole morality than what is too exclusively termed its justice. On this question differences probably might appear. Some, and of which number he owned that he was one, shrunk from the experiment of new war without at least some attempt to try whether the same end, even if more imperfectly, might not be obtained by means less hazardous. He dreaded the dangers of failure, he dreaded the dangers of success; he dreaded the renewal of our former calamities, he dreaded the rise of new and unknown evils. But all were agreed in deploring an event which rendered war so probable, though, as many hoped, not inevitable. Those who feared war the most, were surely consistent with themselves in deeply lamenting what exposed us to such imminent danger of its renewal; and all must concur in thinking, that if that danger had in any degree arisen from the supine negligence of ministers, they were reprehensible and culpable. Did enough appear on the face of the transaction to call for inquiry? That was the question. For if there did, men of all opinions about the prudence of war, ought to agree for voting for the inquiry.

The fact was admitted by the noble lord, that no instructions had been given to the commanders of British ships of war respecting the escape of Napoleon. It was therefore acknowledged, that this government had not taken the only precaution within its province against that event. He could conceive only three reasons which might be alleged in defence of this omission:—Either such precautions were unnecessary, or they were unjustifiable, or they were impossible. The noble lord had, indeed, applied a general reply to all these defences. For he had told the house, that though there were no instructions to naval officers, yet there was "an understanding" (which, by-the-bye, was the only understanding discoverable in the matter), that Napoleon should be detained if met at sea in a certain ill-defined and obscurely-described combination of circumstances. A right hon. gentleman had varied the phraseology —and told us, that not only "an understanding," but "an impression" of this sort had been conveyed to these gallant officers. The difficulty of the question was too great for instructions. The admiralty, the cabinet, the great civil lawyers who advised the crown, could hazard no advice. But the captains of ships of war were to act on their own responsibility, guided only by these precise and well-defined terms, "an understanding," and "an impression." But if it was necessary, or justifiable, or possible, to act on an understanding, or an impression, it could neither be needless, nor culpable, nor impossible to frame instructions. The only difference was, that instructions might be effectual. The understanding and the impression left naval officers ignorant of what was required from them, and what they might lawfully do. But it is clear that inefficiency is no palliation of impropriety, and that whatever may be and ought to be done at all, may be, and ought to be done in the most effectual manner. The noble lord was not to tell the house, "I was a little guilty of the folly and injustice of watching Bonaparte; but it was very little indeed, for I did it so foolishly, that it was sure of producing no effect." He was not to say, "We should

have been glad if the captains of ships of war had watched and intercepted Napoleon. We could not decide the difficulty, nor encounter the danger."

On the practicability of watching Elba, he should have been glad to have heard the observations of his hon. friend (Mr. Douglas) whose local knowledge would give weight to his opinion. Instead of that local information, his hon. friend had recourse to general reasoning, in which his superiority was not altogether so undisputed. He had indulged in some topics fit for more vulgar mouths, unworthy of his character, and beneath his rising talents. He had told the house, that apologies for Napoleon's escape had originated here, and that from speeches made in parliament he had learnt to defend himself by urging the infraction of the convention of Fontainbleau on the other side, the design to remove him from Elba, the seizure of the property of his family in France, and the non-payment of his stipulated revenue by Louis XVIII. But he must appeal to his hon. friend's more accurate recollection, whether, in the societies where they met at Paris in December, they had not heard these things loudly stated before the facts were known to any gentleman in this house? He asked him, whether these charges were confined to the partizans of Napoleon, and whether, on the contrary, the conduct of the government was not deplored by its best friends, who considered these measures as acts, at least, of folly, which it was easy to represent as acts of injustice? But little had been said here on the subject of practicability, and, indeed, little could be said with effect, unless it could be absolutely demonstrated that no attempt could be made to watch the ports of Elba, which could in any degree diminish the chance of escape. Physical impossibility, absolute certainty of total failure, could be the only defence where even a little chance of a small diminution was an object of great importance.

Would it be said that such vigilance was needless? Was it supposed that Napoleon could patiently bury all his projects and passions in a little island of the Tuscan sea? That he could renounce all the habits of his life, and relinquish for ever that fearful activity in which his stupendous faculties had been unceasingly exercised? Did any man expect that he, for whose boundlessambition the world seemed too narrow, should voluntarily submit to be cooped up in a rock; inverting the remark of the satirist on his great predecessor in conquest,

Æstuat infelix angusto limite mundi
Ut Gyaræ clausus scopulis, parvâque Seripho.

Did the state of France render precaution needless? Was the army so detached from Napoleon as to leave no fear of his throwing himself once more at the head of those whom he had so long led to victory? This apology no minister was at liberty to make who had made the convention of Fontainbleau, or who had assented to it, or who had acquiesced in it. That convention was evidently either a measure of magnanimous madness, or of necessary policy.

The noble lord had employed the utmost labour to defend himself and his illustrious co-plenipotentiaries from the charge of magnanimity. The noble lord might have trusted to character against such a charge, and his defence on that head was perfectly unan-

swerable. But why? Because he considered the convention of Fontainbleau to have been produced by political necessity—by the temper of the French nation—and, above all, by the formidable army still devoted to their renowned commander. The gentlemen on the other side had mistaken the point of view in which his hon. and learned friend (Mr. Abercrombie) had considered the convention of Fontainbleau. It was not for the direct discussion of its merits that he had introduced it; it was for the inference which it afforded affecting this question. This inference was inevitable. If that cogent expediency, commonly called necessity, justified such a convention, it must follow that the state of France was in the highest degree dangerous, and was known to be so by those who assented to the convention. In that case the utmost vigilance was obviously necessary to prevent the return of Napoleon to a country full of such inflammable materials. His hon. friend had reduced ministers to a dilemma from which they could not escape. Either the treaty was voluntary, or it was necessary. If it was voluntary, the allies had created the danger. If it was necessary, they had neglected the greatest of all duties in not providing against so great a danger. They had vindicated themselves from voluntarily consenting to conditions pregnant with peril. But by that vindication they had still more imposed upon themselves the duty of vigilance, and established, beyond the possibility of contradiction, their guilt on this charge.

It was said indeed, incidentally, that we were no parties to the original conditions granted to Napoleon, that the noble lord found them in substance concluded before his arrival at Paris. Of this defence the noble lord could not avail himself; not only because he then acceded to the convention, but because he now defended it. And if he had, what sort of defence was it? It was an attempt to escape participation in guilt, by a confession of insignificance.—Though the noble lord was not at Paris, yet there were two or three British ministers in that city of the highest rank. One of them was ambassador to the emperor of Russia, the supposed author of the convention.—What are we to believe? That the sovereigns determined on such a measure without communicating their decision to these British ministers? What a national degradation! Was it thus that the policy of ministers had thrown away the renown earned by the army? At the moment that the British army, under their immortal leader, had traced their long line of glory from Torres Vedras, was it possible that the sovereigns of Europe had determined on the only important condition of the treaty without even the formality of communication to the English minister? If this would not be admitted, what was the other branch of the alternative? Were the two noble lords (Aberdeen and Cathcart) left unprovided with instructions respecting the disposal of Napoleon? Had they no discretionary power of expostulating, of remonstrating, of intreating time till they should consult the noble secretary? If they were thus destitute of powers and of instructions, did this arise from the incapacity of ministers to foresee the possibility of a case where such powers and instructions might be rendered most necessary, from the sudden occurrence of events which required immediate deci-

sion during a temporary interruption of intercourse with the noble secretary? Was the fortune of war so certain as to make the want of such foresight pardonable? Or was the danger voluntarily incurred, for the sake of exalting the importance of the noble secretary at the expense of his colleagues, and of the public interest? In looking at every side of this part of the transaction, he professed that he could not discover any honourable explanation of it.

But the most serious question undoubtedly remained! Napoleon was an independent prince. It would be an insult to his dignity to watch his movements. It would be a violation of his independence to restrain them. They who had starved Norway into subjection—they who sanctioned the annihilation of Poland, and the subjugation of Venice—they whose hands were scarcely withdrawn from the instrument which transferred Genoa to a hated master—were suddenly seized with the most profound reverence for the independent sovereign of Elba, and shrunk with horror from the idea of saving the peace of Europe by preventing the departure of Napoleon Bonaparte from Porto Ferrajo! He must believe that if the danger had been discussed at the congress of Vienna, and if any paradoxical minister had made any scruples about the independence of Elba, his scruples would have been received with a general laugh. Count Nesselrode could quote the precedent of Stanislaus at Moscow. Prince Talleyrand would have been ready with that of Ferdinand at Valencay. The congress would scarcely have avowed that all their respect for independence was monopolised by Napoleon.

Most assuredly Napoleon was a sovereign prince. The faith of Europe was irrevocably pledged to him, and could not be questioned without dishonour. He was a sovereign for dignity; he was a sovereign for security: he was a sovereign in the theory of international law, and was entitled to all the immunities as well as honour of the sovereign character. But he was not a sovereign for the practical purpose of taking a part in the system of Europe. It was true, though it might seem quaint to say, that he was a legal, but not a political sovereign. The state of the world had, in effect, reduced the right of war in all small states to little more than an honorary distinction. He was a sovereign by the convention of Fontainbleau; and he could not carry his sovereign rights to the destruction of that compact from which his sovereignty was derived. The abdication of Napoleon, his perpetual renunciation of the crown of France, were so perfectly the essence of the treaty of Paris, that it is now universally acknowledged to be dissolved by their violation. But such conditions would have been nugatory if they had not implied the right of the parties interested to watch over their observance. Every legal right carries with it the legality of the means necessary to secure its exercise. When the demolition of the works at Dunkirk was stipulated by the treaty of Utrecht, it was a violation of the independence of France to stipulate that English commissaries should reside at Dunkirk to watch over the observance of that stipulation. It might be resented by France as a curb on her ambition, as a wound to her pride, as an affront to her dignity; but it continued in force for four-score years, without ever been called an inva-

sion of her independence. Every precaution manifestly necessary to security, must be perfectly inoffensive to any prince against whom it is taken. The state of France was a permanent ground of apprehension; and as any nation in Europe has a right to ask an explanation of the ground of unusual armaments, and to require that they shall not seem to threaten the general tranquillity, so every power which had directly or indirectly participated in the convention of Fontainbleau, had a most indisputable right to require that Napoleon should consent to every precaution clearly necessary to the quiet of France, and consequently of Europe. His resistance would have converted apprehension into proof. It would have been a demonstration of his hostile designs, and a just ground of preventive war against him.

He desired not to be misunderstood. He justified no discourtesy, no insult, no wanton inquisition, no attack under the false pretence of danger. God forbid! He justified only the vigilance and precaution necessary to prevent the sovereign authority of Elba, granted by the convention of Fontainbleau, from being turned into the means of remounting the throne of France, the renunciation of which was the grand, the essential, and almost the sole condition of the compact. These precautions were to be adopted with all the personal respect due to the faith of Europe, due also to the genius and renown of the individual, due to the dignity of the great nation whom he had governed, and due from the sovereigns of the continent to their own character, after the intimate connexion which they had formed with him.

If, in the course of an ordinary war with France, our first information of a French fleet having sailed from Toulon, were to be that it had effected the capture of Jamaica, a cry of just indignation would infallibly drive a supine admiralty from their seats. It would be vain for them to say, that they had no information of the design. They would be truly told, that the want of information was their crime, not their justification. They would be told, that it was their duty to have information of the first preparations of such an armament, that it was the duty of the government to demand an explanation of their object, and that if no explanation, or no satisfactory explanation was given, it was their duty to send a squadron into the Mediterranean, and watch the movements of the French squadron, with such instructions as the circumstances of the case might justify, and the safety of the West Indies might demand. Could they make any defence on such a charge? But it differed from the present in no respect, but in the unspeakable inferiority of any colony, however valuable and respectable, to the general tranquillity and safety of the civilized world.

What, then, was wanting to the completeness of this case? The ministers had avowed the fact of non-vigilance. They had not proved the impossibility of taking some precautions against the danger. It was demonstrated that such precautions were necessary, and that their necessity was obvious at the time. It was demonstrated also that such precautions were perfectly lawful.

To all this no direct answer was in truth attempted. But it was said, that the whole was retrospective wisdom; that we were wise after the event, and that we as little foresaw it as the ministers. To this

retort, substituted for a defence, he should very shortly reply:—That the danger was seen and spoken of throughout Europe; that it was scarcely possible to enter a society where it was not discussed, and that it had been mentioned in almost every newspaper for months. What would have been thought of those on this side of the house, if they had made such a matter the subject of parliamentary discussion? They would have been told, that they showed an unwarrantable distrust of the common sense of ministers; that they dragged into light secrets of state, which were of a most delicate nature. They would have been told, as they were told on other occasions, with less speciousness, that this was not the affair of England, but of the sovereigns of Europe assembled at Vienna, where negotiations to remedy the defects, or to enforce the observance of the convention of Fontainbleau, might be altogether defeated by the premature and tumultuary debates of a popular assembly. Could they have discussed the question without noticing the breaches of treaty to Napoleon, and would they not, in that case, justly have incurred the imputation of stimulating him to escape? On the other hand, might they not have been justly charged with stimulating the congress of Vienna to acts of violence and perfidy towards him? Did not this seem much the more probable evil? Could any man have believed that the same congress which sacrificed all the nations of Europe to their ambition, should have shrunk from the exercise of their most legitimate rights against their only formidable enemy?

In truth, it was the opinion of the greatest statesmen whom he had the good fortune of knowing, that, notwithstanding the apparent negligence, or rather, as a natural inference from appearances otherwise so unaccountable, there must be some secret articles in the convention of Fontainbleau, which secured the world against the seeming improvidence of its public stipulations, the means of enforcing which were in the hands of the allies, and justified that security, without some such supposition incomprehensible, in which they appeared to be lulled. It was natural enough to believe that such conditions had been kept secret out of courtesy to Napoleon, or tenderness to the feelings of those great princes with whom he was connected. On the other side, credit was given to Napoleon for a moderation which would have been a miracle in Marcus Aurelius. On this side it was only believed that the English ministers would exercise common sense. And now they were told, that by this excess of confidence, they had forfeited their right of accusation. A robbery had been committed. The watchmen were asleep. The poor householders naturally complained of the negligence of their watchmen. The watchmen rather impudently answered, that the householders were asleep as well as they. The reply was final and fatal. The householders slept in perfect security, because they trusted in their watchmen being awake.

Lord GRENVILLE'S *Speech on the Affairs of France, pronounced May* 23, 1815.

Lord *Grenville* said, he considered the present ruler of France as the common enemy of Europe, and had no doubt that if he had been placed in the situation the

prince regent's ministers had been placed in, that he should have given the same advice as to the present state of war. Now that parliament was called upon for its support, he could not, after all the consideration he had been able to give the subject, bring himself to doubt that it was their duty to declare their determined resolution to support the crown to the utmost in the prosecution of the war. But if any hesitation had appeared on the part of the executive government, strong as his impression was, he should not have presumed, upon the imperfect, and perhaps erroneous information which a member of parliament was able to pick up, to advise the government to commence a war which ministers did not think expedient. He expressed some concern that the house were not called upon to consider this subject earlier, for the sake of giving more satisfaction to the country, of conteracting many unfounded opinions, and removing many groundless prejudices. But the delay had afforded him the opportunity of examining and re-examining opinions, of the correctness of which he had so much reason to doubt, when he found they differed from those of his noble friend—of whose judgment he thought so highly. To give an opinion in favour of a continuance of the calamities of war, was a painful task to any man; but it was some consolation to feel that that was the opinion of a man whose whole public life had expressed a general abhorrence of war, and who thought that in order to be just, a war must not only be necessary, but unavoidable. The first question was, whether we had just grounds to consider ourselves at war. There was a saying of Mr. Burke, recorded in those volumes in which, if so many things were often applicable, it was because they were founded on the solid principles of truth—that neither a profitable wrong, nor an unprofitable right, were fit objects to be pursued by war. Even though it were demonstrable, that the greatest possible advantage might be derived from the prosecution of war, yet if it could be shown that the war was unjust, the waging such a war was more unprofitable to its interests than any advantage could benefit them. Much had, of necessity, been said respecting the general right of interfering with the government of other nations. In the abstract principle, that no government had a right to interfere with another, every body would agree. The right was unquestionable, like the rights of men in a state of nature; and if any political state could be found in a state of nature, the rights of a state so separated from the other states would be absolute and undeniable; but it was with societies as with individuals, with governments as with men—when they stand in any relation to each other, they must be contented to see their rights regulated with a view to the mutual rights of all. The rights of others in relation to that state were as sacred as the rights of the state itself. He did not apprehend that this principle would be denied; every page in the history of every country furnished examples of its being acted upon. His noble friend had mentioned two striking instances which had lately occurred. That this principle must not be made the pretext of oppression and injustice, was true of every other ground of war; and there was no legitimate ground of war which might not by abuse

be distorted to the purposes of injustice. There was no country which had not tried the effect of a treaty with Bonaparte—which had not experienced that in restraining his power, or diminishing his aggressions, treaties were of no avail whatever. If the house had not been of this opinion, the moment for them to have declared it was when the Prince Regent's ministers signed the declaration to that effect: they should then have required ministers to have withdrawn such declaration in the name of England. He cordially approved of the declaration: on that foundation France accepted the offers of the allies; and that government—which was originally a military usurpation—had it been the most legitimate in the world, would, by the misconduct of the sovereign, have forfeited its title to its king, and have produced the extreme case of the necessity of driving from the throne the person who had so abused his authority. If France possessed the right of choosing her own government, and had, after so many years of war, by which she had been so great a sufferer, made some sacrifices for the advantages of the restoration of tranquillity, her own limitation of that right could not be doubted: and so the bargain was made at Paris. This would appear the true sense of the treaties, looking on the whole business as one great transaction. In civil transactions, some competent tribunal or jurisdiction was referred to, which prescribed certain forms as necessary to be attended to for the regulation of a contract; which he who did not act upon, neglected at his peril. But in affairs between nations, there was no common authority or tribunal to refer to, or which had authority to prescribe: and all that could be required was, to impose on both parties the duty of performing what they undertook. The intention to perform the contract must be made known to all parties, and this was the case respecting the exclusion of Bonaparte and his family from the French throne. The question, therefore, was not on the abstract right of interference in the choice of a government for France, but on the right of enforcing a solemn treaty. It mattered not what was the case of right, if it was allowed, as no man denied, that France had the right to conclude lawfully the treaty. That gave to the allies the right of enforcing it. The treaty was made, and it could not be lawful for France to break it. It was founded on certain stipulations: but France breaks it, and retracts from part of the bargain; her obligation was the exclusion of Bonaparte's dynasty. The moment that violation was committed, a just cause of war ensued. Their lordships might, though it was not necessary, look back to the war of the succession, and the original principle on which that war was founded. The allies, he would not say wisely or not, did relax from the original principle of excluding the Bourbon family from the Spanish throne; but they insisted on the means for preventing the crowns of the two nations being worn by the same person. It might then have depended on the life of a weak and sickly child, whether Philip would not become the rightful heir of France. Had the contemplated event occurred, then France would have desired and attempted the annexation of Spain as a province of France; not as it was afterwards, a virtual province, but an actual added province or kingdom. If the policy, then, was

admitted to be right, what was the inference respecting the present circumstances? The point then was, not the exclusion of all the Bourbons or others from the throne of Spain, but to prevent Philip V. from wearing the French crown; and we now said, that by the treaty Bonaparte cannot lawfully be considered as the emperor of France. This was our ground, and as to the enemy nothing more was necessary. The case was this: he had violated, and the allies claimed the observance of the treaty. It was fitting to show to France that we were justified in those steps which might bring on France all the calamities of war. His opinion was, that there was no option left us; nor any grounds for long deliberation. We were placed by an imperious necessity in a state to do what could not be avoided. The first great point of importance was the observance of the treaty. It was no light matter after twenty-five years of trouble, and even at the close of war, to find in France the prevailing passion which occasioned the early calamities—a passion under the dominion of which, she was preparing to commence a new war. Could France alone have a right to examine, question, or cancel treaties, without assigning any reason why she was not bound by them? If there remained any hope for the maintenance of peace in Europe against such a power as France, it must be grounded upon a determination that she should be bound by the force of her contracts. Europe was not to tolerate her principles of destroying treaties, such as she avowed in the case of the opening of the Scheldt, for instance, some years ago. So now she renounced her contract by one of the most insulting papers ever known in the annals of diplomacy, called by Caulaincourt, "a proposition for peace." which was founded only on this—that France might, at her pleasure, dispense with all compacts. What occasion was there now for the question whether relations should be entered into with France, seeing that she had shown that she would not abide by any treaty? She gloried in violating a treaty. She scattered it to the winds. By twenty-five years of fatal experience, she had taught Europe how she appreciated treaties. Other securities must, therefore, be found for her than those of solemn compacts. To all propositions from Bonaparte there was an insuperable objection. He could offer no security. We had now a duty imposed upon us. He had flagrantly broken his faith; and because he done so, were we to break faith with our allies? If they called on us to enforce an unjust demand, we might reply, that we were no party to the matter. If they called on us to support one, which though just was yet new, we might say, that the interest of the country was to be first considered. But our allies now called upon us only for the observance of a treaty agreed to by all, and we could not consistently set up a plea of our own interest as a reason for not assisting in securing its observance. To refuse to maintain the treaty of Paris, would be conduct towards our allies of a character similar to the bad faith of Bonaparte. There were yet other grounds for deciding on this fearful alternative. He held good faith to our allies to be indispensable; but his real opinion was, that it was essential to the general security of all (he knew not how to made shades of difference,) that the stipulations of

the treaty should be enforced. No reasonable man, certainly no man in that house, could confide in the security to be found in treaties with Bonaparte. Security must be looked for in other means. Speaking of the security or insecurity of treaties, he should not attempt a statement of how many violations of treaties Bonaparte had been guilty; but he would ask any one to show him a single country during the last ten or twelve years, which had sought peace or safety by treaty with him, that had not found itself visited with the aggravation of the very evils it had so attempted to ward off? Instead of enumerating violations, he would ask, who would rest his security on Bonaparte; and who would point out a treaty with him that was not followed by the detriment of the other contracting party? His noble friend, in a laudable anxiety for peace, which he fully shared with him, had indulged in expectations in which he (lord Grenville) could not indulge. Age certainly imposed limits on the activity and ambition of man; but, with respect to Bonaparte, that period had not as yet arrived. As little could he trace as to the amendment of his disposition. God forbid he should suppose that no amendment could take place in any man; but in looking to the general safety of nations, and to the happiness and existence of his own country, he could not rest upon probabilities merely, where especially he saw no reasonable hopes, and when the very act of the man which occasioned the present crisis, was one of the strongest examples of his faithlessness and ambition which his life had offered. Lord Grenville said, that from any means of information which he possessed, he knew not how to estimate the proportion of those in France who desired the return of Bonaparte, and of those who wished for any other government. It appeared, however, that he was replaced by the active efforts of the military. There were no traces of any other interference. Though he could not estimate and distribute the different proportions of the opinions of the French; yet from all he had heard, from every report on the subject that he had read, it did appear that under Louis the 18th the army felt a radical discontent at the pacific principles of that monarch. His moderation and pacific disposition was the very cause, for which, as for a crime, he was deposed. He was the victim of peace. He was the sacrifice of his good faith. He had not suffered, like his unfortunate brother Louis 16, upon charges alleged against him, for designing to violate the liberties of France, or for any harshness of proceeding. His government was a government of lenity. It could not be charged against him that he was shaking the constitution that had been formed. Though it was the interest of the present government to find out charges of a disposition to unsettle the present state of property in France, he had not been able to discover a single proof of any such accusation. The lawful assemblies under the new constitution paid him all allegiance up to the very moment that he became an exile. It was because he was the friend of peace, and was desirous to keep peace with the other countries of Europe, that a soldiery, accustomed to rapine, and raised by their former chief to principalities and powers, carved out of the just rights of other people, were discontented, and desired

no monarch, but a general prepared to renew the work of spoliation. Was it nothing now to be desired to sanction a system under which Europe had so long groaned, with such an army and such a chief at its head? If his disposition was said to have undergone some change, his situation again was now changed; and as the army was formerly upheld by spoliation and plunder, so now, for the same objects, he was recalled by his former instruments, who alone could maintain him in his regained power. As to new constitutions, he was firmly of opinion, that a good constitution could only be formed by the adaptation of remedies from time to time, under the circumstances which required them. The only exception mentioned was that of America; but that did not apply. The founders of that constitution acted with great wisdom. It was framed so as to produce as little change as possible in the existing laws and manners under the altered form of government, which, though a republic, was constructed as nearly as the difference would admit, on the monarchical form of our own constitution. If any person would consider the present situation of of Bonaparte in France, it must appear that, judging by all human probability, it would be necessary for him (even supposing we were inclined to remain at peace with him), to keep his army in humour with him, by leading them on to some fresh aggression against some foreign nation; which would force us into the contest, however we might be disinclined to it. If we looked at all his former policy, we should see that he was under a sort of necessity of maintaining his power by the same means by which he had acquired it. Against his recurring to his former policy, his noble friend appeared, by the amendment he had moved, to consider that it would be sufficient security for this country to continue in peace with him. A state of peace did not, however, now exist between us and Bonaparte. We had now no treaty with him; and he wished to know upon what grounds we could now negotiate with him? In the overture, as it was called, that Bonaparte had made to this country, he mentioned nothing about the peace of Paris, nor even condescended to say any thing as to the terms on which he was disposed to treat with us. It appeared, however, by lord Clancarty's letter, that the proposal which was forwarded to Vienna, was, that he was content to abide by the treaty of Paris. He, for his part, had always thought that by that treaty, the great points which remained to be settled for the future peace of Europe were too undefined. It was settled, indeed, that France should preserve her ancient frontiers, and that we were to restore to her the greater part of her colonies. All the other great interests of Europe were, however, reserved to be discussed at the congress, to which France also sent her minister. Now, if it were proposed to negotiate for peace with Bonaparte on the terms of the treaty of Paris, was it also to be left open to him to interfere in all those arrangements that by that treaty were left undefined, but which had since been agreed upon by the different powers at Vienna? If this was the case, even although we might take the treaty of Paris as the foundation of peace, we should soon find ourselves entangled in a hostile negotiation with Bonaparte, about those other interesting points which had been happily

settled, after long deliberation, by the congress at Vienna. With such a wide field of discussion thrown open, what hopes could there be of the defensive system being long maintained? It was impossible for their lordships not to recollect what differences had existed between the powers of Europe upon those points, when they were under discussion. How greatly would those differences be increased, if those discussions were now to be re-opened, and Bonaparte was admitted to become a party in them. Under such circumstances, and with all the opportunities he would then have of sowing divivisions, what hope could be entertained of preserving the defensive system recommended in the amendment to the address?

Speech of MR. GRATTAN *on French Affairs—May* 25, 1815.

Mr. *Grattan* rose and said:—I sincerely sympathize with the hon. gentleman who spoke last, in his anxiety on this important question; and my solicitude is increased by a knowledge that I differ in opinion from my oldest political friends. I have further to contend against the additional weight given to the arguments of the noble lord who moved the amendment, by the purity of his mind, the soundness of his judgment, and the elevation of his rank. I agree with my hon. friends, in thinking that we ought not to impose a government upon France. I agree with them in deprecating the evil of war; but I deprecate still more the double evil of a peace without securities, and a war without allies. Sir, I wish it was a question between peace and war; but unfortunately for the country, very painfully to us, and most injuriously to all ranks of men, peace is not in our option, and the real question is, whether we shall go to war when our allies are assembled, or fight the battle when those allies shall be dissipated?

Sir, the French government is war; it is a stratocracy, elective, aggressive, and predatory; her armies live to fight, and fight to live; their constitution is essentially war, and the object of that war the conquest of Europe. What such a person as Bonaparte at the head of such a constitution will do, you may judge by what he has done: first, he took possession of the greater part of Europe—he made his son king of Rome—he made his son-in-law viceroy of Italy—he made his brother king of Holland—he made his brother-in-law king of Naples—he imprisoned the king of Spain—he banished the king of Portugal, and formed his plan for taking possession of the crown of England. England had checked his designs, her trident had stirred up his empire from its foundation; he complained of her tyranny at sea; but it was her power at sea which arrested his tyranny at land: the navy of England saved Europe. Knowing this, he knew the conquest of England became necessary for the accomplishment of the conquest of Europe, and the destruction of her marine necessary for the conquest of England. Accordingly, besides raising an army of 60,000 men for the invasion of England, he applied himself to the destruction of her commerce, the foundation of her naval power. In pursuit of this object, and on his plan of a western empire, he conceived, and in part executed the design of consigning to plunder and destruction, the vast regions of Russia; he quits the genial clime

of the temperate zone—he bursts through the narrow limits of an immense empire—he abandons comfort and security, and he hurries to the pole, to hazard them all, and with them the companions of his victories, and the fame and fruits of his crimes and his talents, on a speculation of leaving in Europe, throughout the whole of its extent, no one free or independent nation: to oppose this huge conception of mischief and despotism, the great potentate of the north is obliged to advance to defend, against the voracity of ambition, the sterility of his dominions; he joins the king of Prussia, whom Bonaparte had deprived of the greater part of his territories; he joins the emperor of Austria, whom Bonaparte had deprived of the principal part of his dominions; these three powers, physical causes, the influence of your victories in Spain and Portugal, and the precipitation of his own ambition, combine to accomplish his destruction. Bonaparte is conquered, and the three kings march to the gates of Paris—there they stand—the late victims of his ambition, and now the disposers of his destiny, and the masters of his capital. He had gone to their countries (without provocation) with fire and sword—they come to his (with the greatest provocation) to give life and liberty; they do an act unparalleled in the annals of history, such as, nor envy, nor time, nor malice, nor prejudice, nor ingratitude can efface—they give to his subjects liberty, and to himself life and royalty. Posterity will admire and crown their monuments with glory everlasting.

Therefore, when he that states the conditions of the treaty of Fontainbleau are not performed, he forgets one of them, namely, the condition by which he lives; it is very true there was a mixture of policy and prudence in this measure; but it was a great act of magnanimity notwithstanding, and it is not in providence to turn such an act to your disadvantage. With respect to the other act, the mercy shown to his people, I have underrated it; the allies did not give liberty to France, they enabled her to give a constitution to herself, a better constitution than that which, with much laboriousness and circumspection, and deliberation, and procrastination, the philosopher fabricated when the jacobins trampled down the flimsy work, murdered the vain philosophers, drove out the crazy reformers, and remained masters of the field in the triumph of superior anarchy and confusion; better than that, I say, which the jacobin destroyed, better than that which he afterwards formed, with some method in his madness, and more madness in his method; with such a horror of power, that in his plan of a constitution, he left out a government, and with so many wheels, that every thing was in movement, and nothing in concert, so that the machine took fire from its own velocity; in the midst of death and mirth, with images emblematic of the public disorder, goddesses of reason turned fool, and of liberty turned fury: at length the French found their advantages in adopting the sober and unaffected security of king, lords, and commons, on the idea of that form of government which your ancestors procured by their firmness, and maintained by their discretion. This constitution Bonaparte has destroyed, together with the treaty of Fontainbleau; and having broken both, desires your confidence:—Russia confided, and was deceived

—Austria confided, and was deceived. Have we forgotten the treaty of Luneville, and his abominable conduct to the Swiss? Spain, and the other nations of Europe confided—and all were deceived. During the whole of this time, he was charging on England the continuation of the war, while he was breaking his own treaties of peace, for the purpose of renewing the war, to end it in what was worse than war itself—his conquest of Europe.

But now he repents, and will be faithful—he says so, but he says the contrary also: "I protest "against the validity of the treaty "of Fontainbleau, it was not done "with the consent of the people; "I protest against every thing "done in my absence; see my "speech to the army and people, "see the speech of my council to "me." The treaty of Paris was done in his absence—by that treaty, were returned the French colonies and prisoners: thus he takes life and empire from the treaty of Fontainbleau, with an original design to set it aside; and he takes prisoners and colonies from the treaty of Paris, which he afterwards sets aside also; and musters an army by a singular fatality, in a great measure composed of troops who owe their enlargement, and of a chief who owes his life to the powers he fights with the resources of France, who owes to those powers, her salvation. He gives a reason for this, "nothing is good which was done without the consent of the people," having been deposed by that people and elected by the army in their defiance;—with such sentiments, which go not so much against this or that particular treaty as against the principles of affiance, the question is, whether with a view to the security of Europe, you will take the faith of Napoleon, or the army of the allies?

Gentlemen maintain that we are not equal to the contest, that is to say, confederated Europe cannot fight France single-handed; if that be your opinion, you are conquered this moment, you are conquered in spirit: but that is not your opinion, nor was it the opinion of your ancestors; they thought, and I hope transmitted the sentiment as your birth-right, that the armies of these islands could always fight, and fight with success their own numbers: see now the numbers you are to command—by this treaty you are to have in the field what may be reckoned not less than 600,000 men, besides that stipulated army you have at command, what may be reckoned as much more, I say you and the allies. The emperor of Austria alone has an army of 500,000 men, of which 120,000 were sent to Italy to oppose Murat, who is now beaten: Austria is not then occupied by Murat; Prussia is not occupied by the Saxon, nor Russia by the Pole, at least not so occupied that they have not ample and redundant forces for this war: you have a general never surpassed, and allies in heart and confidence. See now Bonaparte's muster—he has lost his external dominions, and is reduced from a population of 100,000,000, to a population of 25,000,000: besides, he has lost the power of fascination; for though he may be called the subverter of kings, he has not proved to be the redresser of grievances. Switzerland has not forgotten, all Europe remembers the nature of his reformation, and that the best reform he introduced was worse than the worst government he subverted: as little can Spain or Prussia forget what was worse even

than his reformations, the march of his armies; it was not an army, it was a military government in march, like the Roman legions in Rome's worst time, Italica or Rapax, responsible to nothing—nor God, nor man. Thus he has administered a cure to his partizans for any enthusiasm that might have been annexed to his name, and is now reduced to his resources at home; it is at home that he must feed his armies and find his strength; and at home he wants artillery, he wants cavalry; he has no money, he has no credit, he has no title; with respect to his actual numbers, they are not ascertained, but it may be collected that they bear no proportion to those of the allies.

But gentlemen presume that the French nation will rise in his favour as soon as we enter their country: we entered their country before and they did not rise in his favour, on the contrary they deposed him—the article of deposition is given at length. It is said we endeavour to impose a government on France; the French armies elect a conqueror for Europe, and our resistance to this conqueror is called imposing a government on France. If we put down this chief, we relieve France as well as Europe from a foreign yoke; and this deliverance is called the imposition of a government on France; He,—He! imposed a government on France—he imposed a foreign yoke on France—he took from the French their property by contribution—he took their children by conscription—he lost her her empire, and (a thing almost unimaginable) he brought the enemy to the gates of Paris: we, on the contrary, formed a project, as appears from a paper of 1805, which preserved the integrity of the French empire; the allies in 1814 not only preserved the integrity of the empire as it stood in 92, but gave her her liberty, and they now afford her the only chance of redemption.—Against these allies, will France now combine, and having received from them her empire as it stood before the war, with additions in consequence of their deposition of Bonaparte, and having gotten back her capital, her colonies, and her prisoners; will she break the treaty to which she owes them, rise up against the allies who gave them, break her oath of allegiance, destroy the constitution she has formed, depose the king she has chosen, rise up against her own deliverance, in support of contribution and conscription, to perpetuate her political damnation under the yoke of a stranger?

Gentlemen say, France has elected him—they have no grounds for so saying; he had been repulsed at Antibes, and he lost 30 men; he landed near Cannes the 1st of March with 1100; with this force he proceeded to Grasse, Digne, Gap, and on the 7th he entered Grenoble, he there got from the desertion of regiments above 3000 men, and a park of artillery; with this additional force he proceeded to Lyons; he left Lyons with about 7000 strong, and entered Paris on the 20th with all the troops of the line that had been sent to oppose him; the following day he reviewed his troops, and nothing could equal the shouts of the army, except the silence of the people—this was, in the strictest sense of the word, a military election. It was an act where the army deposed the civil government—it was the march of a military chief over a conquered people. The nation did not rise to resist Bona-

parte or defend Louis, because the nation could not rise upon the army; her mind as well as her constitution was conquered; in fact, there was no nation—every thing was army, and every thing was conquest. Bonaparte, it seems, is to reconcile every thing by the gift of a free constitution—he took possession of Holland, he did not give her a free constitution—he took possession of Spain, he did not give her a free constitution—he took possession of Swizerland, whose independence he had guaranteed, he did not give her a free constitution—he took possession of Italy, he did not give her a free constitution; he took possession of France, he did not give her a free constitution; on the contrary, he destroyed the directorial constitution, he destroyed the consular constitution, and he destroyed the late constitution, formed on the plan of England. But now he is, with the assistance of the jacobins, to give her liberty; that is, the man who can bear no freedom, unites to form a constitution with a body who can bear no government. In the mean time, while he professes liberty, he exercises despotic power; he annihilates the nobles, he banishes the deputies of the people, and he sequesters the property of the emigrants; "now he is to give liberty!" I have seen his constitution, as exhibited in the newspapers—there are faults innumerable in the frame of it, and more in the manner of accepting it: it is to be passed by subscription without discussion, the troops are to send deputies, and the army is to preside. There is some cunning, however, in making the subscribers to the constitution renounce the house of Bourbon; they are to give their word for the deposition of the king, and take Napoleon's word for their own liberty; the offer imports nothing which can be relied on, except that he is afraid of the allies. Disperse the alliance, and farewell to the liberty of France, and safety of Europe.

Under this head of ability to combat Bonaparte, I think we should not despair.

With respect to the justice of the cause, we must observe, Bonaparte has broken the treaty of Fontainbleau—he confesses it—he declares he never considered himself as bound by it: if, then, that treaty is out of the way, he is as he was before it—at war. As emperor of the French, he has broken the treaty of Paris—that treaty was founded on his abdication; when he proposes to observe the treaty of Paris, he proposes what he cannot do, unless he abdicates.

The proposition that we should not interfere with the government of other nations is true, but true with qualifications—if the government of any other country contains an insurrectionary principle as France did, when she offered to aid the insurrections of her neighbours, your interference is warranted; if the government of another country contains the principle of universal empire, as France did, and promulgated, your interference is justifiable. Gentlemen may call this, internal government, but I call this, conspiracy. If the government of another country maintains a predatory army such as Bonaparte's, with a view to hostility and conquest, your interference is just. He may call this, internal government, but I call this a preparation for war. No doubt he will accompany this with offers of peace; but such offers of peace are nothing more than one of the arts of war, attended, most

assuredly, by charging on you the odium of a long and protracted contest, and with much common place, and many good saws and sayings, of the miseries of bloodshed, and the savings and good husbandry of peace, and the comforts of a quiet life; but if you listen to this, you will be much deceived—not only deceived, but you will be beaten. Again, if the government of another country covers more ground in Europe, and destroys the balance of power, so as to threaten the independence of other nations, this is a cause of your interference. Such was the principle upon which we acted in the best times; such was the principle of the grand alliance; such the triple alliance; and such the quadruple; and by such principles has Europe not only been regulated, but protected. If a foreign government does any of those acts I have mentioned, we have a cause of war; but if a foreign power does all of them, forms a conspiracy for universal empire, keeps up an army for that purpose, employs that army to overturn the balance of power, and attempts the conquest of Europe—attempts, do I say?—in a great degree achieves it, (for what else was Bonaparte's dominion before the battle of Leipsic?) and then receives an overthrow, owes its deliverance to treaties which give that power its life, and these countries their security, (for what did you get from France but security?)—if this power, I say, avails itself of the conditions in the treaties, which give it colonies, prisoners, and deliverance, and breaks those conditions which give you security, and resumes the same situation, which renders him capable of doing the same mischief; has England, or has she not, a right of war?

Having considered the two questions, that of ability and that of right, and having shown that you are justified on either consideration to go to war; let me now suppose, that you treat for peace—first, you will have a peace upon a war establishment, and then a war without your present allies: it is not certain that you will have any of them; but it is certain that you will not have the same combination, while Bonaparte increases his power, by confirmation of his title, and by further preparation; so that you will have a bad peace and a bad war. Were I disposed to treat for peace, I would not agree to the amendment, because it disperses your allies, and strengthens your enemy, and says to both, we will quit our alliance to confirm Napoleon on the throne of France, that he may hereafter more advantageously fight us, as he did before, for the throne of England.

Gentlemen set forth the pretensions of Bonaparte—gentlemen say, that he has given liberty to the press. He has given liberty to publication, to be afterwards tried and punished according to the present constitution of France, as a military chief pleases; that is to say, he has given liberty to the French to hang themselves. Gentlemen say, he has in his dominions abolished the slave trade—I am unwilling to deny him praise for such an act; but if we praise him for giving liberty to the African, let us not assist him in imposing slavery on the European. Gentlemen say, will you make war upon character? but the question is, will you trust a government without one? What will you do if you are conquered, say gentlemen—I answer, the very thing you must do, if you treat—abandon the low

countries. But the question is, in which case are you most likely to be conquered, with allies or without them? Either you must abandon the low countries, or you must preserve them by arms; for Bonaparte will not be withheld by treaty. If you abandon them, you will lose your situation on the globe, and, instead of being a medium of communication and commerce between the new world and the old, you will become an anxious station between two fires—the continent of America, rendered hostile by the intrigues of France, and the continent of Europe possessed by her arms. It then remains for you to determine, if you do not abandon the low countries, in what way you mean to defend them, alone or with allies.

Gentlemen complain of the allies and say, they have partitioned such a country, and transferred such a country, and seized on such a country. What! will they quarrel with their ally, who has possessed himself of part of Saxony, and shake hands with Bonaparte, who proposed to take possession of England? If a prince takes Venice, we are indignant; but if he seizes on a great part of Europe, stands covered with the blood of millions, and the spoils of half mankind, our indignation ceases; vice becomes gigantic, conquers the understanding, and mankind begin by wonder, and conclude by worship. The character of Bonaparte is admirably calculated for this effect—he invests himself with much theatrical grandeur; he is a great actor in the tragedy of his own government; the fire of his genius precipitates on universal empire, certain to destroy his neighbours or himself; better formed to acquire empire than to keep it, he is a hero and a calamity, formed to punish France, and to perplex Europe.

The authority of Mr. Fox has been alluded to—a great authority, and a great man; his name excites tenderness and wonder—to do justice to that immortal person, you must not limit your view to his country; his genius was not confined to England, it acted three hundred miles off, in breaking the chains of Ireland; it was seen three thousand miles off in communicating freedom to the Americans: it was visible, I know not how far off, in ameliorating the condition of the Indian; it was discernible on the coast of Africa, in accomplishing the abolition of the slave trade. You are to measure the magnitude of his mind by parallels of latitude. His heart was as soft as that of a woman—his intellect was adamant—his weaknesses were virtues, they protected him against the hard habit of a politician, and assisted nature to make him amiable and interesting. The question discussed by Mr. Fox in 92, was, whether you would treat with a revolutionary government?—the present is, whether you will confirm a military and a hostile one? You will observe, that when Mr. Fox was willing to treat, the French, it was understood, were ready to evacuate the low countries. If you confirm the present government, you must expect to lose them. Mr. Fox objected to the idea of driving France upon her resources, lest you should make her a military government. The question now is, whether you will make that military government perpetual? I therefore do not think the theory of Mr. Fox can be quoted against us; and the practice of Mr. Fox tends to establish our proposition, for he treated with Bonaparte and failed. Mr.

Fox was tenacious of Engiand, and would never yield a iota of her superiority; but the failure of the attempt to treat was to be found, not in Mr. Fox, but in Bonaparte.

On the French subject, speaking of authority, we cannot forget Mr. Burke—Mr. Burke, the prodigy of nature and acquisition: he read every thing, and saw every thing, he foresaw every thing—his knowledge of history amounted to a power of foretelling; and when he perceived the wild work that was doing in France, that great political physician, intelligent of symptoms, distinguished between the access of fever and the force of health: and what other men conceived to be the vigour of her constitution, he knew to be no more than the paroxysm of her madness, and then, prophet-like, he pronounced the destinies of France, and, in his prophetic fury, admonished nations.

Gentlemen speak of the Bourbon family—I have already said, we should not force the Bourbon upon France; but we owe it to departed (I would rather say to interrupted) greatness, to observe, that the house of Bourbon was not tyrannical; under her every thing, except the administration of the country, was open to animadversion; every subject was open to discussion, philosophical, ecclesiastial and political; so that learning, and arts, and sciences, made progress —even England consented to borrow not a little from the temperate meridian of that government—her court stood controlled by opinion, limited by principles of honour, and softened by the influence of manners—and, on the whole, there was an amenity in the condition of France, which rendered the French an amiable, an enlightened, a gallant, and accomplished race: over this gallant race you see imposed an oriental despotism; their present court has gotten the idiom of the East as well as her constitution; a fantastic and barbaric expression, an unreality, which leaves in the shade the modesty of truth, and states nothing as it is, and every thing as it is not: the attitude is affected, the taste is corrupted, and the intellect perverted. Do you wish to confirm this military tyranny in the heart of Europe?—a tyranny founded on the triumph of the army over the principles of civil government—an experiment to relax the moral and religious influences, and to set heaven and earth adrift from one another—an insurrectionary hope to every bad man in the community, and a frightful lesson of profit and power, vested in those who have pandered their allegiance from king to emperor, and now found their pretensions to domination on the merit of breaking their oaths, and deposing their sovereign. Should you do any thing so monstrous as to leave your allies in order to confirm such a system, should you forget your name, forget your ancestors, and the inheritance they have left you of morality and renown, should you astonish Europe by quitting your allies to render immortal such a composition, would not the nations exclaim, "You have very "providently watched over our "interests, and very generously "have you contributed to our ser- "vice—and do you falter now?" "In vain have you stopped in "your own person the flying for- "tunes of Europe, in vain have "you taken the eagle of Napo- "leon, and snatched invincibility "from his standard, if now, when

" confederated Europe is ready to " march, you take the lead in the " desertion, and preach the peni- " tence of Bonaparte and the po- " verty of England."

As to her poverty, you must not consider the money you spend in your defence, but the fortune you would lose if you were not defended—and further, you must recollect you will pay less to an immediate war, than to peace with a war establishment, and a war to follow it—recollect further, that whatever be your resources, they must outlast those of all your enemies; and further, that your empire cannot be saved by a calculation: besides, your wealth is only part of your situation—the name you have established, the deeds you have achieved, and the port you have sustained, preclude you from a second place among nations; and when you cease to be the first, you are nothing.

General HARPER's *Speech, in the Senate of the United States, April 4th*, 1816.

THE bill "to establish a system of navigation for the United States," being under consideration, Gen. Harper moved to recommit it to the committee of foreign relations, and to refer to the same committee the following resolutions, which he read in his place and laid on the table, viz.

"Resolved, that provision ought to be made by law, for excluding gradually from the naval and merchant service of the United States, all persons other than native citizens, or citizens heretofore naturalized.

"Resolved, that provision ought to be made by law, for compelling merchant vessels of the United States to have on board a number of apprentices, in proportion to the tonnage of such vessels respectively."

His object, Gen. Harper said, in moving this recommitment, was to prevail on the senate if possible to remould the bill, so as to incorporate into it the new ideas contained in these resolutions: new he meant as respected that bill, though no doubt very familiar within those walls, and to well informed and reflecting men throughout the country: and as the motion, should it prevail, would gave a new shape to the bill, and a new character to our whole maritime system, a character which he deemed it of the highest importance to impart to that great branch of our policy, he thought it incumbent on him to state, somewhat at large, the leading considerations which in his opinion recommended this measure. He was sensible that neither those considerations nor the measure itself, were new to that house, or to the nation. They had often, no doubt, been the subject of reflection and discussion abroad, and sometimes of deliberation within those walls. But as he, not having then the honour of a seat in that body, had no part in those deliberations, he might perhaps be more readily excused for occupying some portion of its time, with his ideas concerning the great interests involved in the question.

These resolutions, Gen. Harper said, and especially the first, which contained by far the most important principle, had two distinct objects, each recommended by con-

siderations peculiar to itself, and both tending to the same great end, the honour, safety, and prosperity of the nation. The first was to preserve peace, as far as its preservation might depend on us, by excluding all foreign seamen from our merchant ships, and thus avoiding those collisions with the maritime powers of the world, which must of necessity arise from conflicting claims on the ocean to allegiance: the second, to prepare for war, by accelerating the production of a numerous class of native seamen; the most effectual mode of doing which, was to confine the navigation of our ships of war and merchant vessels, as these resolutions proposed to confine it, to our native citizens, and those heretofore naturalized among us. Such, he said, was the twofold object of his motion; to avoid contests with other nations, and especially with that between which and us, from similarity of language, appearance and pursuits, they were most likely to arise; and to make timely and effectual preparation for maintaining our rights, against all nations, and especially that great maritime power, with which in all probability we could not long avoid serious collisions if we would; and perhaps, judging from the temper of a large part of this nation, would not if we could. From these collisions the resolutions which he had submitted would in his opinion have a tendency to save us. So far their operation would be admitted, he presumed, to be highly beneficial. Every measure must be so, that tended by fair and honourable means, to narrow the ground and diminish the occasions of serious misunderstandings, with other powers. The effect indeed would be not complete. Neither this measure nor any other could save us entirely from contests with a power, between which and this country so many fruitful and perennial sources of discord existed. But it was doing much to diminish the number of those sources, and to dry up one of the most fruitful. This he believed would be effected, by the resolutions under consideration. How they would produce that effect he would next proceed to consider.

Every honourable gentleman who heard him, knew how the two nations, the United States and Great Britain, stood towards each other, in relation to their maritime policy and pretensions. The United States asserted it as a right, and had established it as a habit, to incorporate foreigners by naturalization into their political association, into the nation, and thus to withdraw them from their allegiance to their native governments. This practice extended to all the European states, but affected Great Britain more than any other nation, from obvious and well known causes. We went a step further; we had laid it down as a maxim, in our laws and foreign policy, that protection is due on the ocean to these naturalized foreigners, against their original governments, to the same extent as to our native citizens; and this protection we had repeatedly and in various forms promised to afford. We had held out to the subjects of every power, to the people of all nations, a promise of protection against their native governments, on the ocean as well as on the land, provided they would conform to our laws of naturalization. Thus the matter stood on our part.

The foreign powers on the other hand, and particularly Great Britain, had from time immemorial

adopted it as a maxim of their laws and constitutions, essential in their opinions to the preservation of government and civil society, that allegiance is perpetual and unalienable, so far as relates to the mere act of the person who owes it: that every member of the community contracts by his birth obligations of obedience to the laws, and of service and fidelity to the state, from which he cannot withdraw, without the consent of the sovereign: in fine that this contract, like all others, can only be dissolved by the consent of both parties, one of whom is the individual or subject, and the other the sovereign, representing the community or state. He would not, he said, now enquire whether on abstract principle this doctrine was correct. The enquiry was unnecessary for his present purpose. Should it ever become necessary, he was prepared to meet the question, and entertained opinions concerning it which he should be ready to avow and maintain. It was sufficient for the present purpose, and must be known by all who heard him, that the government to which he alluded, and over whose conduct or opinions we had no control, did hold and always had held this doctrine, and had always manifested a fixed determination not to recede from it, or to relinquish the rights to which it gave birth. It was equally well known that many other governments, nay he might say all the governments of the world, except our own, all those at least which belonged to the European system, and with which we had any connexion, held the same principle, and from time to time asserted it, as might happen to suit their interest or their policy. How far we might hereafter find it necessary to adopt and assert this principle ourselves, he deemed it unnecessary now to enquire; although he had a very distinct opinion on that subject, which on every proper occasion he should be ready to avow and support. It was enough for us at present, that Great Britain did assert this principle of perpetual indissoluble allegiance, and had manifested on all occasions a determination to support it, at every hazard.

Knowing, then, he said, as we did, this determination, this fixed purpose of that nation, to assert at every hazard the right which she thus claimed to the services of all her people, whom she could find in merchant ships on the ocean, or in her own territory; knowing also the importance which she attached to this right, regarded by her as essential to her prosperity, her safety, and even her existence; the question for us to solve, laying aside all consideration of the soundness of her doctrine, of the abstract right of the case, and looking only to the practical consequences, was this; how far would it be wise in us, to engage in a contest with that nation, on grounds considered as so doubtful, on principles not acknowledged by any other power; where the universal opinion of mankind, out of our own country, would be against us, and opinions at home might be very much divided. It was a point on which such a division must be expected; a point on which the most enlightened and patriotic men might entertain, and in fact did entertain, the most opposite opinions: for it was well known that a very large portion of the American people, including many individuals of the highest character for virtue, knowledge, and love of country, were of opinion, that one

nation had no right, by its naturalization laws or any other means, to withdraw the subjects of another from their allegiance. He did not now intend to enquire into the correctness of this opinion, but merely to advert to the fact that such an opinion was entertained, by a very numerous and highly respectable class of our citizens, whose feelings and opinions it was of the highest importance to consult, in order to obtain their zealous co-operation in any national struggle that might ensue. Good citizens would always obey the laws; but unless they approved the ground of a war, mere obedience was all that could be expected from them. Zeal, devotedness, voluntary services and sacrifices of person and property, could only be expected from men of honourable minds, in a cause which they approved; and there were great numbers of the most honourable and virtuous men of this country, who would not and could not approve of any quarrel, entered into for the mere purpose, not of vindicating any rights, or redressing any injuries of our own citizens, of the native sons of our soil, but of asserting a right in this country to acquire new citizens, of whom we had no need, by withdrawing foreigners from the power of their own governments; to confer favours on foreigners, at the expense of the country and its native inhabitants.

There were, Gen. Harper said, certain principles affecting the rights of our native citizens, in defence of which he was at all times ready to incur every risk, and brave every danger. Those rights were sacred, and whenever openly assailed must be defended, at every hazard. Questions might indeed arise about the nature and extent of some of those rights; but there were others of a nature too clear to be disputed, and too sacred to be touched; which when openly assailed must be defended at every hazard, and even when incidentally infringed, through inadvertency, accident, or mistake, claimed the jealous attention and ready interposition of the government. Without entering into any exact definition of these high and sacred rights, which he did not conceive to be now necessary, it might be remarked that the right of personal liberty, of exemption from compulsory service to a foreign government, under any form whatever, was among the most undeniable of the number; and there never was a time when he was not ready to resist, to every extremity, any such claim to the service of native American citizens, had such a claim been made by any government whatever.

The claim however which was now under consideration, the claim of the British government to the services of its own subjects, whenever it could find them in merchant ships on the ocean, or in its own ports, was by no means of this description; and the right asserted by this country to protect British subjects and other foreigners, on the ocean, against the claims of their own governments, was not a right in which our native citizens, the sons of our soil, had any interest. It was a claim for the benefit of foreigners, not always of the most desirable class, who often come to us because they found it inconvenient to remain in their own country, whom we wished to adopt for their benefit and not for our own, into our family, and to extend to them not merely the privileges but the protection due only to our native sons. It was from the

collisions arising out of such a policy that he wished to save the country; collisions dangerous to its peace, not useful to its interests, nor conducive to its honour. He wished by the measure now proposed, to avoid contests on such grounds; in which we could neither have the approbation and countenance of other nations, nor be united among ourselves. The public opinion of the world was of itself of great importance, and he would sacrifice much to gain it to our cause, in every conflict in which we might be compelled to engage. It was a great moral power, which no wise government would neglect. But great as it was, he thought it very inconsiderable in comparison with union among ourselves. It was on that union that the force of every nation, and especially of this, living as we did under a government of consent, which rested wholly on public opinion, must in a most material degree depend. No sacrifices except those of primary and essential rights, were too great for attaining so desirable an object. The right of which he now proposed to divest ourselves was of a most doubtful character; whether we regarded the right itself, or the expediency of its exercise: and as notwithstanding all our care, it might not be in our power to avoid serious contests with other nations, and chiefly with that to which he had so often alluded, he wished to put all doubtful causes out of the conflicts to which we might be destined, and so to choose our ground, that all the differences of opinion among ourselves, might hereafter be confined to the time of beginning the contest, and the manner of conducting it, but not extend to the right itself for which we were to contend.

There was another view of the subject, Gen. Harper said, in which this measure strongly recommended itself to his mind. A new state of things had arisen: we were about to enter on a new career, and before we began it he wished to get entirely rid of this cause of collision with foreign powers, arising from our claim of a right to protect those on the ocean, whom they assert a right to consider and treat as their subjects. He called this a new career, because for more than twenty years a state of things had existed in the world, totally different from that at which we now had fortunately arrived. When you and I, sir, said Gen. Harper, came into life, as public men, we saw the commencement of that state of things which has now passed away, and which gave rise while it continued, to political systems, views, and opinions, not applicable to the present condition of the world. At the beginning of the period to which I allude, we saw a new and mighty power struggling into existence, and displaying even then under the pretence of establishing freedom at home and promoting it abroad, a spirit of gigantic and unprincipled ambition, which soon rendered it the scourge and terror of all surrounding nations. It assailed them all in turn, with all the weapons of fraud and force, while it loudly stigmatised, as combinations against liberty and national independence, those leagues which its aggressions had compelled them to form, for their own defence. This new power, after pursuing for a while with wild and revolutionary fury, a plan of universal dominion, but ill concealed though not distinctly avowed, settled down into a military despotism, the most formidable in its

means and profligate in its principles that the world has ever seen: which boldly, openly, and steadily, pushed forward the scheme of conquest and universal empire, originated by it predecessors; and after crushing or humbling every power but one, which alone had the courage and strength to maintain the conflict, bent at length all its vast and accumulated force against that power, the only remaining obstacle, which alone stood in the breach, struggling to keep up the mound, and to save itself, and with itself, us and the rest of the world, from the torrent which equally threatened all.

In this state of things, Gen. Harper said, there was no room for deliberation, no freedom of choice, no course of conduct but one; and that was to abstain from every act, however proper in other times, that could then tend to weaken the arm uplifted in the common cause; that might diminish the power exerted for the common defence; or tend to break down or undermine the mound which restrained this mighty torrent, and prevented it from sweeping us and the rest of the world into one common ruin. In such a state of things it was not for nations to act as in ordinary times, or on maxims of ordinary policy. Injuries which in ordinary times were to be vigorously repelled, were then to be patiently borne, on account of the infinitely greater evils which the attempt to repel them might introduce. The utmost indulgence was to be exercised. Every encroachment, that could be made to wear the appearance of right, that did not assume the character of open and direct aggression, was to be borne, rather than to run the risk of weakening those exertions, on which such mighty interests depended.

Now, the state of things, he said, was changed. That tremendous power was overthrown, the government that wielded it had been annihilated, and the nation which supplied its means of power was reduced below its usual and proper level. If danger still existed, it was on the other side. We were no longer called on to bear or forbear; nor to judge of injuries or encroachments by distinct or collateral circumstances. We might now estimate them by their intrinsic nature, and act concerning them upon the ordinary maxims of political wisdom. Those maxims enjoin it on a nation like this, rising rapidly into power and importance, to watch over its rights with a jealous and vigilant care; to regard its honour as inseparably connected with its true interests, and as making a part of its dearest rights; to consider justice as the first of its duties; to advance no claims which were not clear and incontrovertible, and to maintain those with inflexible constancy. This view of things had induced him to regard the nation as entering on a new career, as at the commencement of a new era, and he thought it of the utmost importance that in this state of things we should take no false steps, and assume no questionable ground: that we should so act as to cause it to be distinctly understood, that while the United States would submit to no intentional injury, nor suffer even any accidental trespass to pass without notice, and if need be redress, they would carefully avoid all interference with the rights of others, and assert no claims but such as were clear and important. This was the

position which he wished this country to take, and to maintain, in the commencement of the new era now opening before them. Here in his opinion they ought to plant their foot; and having chosen well their ground, with a view to to the rights and feelings of other nations as well as their own, to stand on it immoveably, prepared for every consequence. On such ground the resolutions which he had moved would, in his opinion, place them. By excluding the subjects of other powers from our ships of war and merchant vessels, we should avoid all collisions with them on the ocean, upon this delicate point; all interference with a claim of allegiance, to which they attach so much importance, and have displayed so firm a determination to maintain. Having done this, we shall stand perfectly free, with the world and ourselves, to resist steadily and effectually any encroachments which they may attempt, on our acknowledged and important rights; and all such encroachments he for one should be always ready to resist, to the utmost extremity, in whatever quarter they might be attempted.

While he took this view, Gen. Harper said, of the very doubtful right of withdrawing foreigners from their allegiance to their governments, and protecting them on the ocean against claims arising out of that allegiance; a right, in his opinion, not only extremely doubtful, but very unimportant; he wished distinctly to mark out two classes of emigrants, as exceptions from his motion and his reasonings.

The first class was that of foreigners heretofore naturalized. Whatever might be, in point of abstract principle, the correctness or incorrectness of our conduct, in passing those laws under which foreigners had been incorporated into our nation, by which they had in effect, been invited and encouraged to come among us, we could not now suffer it as to them, to be made a question. Those laws had operated as an invitation to emigrants, and as a promise of protection against their native governments. Perhaps they were intended so to operate: but, however that might be, such undoubtedly had been their effect. We had invited these strangers, whether wisely or properly, was not now the question, to take sanctuary in our land, and promised them protection on board of our ships. We could not now abandon them without dishonour. Our word was out, and we must protect them at all events. We must redeem our pledge; and Gen. Harper said, that he was ready at any moment to draw the sword, in defence of this class of citizens, the citizens heretofore naturalized, whose rights he would never suffer to be drawn into question. He would say in the commencement of any negotiation, "in limine," "this ground is sacred and must not be touched. Our faith is pledged, and must be redeemed." He had accordingly provided in the first resolution for this class of citizens.

The second class, he said, need hardly be mentioned; so obvious were the principles by which it was protected. It consisted of those foreigners, whether naturalized or not, who remained within our territory. They were protected by our territory while they so remained, because, within our territory no foreign power could exercise any jurisdiction, or exert any act of authority whatever. We therefore extend protection to

such persons, in the usual exercise of our rights of sovereignty, and as a necessary consequence of those rights, while they reside in our country and remain on our soil. When they choose to depart, the protection ceases. The general proposition therefore, was to be understood as subject to those two exceptions; one of which indeed, was incorporated into the resolutions themselves, and the other was so obvious, that nothing but a desire to avoid all possibility of being misunderstood, in a matter of so much delicacy, would have induced him to advert to it thus particularly. Indeed, it might be remarked, that this principle of public law was of such universal operation, that persons guilty of the greatest crimes, murder for instance, and even treason, if they could escape from the country where those crimes were committed, into a foreign territory, found protection and immunity: and nothing but special provisions by treaty, could control the operation of this general law. This doctrine was exemplified in the history of every country and every age.

Gen. Harper then proceeded to the second division of the subject, which he observed was by far the most important. He had hitherto considered the resolutions in their tendency to preserve us in peace, by removing one great ground of controversy with foreign powers, and especially with Great Britain, and to unite us at home, in conflicts on such other grounds as we might be unable to avoid. He would now consider them in their tendency to prepare us effectually for war. It would, he presumed, be admitted by all, that we ought to make betimes, the most efficient preparations for those great conflicts with other powers, to which we were called by our destiny. The United States could not expect to remain always at peace. Perhaps they ought not to desire it; for long continued peace enervates, corrupts, and debases a nation, and prepares it for subjugation, by rendering it too timid, too avaricious, and too effeminate, to defend itself Be that, however, as it may, continual peace was not in our power, and therefore we ought to look to frequent wars, and prepare for them. They would grow out of our habits, our pursuits, our character, our form of government, and our situation with respect to the great maritime powers of the world. Our people were too enterprizing, too active, too eager in the pursuit of commercial gain, to remain quietly at home. Inhabiting a most extensive sea coast, bred, and almost born on the ocean, they were naturally impelled to maritime enterprize. Their free institutions gave them a bold and adventurous spirit. Their equality of civil and political rights, rendered them eager for the acquisition of wealth, because that acquisition placed them on a footing of absolute equality, with those who possessed the greatest advantages. Commerce and maritime adventure opened to them, to all that numerous part of them at least, that dwelt on the Atlantic shore, the nearest and most flattering prospect of wealth. All these causes impelled us to the ocean, and sent us in quest of gain through every sea, and to the remotest shores. Our free government, while it generated and fostered a spirit of restless and daring adventure, left us unrestrained to the bent of our character and inclinations; for it had no power, except under very

particular circumstances of rare occurrence, to mould and direct the industry and pursuits of the nation. It received its tone and character from public sentiment, which, instead of leading, it must generally follow. Hence arose maritime and commercial pursuits of unexampled activity, ardour and extent; and while we spread our ships over every sea, and eagerly sought every market, which afforded even a distant prospect of gain, we were necessarily and frequently brought into contest and collision with other nations, engaged in similar pursuits, especially that nation, whose character and situation in these respects, were so much like our own. With that nation therefore, we must at every turn, cross and clash.

To these inherent causes of difference, many others might be added, of a peculiar nature, which need not be enumerated, because they would readily occur to every reflecting mind. Some of them were minute and even trivial, though not well suited to produce irritation. Others lay much deeper, and being intimately connected with the great and essential interests of the two nations, real or supposed, could hardly fail to produce the most serious contests, capable of being adjusted only by the sword. Many of the maritime pretensions of that great power, were of this description. They need not be named, because they were in every one's recollection; but, it might safely be said, that they were of a nature, to which this country, in the ordinary state of the world, which was its actual state, never would or could submit. This nation was too proud, too ambitious, too enterprizing, either to consent that its people should be kept at home, or that their intercourse with other countries should be controled, restrained, or regulated, by any power whatever. Judging from what has happened, and from the principles which we know to be held and asserted by the great power to which he had alluded, we could not but know, that attempts at this restraint and control will be made. Thus we should be driven into the conflict, whatever care we might take to avoid it.

Perhaps we ought not to wish to avoid it; for peace is not always the best thing for a nation: but whatever might be our wishes, it would not be long in our power. Collisions would take place, explanations and reparations would be demanded, perhaps not always in the most conciliatory and moderate tone. They would sometimes be given, as often happens, in such a manner as to make matters worse. Resort would then be had to arms, and thus we should soon be driven or drawn into every quarrel, among the great maritime powers. We should be impelled to join the weaker side; because on that side our alliance would be courted, our principles acknowledged and our pride flattered. It would also be our interest to unite with the weaker maritime powers, in their efforts to check and restrain the lofty pretensions, and overbearing domination of the strongest. This, he said, was the natural and constant course of things, which had been for a long time suspended by the extraordinary state of the world, but had now returned to its usual channel: and thus, by a destiny which we could not control, we should become parties in every contest among the maritime powers. From being parties, we should gradually become principals, and

find ourselves at length at the head of the league.

Since then, he said, it was our destiny to fight, it became us to consider in time, how we might fight most advantageously, and best prepare for the struggles which we could not avoid. He had no doubt that our true policy, and the character of our people, led us to the ocean, as the proper field of contest, which was equally pointed out by the nature and genius of our government. That was the natural and most efficacious direction of our force. It was there that the character of the country had been most nobly sustained, that the most brilliant triumphs had been achieved, that the fairest presages of future glory had been given. The mistakes of rulers might sometimes send our brave sons to perish, in fruitless expeditions by land, among the snows and damp and dreary forests of the north, or in the pestilential swamps and morasses of the south; but the irresistible force of circumstances would soon correct their errors, and recal us to the ocean, as the true scene of our power and glory.

Since it was on maritime power, therefore, that we must rely, to maritime exertions that we should be irresistibly impelled, it behoved us to consider what were the best and most efficient means of maritime force, what was its most solid basis. Was it ships? No. Money? No. What then? He would answer, that it was a brave, hardy, and numerous class of native and patriotic seamen, bound to us by the ties of birth, education, early habit; impelled by the feelings of patriotism, and the love of glory; a class of men without which ships are useless, and which money cannot buy. And can you, he asked, rely on foreigners, for this all-important aid? On men attracted to your service by the mere desire of wages or of gain, connected with you by no common interests or feelings, united to you by no ties of kindred or affection, mere birds of passage, which flock to your shores in the summer of peace and prosperity, and fly from you when the storm begins to howl. Danger scares them away. These men, thrown on our shores in time of peace, by their own governments, who wish to get rid of the expense of maintaining them, enticed to us, by the hope of high wages and easy service, when we happen to be neutral, and their own governments at war, fly when danger approaches us, and leaves us defenceless, as far as our defence may depend on them. On whom then can the country rely; To whom must it look, in the hour of danger? I answer, to our native citizens, attached to us by birth, education, habit, and domestic ties. These are our sure dependence. They will not leave us in the time of trial; for their affections are with us, their hearts are with us, their parents and their children are with us. On them we may rely, in our greatest extremity.

It was the object of his motion, Gen. Harper said, to foster the growth of this inestimable class of men; and thus to make the best, the most effectual, and extensive preparation, for supporting our rights on the ocean, where alone they would be effectually asserted. He wished to encourage the manufacture of native American seamen, the only production which he was willing to force, by any species of what is called protecting duty. Since there was a sort of rage for encouraging manufactures, he wished to give it a right

direction, by encouraging the growth, not of wool carders and cotton spinners, of deformed, feeble, and diseased labourers in workshops and factories, but of hardy, gallant, and active seamen, to man our navy, and by protecting our commerce on the ocean, to enable us to import from other countries, those articles which could not be produced among ourselves, without forcing them by oppressive taxes, on nine-tenths of the community, for the benefit of the other tenth. This, in his opinion, was the true way of encouraging industry, and promoting the solid and lasting prosperity of the country: to protect all, and leave all to seek the most profitable modes, of employing their skill, labour, and capital. This protection could only be afforded by a powerful marine, which would enable our commerce to seek the most profitable markets for our own productions, and to supply us on the best terms with those of other countries. Every branch of industry would then find and preserve its proper level. To the formation of such a marine, a sufficient supply of native American freemen was essential, and that supply it was the object of his motion to secure. An object, in his opinion, of the greatest importance, in every point of view; which would, he hoped, be deemed a sufficient apology on his part, for having occupied so much of the time of that honourable body, in this feeble, and he feared, ineffectual attempt, to procure the adoption of the measure under consideration.

On the second resolution, for requiring merchant ships to have apprentices on board, he observed, that little need now be said. Its object was the same with the first, to provide in time the means of naval power, by promoting the growth of native seamen; and it would be found, he believed, powerfully conducive to that end. It was a measure sanctioned by long experience, in other maritime countries, and especially in Great Britain; in whose practice and institutions we might expect to find the most useful lessons in the art of advancing naval power.

Speech of Mr. PINKNEY, *in the House of Representatives, on the Treaty between the United States and Great Britain.*

Mr. PINKNEY said, he intended yesterday, if the state of his health had permitted, to have trespassed on the house with a short sketch of the grounds upon which he disapproved of this bill. What I could not do then, said he, I am about to endeavour now, under the pressure nevertheless, of continuing indisposition, as well as under the influence of a natural reluctance thus to manifest an apparently ambitious and improvident hurry to lay aside the character of a listener to the wisdom of others, by which I could not fail to profit, for that of an expounder of my own humble notions, which are not likely to be profitable to any body. It is, indeed, but too probable that I should best have consulted both delicacy and discretion, if I had forborne this precipitate attempt to launch my little bark upon what an honourable member has aptly termed "the torrent of debate" which this bill has produced. I am conscious that it may with singular propriety be said of me, that I am *novus hospes* here, that I have scarcely begun to acquire a domicil among those whom I am undertaking to

address; and that recently transplanted thither from courts of judicature, I ought for a season to look upon myself as a sort of exotic, which time has not sufficiently familiarized with the soil to which it has been removed, to enable it to put forth either fruit or flower. However all this may be, it is now too late to be silent. I proceed, therefore, to intreat your indulgent attention to the few words with which I have to trouble you upon the subject under deliberation.

That subject has already been treated with an admirable force and perspicuity on all sides of the house. The strong power of argument has drawn aside, as it ought to do, the veil which is supposed to belong to it, and which some of us seem unwilling to disturb; and the stronger power of genius, from a higher region than that of argument, has thrown upon it all the light with which it is the prerogative of genius to invest and illustrate every thing. It is fit that it should be so; for the subject is worthy by its dignity and importance to employ in the discussion of it all the powers of the mind, and all the eloquence by which I have already felt that this assembly is distinguished. The subject is the fundamental law. We owe it to the people to labour with sincerity and diligence, to ascertain the true construction of that law, which is but a record of their will. We owe it to the obligations of the oath which has recently been imprinted upon our consciences, as well as to the people, to be obedient to that will when we have succeeded in ascertaining it. I shall give you my opinion upon this matter, with the utmost deference for the judgment of others; but at the same time with that honest and unreserved freedom which becomes this place, and is suited to my habits.

Before we can be in a situation to decide whether this bill ought to pass, we must know precisely what it is; what it is not is obvious. It is not a bill which is auxiliary to the treaty. It does not deal with details which the treaty does not bear in its own bosom. It contains no subsidiary enactments, no dependent provisions, flowing as corollaries from the treaty. It is not to raise money, or to make appropriations, or to do any thing else beyond or out of the treaty. It acts simply as the echo of the treaty.

" Ingeminat voces, auditaque verba reportat." It may properly be called the twin-brother of the treaty; its duplicate, its reflected image, for it re-enacts with a timid fidelity, somewhat inconsistent with the boldness of its pretensions, all that the treaty stipulates, and having performed that work of supererogation, stops.—It once attempted something more, indeed; but that surplus has been expunged from it as a desperate intruder, as something which might violate, by a mis-interpretation of the treaty, that very public faith which we are now prepared to say the treaty has never plighted in any the smallest degree. In a word the bill is a *fac simile* of the treaty in all its clauses.

I am warranted in concluding, then, that if it be any thing but an empty form of words, it is a *confirmation* or *ratification* of the treaty; or, to speak with a more guarded accuracy, is an act to which only (if passed into a law) the treaty can owe its being. If it does not spring from the "*pruritus leges ferendi*," by which this body can never be afflicted, I am war-

ranted in saying, that it springs from an hypothesis (which may afflict us with a worse disease) that no treaty of commerce can be made by any power in the state but congress. It stands upon that postulate, or it is a mere bubble, which might be suffered to float through the forms of legislation, and then to burst without consequence or notice.

That this postulate is utterly irreconcileable with the claims and port with which this convention comes before you, it is impossible to deny. Look at it? Has it the air or shape of a mere pledge that the president will recommend to congress the passage of such laws as will produce the effect at which it aims? Does it profess to be preliminary, or provisional, or inchoate, or to rely upon your instrumentality in the consummation of it, or to take any notice of you, however distant, as actual or eventual parties to it? No —it pretends upon the face of it, and in the solemnities with which it has been accompanied and followed, to be a pact with a foreign state, complete and self-efficient, from the obligation of which this government cannot now escape, and to the perfection of which no more is necessary than has already been done. It contains the clause which is found in the treaty of 1794, and substantially in every other treaty made by the United States under the present constitution, so as to have become a formula, that, when ratified by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and by his Britannic majesty, and the respective ratifications mutually exchanged, it shall be binding and obligatory on the said states and his majesty.

It has been ratified in conformity with that clause. Its ratifications have been exchanged in the established and stipulated mode. It has been proclaimed, as other treaties have been proclaimed, by the executive government, as an integral portion of the law of the land, and our citizens at home and abroad have been admonished to keep and observe it accordingly. It has been sent to the other contracting party with the last stamp of the national faith upon it, after the manner of former treaties with the same power, and will have been received and acted upon by that party as a concluded contract, long before your loitering legislation can overtake it. I protest, sir, I am somewhat at a loss to understand what this convention has been since its ratifications were exchanged, and what it is now, if our bill be sound in its principle. Has it not been, and is it not, an an unintelligible, unbaptized and unbaptizable thing, without attributes of any kind, bearing the semblance of an executed compact, but in reality a hollow fiction; a thing which no man is held to consider even as the germ of a treaty, entitled to be cherished in the vineyard of the constitution; a thing which professing to have done every thing that public honour demands, has done nothing but practise delusion? You may ransack every diplomatic nomenclature, and run through every vocabulary, whether of diplomacy or law, and you shall not find a word by which you may distinguish, if our bill be correct in its hypothesis, this "deed without a name." A plain man who is not used to manage his phrases, may, therefore, presume to say that if this convention with England be not a valid treaty, which does not stand in need of your assistance,

it is an usurpation on the part of those who have undertaken to make it; that if it be not an act within the treaty-making capacity, confided to the president and senate, it is an encroachment on the legislative rights of congress.

I am one of those who view the bill upon the table, as declaring that it is not within that capacity, as looking down upon the convention as the still-born progeny of arrogated power, as offering to it the paternity of congress, and affecting by that paternity to give to it life and strength; and as I think that the convention does not stand in need of any such filiation, to make it either strong or legitimate, that it is already all that it can become, and that useless legislation upon such a subject is vitious legislation, I shall vote against the bill. The correctness of these opinions is what I propose to establish.

I lay it down as an incontrovertible truth, that the constitution has assumed (and indeed how could it do otherwise) that the government of the United States might and would have occasion, like the other governments of the civilized world, to enter into treaties with foreign powers, upon the various subjects involved in their mutual relations; and further, that it might be, and was proper to designate the department of the government in which the capacity to make such treaties should be lodged. It has said accordingly, that the president, with the concurrence of the senate, shall possess this portion of the national sovereignty. It has, furthermore, given to the same magistrate, with the same concurrence, the exclusive creation and control of the whole machinery of diplomacy. He only, with the approbation of the senate, can appoint a negotiator, or take any step towards negotiation. The constitution does not, in any part of it, even intimate that any other department shall possess either a constant or an occasional right to interpose in the preparation of any treaty, or in the final perfection of it. The president and senate are explicitly pointed out as the sole actors in that sort of transaction. The prescribed concurrence of the *senate*, and that too by a majority greater than the ordinary legislative majority, plainly excludes the necessity of congressional concurrence. If the consent of congress to any treaty had been intended, the constitution would not have been guilty of the absurdity of first putting a treaty for ratification to the president and senate exclusively, and again to the same president and senate as portions of the legislature. It would have submitted the whole matter at once to congress, and the more especially, as the ratification of a treaty by the senate, as a branch of the legislature, may be by a smaller number than a ratification of it by the same body, as a branch of the executive government. If the ratification of any treaty by the president, with the advice and consent of the senate, must be followed by a legislative ratification, it is a mere nonentity. It is good for all purposes, or for none. And if it be nothing in effect, it is a mockery by which nobody would be bound. The president and senate would not themselves be bound by it—and the ratification would at last depend, not upon the will of the president and two-thirds of the senate, but upon the will of a bare majority of the two branches of the legislature, subject to the qualified legislative control of the president.

Upon the power of the president and senate, therefore, there can be no doubt. The only question is as to the extent of it, or, in other words, as to the subject upon which it may be exerted. The *effect* of the power, when exerted within its lawful sphere, is beyond the reach of controversy. The constitution has declared that whatever amounts to a treaty, made under the authority of the United States, shall immediately be supreme law. It has contradistinguished a *treaty* as law from *an act of congress* as law. It has erected treaties, so contradistinguished, into a binding judicial rule. It has given them to our courts of justice, in defining their jurisdiction, as a portion of the *Lex Terræ*, which they are to interpret and enforce. In a word, it has communicated to them, if ratified by the department which it has specially provided for the making of them, the rank of law, or it has spoken without meaning. And if it has elevated them to that rank, it is idle to attempt to raise them to it by ordinary legislation.

Upon the extent of the power, or the subjects upon which it may act, there is as little room for controversy. The power is to make *treaties*. The word treaties is *nomen generalissimum*, and will comprehend *commercial* treaties, unless there be a limit upon it by which they are excluded. It is the *appellative*, which will take in the whole species, if there be nothing to narrow its scope. There is no such limit. There is not a syllable in the context of the clause to restrict the natural import of its phraseology. The power is left to the force of the generic term, and is, therefore, as wide as a treaty-making power can be. It embraces all the varieties of treaties which it could be supposed this government could find it necessary or proper to make, or it embraces none. It covers the whole treaty-making ground which this government could be expected to occupy, or not an inch of it.

It is a just presumption, that it was designed to be co-extensive with all the exigencies of our affairs. Usage sanctions that presumption—expediency does the same. The omission of any exception to the power, the omission of the designation of a mode, by which a treaty, not intended to be included within it, might otherwise be made, confirms it. That a commercial treaty was, above all others, in the contemplation of the constitution, is manifest. The immemorial practice of Europe, and particularly of the nation from which we emigrated, the consonance of enlightened theory to that practice, prove it. It may be said, indeed, that at the epoch of the birth of our constitution, the necessity for a power to make commercial treaties was scarcely visible, for that our trade was then in its infancy. It was so; but it was the infancy of another Hercules, promising, not indeed a victory over the lion of Nemæa, or the boar of Erymanthus, but the peaceful conquest of every sea which could be subjected to the dominion of commercial enterprize. It was then as apparent as it is now, that the destinies of this great nation were irrevocably commercial; that the ocean would be whitened by our sails, and the "*ultima Thule*" of the world compelled to witness the more than Phœnician spirit and intelligence of our merchants. With this glorious anticipation dawning upon them; with this resplendent Aurora gilding the prospect of the future; nay, with the

risen orb of trade illuminating the vast horizon of American greatness, it cannot be supposed that the framers of the constitution did not look to the time when we should be called upon to make commercial conventions. It needs not the aid of the imagination to reject this disparaging and monstrous supposition. Dulness itself, throwing aside the lethargy of its character, and rising for a passing moment to the rapture of enthusiasm, will disclaim it with indignation.

It is said, however, that the constitution has given to congress the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and that, since it would be inconsistent with that power, that the president, with the consent of the senate, should do the same thing, it follows that this power of congress is an exception out of the treaty-making power. Never were premises, as it appears to my understanding, less suited to the conclusion. The power of congress to regulate our foreign trade, is a power of municipal legislation, and was designed to operate as far as, upon such a subject, municipal legislation can reach. Without such a power, the government would be wholly inadequate to the ends for which it was instituted. A power to regulate commerce by treaty alone, would touch only a portion of the subject. A wider and more general power was, therefore, indispensable, and it was properly devolved upon congress, as the legislature of the union.

On the other hand, a power of mere municipal legislation, acting upon views exclusively our own, having no reference to a reciprocation of advantages by arrangements with a foreign state, would also fail short of the ends of government in a country, of which the commercial relations are complex and extensive, and liable to be embarrassed by conflicts between its own interests and those of other nations. That the power of congress is simply legislative in the strictest sense, and calculated for ordinary domestic regulation only, is plain from the language in which it is communicated. There is nothing in that language which indicates regulation, by compact or compromise, nothing which points to the co-operation of a foreign power, nothing which designates a treaty-making faculty. It is not connected with any of the necessary accompaniments of that faculty, it is not furnished with any of those means, without which it is impossible to make the smallest progress towards a treaty.

It is self-evident, that a capacity to regulate commerce by treaty, was intended by the constitution to be lodged somewhere. It is just as evident that the legislative capacity of congress does not amount to it, and cannot be exerted to produce a treaty. It can produce only a statute, with which a foreign state cannot be made to concur, and which will not yield to any modifications which a foreign state may desire to impress upon it for suitable equivalents. There is no way in which congress, as such, can mould its laws into treaties, if it respects the constitution. It may legislate and counter-legislate; but it must for ever be beyond its capacity to combine in a law, emanating from its separate domestic authority, its own views with those of other governments, and to produce a harmonious reconciliation of those jarring pur-

poses and discordant elements which it is the business of negotiation to adjust.

I reason thus, then, upon this part of the subject. It is clear, that the power of congress, as to foreign commerce, is only what it professes to be in the constitution, a legislative power, to be exerted municipally without consultation or agreement with those with whom we have an intercourse of trade; it is undeniable that the constitution meant to provide for the exercise of another power relatively to commerce, which should exert itself in concert with the analogous power in other countries, and should bring about its results, not by statutes enacted by itself, but by an international compact called a treaty; that it is manifest, that this other power is vested by the constitution in the president and senate, the only department of the government which it authorises to make any treaty, and which it enables to make all treaties; that if it be so vested, its regular exercise must result in that which, as far as it reaches, is law in itself, and consequently repeals such municipal regulations as stands in its way, since it is expressly declared by the constitution that treaties regularly made shall have, as they ought to have, the force of law. In all this, I perceive nothing to perplex or alarm us. It exhibits a well digested and uniform plan of government, worthy of the excellent men by whom it was formed. The ordinary power to regulate commerce by statutary enactments, could only be devolved upon congress, possessing all the other legislative powers of the government. The extraordinary power to regulate it by treaty, could not be devolved upon congress, because from its composition, and the absence of all those authorities and functions which are essential to the activity and effect of a treaty-making power, it was not calculated to be the depository of it. It was wise and consistent to place the extraordinary power to regulate commerce by treaty, where the residue of the treaty-making power was placed, where only the means of negotiation could be found, and the skilful and beneficial use of them could reasonably be expected.

That congress legislates upon commerce *subject to the treaty-making power*, is a position perfectly intelligible; but the understanding is in some degree confounded by the other proposition, that the legislative power of congress is an exception out of the treaty-making power. It introduces into the constitution a strange anomaly—a commercial state, with a written constitution, and no power in it to regulate its trade, in conjunction with other states, in the universal mode of convention. It will be in vain to urge, that this anomaly is merely imaginary; for that the president and senate may make a treaty of commerce for the consideration of congress. The answer is, that the treaties which the president and senate are entitled to make, are such, as when made, become law; that it is no part of their functions, simply to initiate treaties but conclusively to make them, and that where they have no power to make them, there is no provision in the constitution, how, or by whom they shall be made.

That there is nothing new in the idea of a separation of the legislative and conventional powers upon commercial subjects, and of the necessary control of the former by the latter, is known to all who are

acquainted with the constitution of England. The parliament of that country enacts the statutes by which its trade is regulated municipally. The crown modifies them by a treaty. It has been imagined, indeed, that the parliament is in the practice of confirming such treaties; but the fact is undoubtedly otherwise. Commercial treaties are laid before parliament, because the king's ministers are responsible for their advice in the making of them, and because the vast range and complication of the English laws of trade and revenue render legislation unavoidable, not for the ratification, but the execution of their commercial treaties.

It is suggested again, that the treaty-making power, (unless we are tenants in common of it with the president and senate, to the extent at least of our legislative rights,) is a pestilent monster, pregnant with all sorts of disasters! —It teems with "Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire!" At any rate, I may take for granted that the case before us does not justify this array of metaphor and fable; since we are all agreed that the convention with England is not only harmless but salutary. To put this particular case, however, out of the argument, what have we to do with considerations like these? —are we here to form, or to submit to the constitution, as it has been given to us for a rule by those who are our masters? Can we take upon ourselves the office of political casuists, and, because we think that a power ought to be less than it is, compel it to shrink to our standard? Are we to bow with reverence before the national will as the constitution displays it, or to fashion it to our own; to quarrel with that charter, without which we ourselves are nothing; or to take it as a guide which we cannot desert with innocence or safety? But why is the treaty-making power, lodged, as I contend it is, in the president and senate, likely to disaster us, as we are required to apprehend it will? Sufficient checks have not, as it seems, been provided, either by the constitution or the nature of things, to prevent the abuse of it. It is in the house of representatives alone, that the amulet, which bids defiance to the approaches of political disease, or cures it when it has commenced, can in all vicissitudes be found. I hold that the checks are sufficient, without the charm of our legislative agency, for all those occasions which wisdom is bound to foresee and to guard against; and that as to the rest (the eccentricities and portents which no ordinary checks can deal with) the occasions must provide for themselves.

It is natural, here, to ask of gentlemen, what security they would have? They cannot "take a bond of Fate;" and they have every pledge which is short of it. —Have they not, as respects the president, all the security upon which they rely from day to day for the discreet and upright discharge of the whole of his other duties, many and various as they are? What security have they that he will not appoint to office the refuse of the world; that he will not pollute the sanctuary of justice by calling vagabonds to its holy ministry, instead of adorning it with men like those who now give to the bench more dignity than they receive from it; that he will not enter into a treaty of amnesty with every conspirator against law and order, and pardon culprits from mere enmity to virtue? The security for all this, and infinitely

more, is found in the constitution and in the order of nature; and we are all satisfied with it. One should think that the same security, which thus far time has not discredited, might be sufficient to tranquillize us upon the score of the power which we are now considering.

We talk of ourselves as if we only were the representatives of the people. But the first magistrate of this country is also the representative of the people, the creature of their sovereignty, the administrator of their power, their steward and servant, as you are—he comes from the people, is lifted by them into place and authority, and after a short season returns to them for censure or applause. There is no analogy between such a magistrate and the hereditary monarchs of Europe. He is not born to the inheritance of office; he cannot even be elected until he has reached an age at which he must pass for what he is; until his habits have been formed, his integrity tried, his capacity ascertained, his character discussed and probed for a series of years, by a press, which knows none of the restraits of European policy.—He acts, as you do, in the full view of his constituents, and under the consciousness that, on account of the singleness of his station, all eyes are upon him.—He knows, too, as well as you can know, the temper and intelligence of those for whom he acts, and to whom he is amenable. He cannot hope that they will be blind to the vices of his administration on subjects of high concernment and vital interest; and in proportion as he acts upon his own responsibility, unrelieved and undiluted by the infusion of ours, is the danger of ill-advised conduct likely to be present to his mind.

Of all the powers which have been entrusted to him, there is none to which the temptations to abuse belong so little as to the treaty-making power in all its branches; none which can boast such mighty safe-guards in the feeling and views and passions which even a misanthrope could attribute to the foremost citizen of this republic.—He can have no motive to palsy by a commercial or any other treaty the prosperity of his country. Setting apart the restraints of honour and patriotism, which are characteristic of public men in a nation habitually free, could he do so without subjecting himself as a member of the community (to say nothing of his immediate connexions) to the evils of his own work? A commercial treaty, too, is always a conspicuous measure. It speaks for itself. It cannot take the garb of hypocrisy, and shelter itself from the scrutiny of a vigilant and well instructed population.—If it be bad, it will be condemned, and if dishonestly made, be execrated. The pride of country moreover, which animates even the lowest of mankind, is here a peculiar pledge for the provident and wholesome exercise of power. There is not a consideration by which a chord in the human breast can be made to vibrate, that is not in this case the ally of duty. Every hope, either lofty or humble, that springs forward to the future; even the vanity which looks not beyond the moment; the dread of shame and the love of glory; the instinct of ambition; the domestic affections; the cold ponderings of prudence; and the ardent instigations of sentiment and passion, are all on the side of duty. It is in the exercise of this power that responsibility to public opinion, which even despotism feels and

truckles to, is of gigantic force. If it were possible, as I am sure it is not, that an American citizen, raised, upon the credit of a long life of virtue, to a station so full of honour, could feel a disposition to mingle the little interests of a perverted ambition with the great concerns of his country, as embraced by a commercial treaty, and to sacrifice her happiness and power by stipulations of that treaty, to flatter or aggrandize a foreign state, he would still be saved from the perdition of such a course, not only by constitutional checks, but by the irresistible efficacy of responsibility to public opinion, in a nation whose public opinion wears no mask, and will not be silenced. He would remember that his political career is but the thing of an hour, and that when it has passed he must descend to the private station from which he rose, the object either of love and veneration, or of scorn and horror. If we cast a glance at England, we shall not fail to see the influence of public opinion upon an hereditary king, an hereditary nobility, and a house of commons elected in a great degree by rotten boroughs and overflowing with placemen.—And if this influence is potent there against all the efforts of independent power and wide spread corruption, it must in this country be omnipotent.

But the treaty-making power of the president is further checked by the necessity of the concurrence of two-thirds of the senate, consisting of men selected by the legislatures of the states, themselves elected by the people. They too must have passed through the probation of time, before they can be chosen, and must bring with them every title to confidence. The duration of their office is that of a few years; their numbers are considerable; their constitutional responsibility as great as it can be; and their moral responsibility beyond all calculation.

The power of impeachment has been mentioned as a check upon the president in the exercise of the treaty-making capacity. I rely upon it less than upon others, of, as I think, a better class; but as the constitution places some reliance upon it, so do I. It has been said, that impeachment has been tried and found wanting. Two impeachments have failed, as I have understood (that of a judge was one) —but they may have failed for reasons consistent with the general efficacy of such a proceeding.—I know nothing of their merits, but I am justified in supposing that the evidence was defective, or that the parties were innocent, as they were pronounced to be:—Of this, however, I feel assured, that if it should ever happen that the president is found to deserve the punishment which impeachment seeks to inflict (even for making a treaty to which his judges have become parties) and this body should accuse him in a constitutional way, he will not easily escape. But, be that as it may, I ask if it is nothing that you have power to arraign him as a culprit? Is it nothing that you can bring him to the bar, expose his misconduct to the world, and bring down the indignation of the public upon him and those who dare to acquit him?

If there be any power explicitly granted by the constitution to congress, it is that of declaring war; and if there be any exercise of human legislation more solemn and important than another, it is a declaration of war. For expansion it is the largest, for effect the most awful of all the enactments to

which congress is competent; and it always is, or ought to be, preceded by grave and anxious deliberation. This power, too, is connected with, or virtually involves, others of high import and efficacy; among which may be ranked the power of granting letters of marque and reprisal, of regulating captures, of prohibiting intercourse with, or the acceptance of protections or licenses from, the enemy. Yet farther; a power to declare war implies, with peculiar emphasis, a negative upon all power, in any other branch of the government, inconsistent with the full and continuing effect of it. A power to make peace in any other branch of the government, is utterly inconsistent with that full and continuing effect. It may even prevent it from having any effect at all; since peace may follow almost immediately (although it rarely does so follow) the commencement of a war. If therefore it be undeniable that the president, with the advice and consent of the senate, has power to make a treaty of peace, available *ipso jure*, it is undeniable that he has power to repeal, by the mere operation of such a treaty, the highest acts of congressional legislation. And it will not be questioned that this repealing power is, from the eminent nature of the war-declaring power, less fit to be made out by inference than the power of modifying by treaty the laws which regulate our foreign trade. Now, the president, with the advice and consent of the senate, has an incontestable and uncontested right to make a treaty of peace, of absolute inherent efficacy, and that too in virtue of the very same general provision in the constitution which the refinements of political speculation, rather than any known rules of construction, have led some of us to suppose excludes a treaty of commerce.

By what process of reasoning will you be able to extract from the wide field of that general provision the obnoxious case of a commercial treaty, without forcing along with it the case of a treaty of peace, and along with that again the case of every possible treaty? Will you rest your distinction upon the favourite idea that a treaty cannot repeal laws competently enacted, or, as it is sometimes expressed, cannot trench upon the legislative rights of congress? Such a distinction not only seems to be reproached by all the theories, numerous as they are, to which this bill has given birth, but is against notorious fact and recent experience. We have lately witnessed the operation in this respect of a treaty of peace, and could not fail to draw from it this lesson; that no sooner does the president exert, with the consent of the senate, his power to make such a treaty, than your war-denouncing law, your act for letters of marque, your prohibitory statutes as to intercourse and licenses, and all the other concomitant and dependent statutes, so far as they affect the national relations with a foreign enemy, pass away as a dream, and in a moment are "with years beyond the flood." Your auxiliary agency was not required in the production of this effect; and I have not heard that you even tendered it. You saw your laws departing as it were from the statute book, expelled from the stronghold of supremacy by the single force of a treaty of peace; and you did not attempt to stay them; you did not bid them linger until you should bid them go; you neither put your shoulder to the

wheel of expulsion nor made an effort to retard it.—In a word you did nothing. You suffered them to flee as a shadow, and you know that they were reduced to shadow, not by the necromancy of usurpation, but by the energy of constitutional power. Yet, you had every reason for interference then which you can have now. The power to make a treaty of peace stands upon the same constitutional footing with the power to make a commercial treaty. It is given by the same words. It is exerted in the same manner. It produces the same conflict with municipal legislation. The ingenuity of man cannot urge a consideration, whether upon the letter or the spirit of the constitution, against the existence of a power in the president and senate to make a valid commercial treaty, which will not, if it be correct and sound, drive us to the denegation of the power exercised by the president and senate, with universal approbation, to make a valid treaty of peace.

Nay, the whole treaty-making power will be blotted from the constitution, and a new one, alien to its theory and practice, be made to supplant it, if sanction and scope be given to the principles of this bill. This bill may indeed be considered as the first of many assaults, not now intended perhaps, but not therefore the less likely to happen, by which the treaty-making power, as created and lodged by the constitution, will be pushed from its place, and compelled to abide with the power of ordinary legislation. The example of this bill is beyond its ostensible limits. The pernicious principle, of which it is at once the child and the apostle, must work onward and to the right and the left until it has exhausted itself; and it never can exhaust itself until it has gathered into the vortex of the legislative powers of congress the whole treaty-making capacity of the government. For if, notwithstanding the directness and precision with which the constitution has marked out the department of the government by which it wills that treaties shall be made, and has declared that treaties so made shall have the force and dignity of law, the house of representatives can insist upon some participation in that high faculty upon the simple suggestion that they are sharers in legislative power upon the subjects embraced by any given treaty, what remains to be done, for the transfer to congress of the entire treaty-making faculty, as it appears in the constitution, but to show that congress have legislative power direct or indirect upon every matter which a treaty can touch? And what are the matters within the practicable range of a treaty which your laws cannot either mould or qualify or influence? Imagination has been tasked for examples by which this question might be answered. It is admitted that they must be few, and we have been told, as I think, of no more than one. It is the case of *contraband of war*.—This case has, it seems, the double recommendation of being what is called an international case, and a case beyond the utmost grasp of congressional legislation. I remark upon it, that it is no more an international case than any matter of collision incident to the trade of two nations with each other. I remark further, that a treaty upon the point of contraband of war may interfere as well as any other treaty with an act of congress. A law encouraging, by a bounty or otherwise, the exportation of certain commodi-

ties, would be counteracted by an insertion into the list of contraband of war, in a treaty with England or France, any one of those commodities. The treaty would look one way, the law another. And various modes might readily be suggested in which congress might so legislate as to lay the foundation of repugnancy between its laws and the treaties of the president and senate with reference to contraband.—I deceive myself greatly if a subject can be named upon which a like repugnancy might not occur. But even if it should be practicable to furnish, after laborious enquiry and meditation, a meager and scanty inventory of some half dozen topics to which domestic legislation cannot be made to extend, will it be pretended that such was the insignificant and narrow domain designed by the constitution for the treaty-making power! It would appear that there is with some gentlemen a willingness to distinguish between the legislative power expressly granted to congress and that which is merely implicit, and to admit that a treaty may control the results of the latter. I reply to those gentlemen that one legislative power is exactly equivalent to another, and that, moreover, the whole legislative power of congress may justly be said to be expressly granted by the constitution, although the constitution does not enumerate every variety of its exercise, or indicate all the ramifications into which it may diverge to suit the exigencies of the times. I reply, besides, that even with the qualification of this vague distinction, whatever may be its value or effect, the principle of the bill leaves no adequate sphere for the treaty-making power. I reply finally, that the acknowledged operation of a treaty of peace in repealing laws of singular strength and unbending character, enacted in virtue of powers communicated *in terminis* to congress, gives the distinction to the winds.

And now that I have again adverted to the example of a treaty of peace, let me call upon you to reflect on the answer which that example affords to all the warnings we have received in this debate against the mighty danger of entrusting to the only department of the government, which the constitution supposes can make a treaty, the incidental prerogative of a repealing legislation. It is inconsistent, we are desired to believe, with the genius of the constitution, and must be fatal to all that is dear to freemen, that an executive magistrate and a senate, who are not immediately elected by the people, should possess this authority. We hear from one quarter that if it be so the public liberty is already in the grave, and from another that the public interest and honour are upon the verge of it. But do you not perceive that this picture of calamity and shame is the mere figment of excited fancy, disavowed by the constitution as hysterical and erroneous in the case of a treaty of peace? Do you not see that if there be any thing in this high coloured peril, it is a treaty of peace that must realize it? Can we in this view compare with the power to make such a treaty that of making a treaty of commerce? Are we unable to conjecture, while we are thus brooding over anticipated evils which can never happen, that the lofty character of our country (which is but another name for strength and power) may be made to droop by a mere treaty of peace; that the national pride may be

humbled; the just hopes of the people blasted; their courage tamed and broken; their prosperity struck to the heart; their foreign rivals encouraged into arrogance and tutored into encroachment by a mere treaty of peace? I confidently trust that, as this never has been so, it never will be so; but surely it is just as possible as that a treaty of commerce should ever be made to shackle the freedom of this nation, or check its march to the greatness and glory that await it. I know not, indeed, how it can seriously be thought that our liberties are in hazard from the small witchery of a treaty of commerce, and yet in none from the potent enchantments by which a treaty of peace may strive to enthral them. I am at a loss to conceive by what form of words, by what hitherto unheard of stipulations, a *commercial* treaty is to barter away the freedom of united America, or of any the smallest portion of it. I cannot figure to myself the possibility that such a project can ever find its way into the head or heart of any man or set of men whom this nation may select as the depositories of its power; but I am quite sure that an attempt to excite such a project in a commercial treaty, or in any other treaty or in any other mode, could work no other effect than the destruction of those who should venture to be parties to it, no matter whether a president, senate, or a whole congress. Many extreme cases have been put for illustration in this debate; and this is one of them; and I take the occasion which it offers to mention, that to argue from extreme cases is seldom logical; and, upon a question of interpretation, never.

We can only bring back the means of delusion, if we wander into the regions of fiction and explore the wilds of bare possibility in search of rules for real life and actual ordinary cases. By arguing from the possible abuse of power against the use or existence of it, you may and must come to the conclusion, that there ought not to be, and is not, any government in this country or in the world. Disorganization and anarchy are the sole consequences that can be deduced from such reasoning. Who is it that may not abuse the power that has been confided to him? May not *we*, as well as the other branches of the government? And if we may, does not the argument from extreme cases prove that we ought to have no power, and that we have no power? And does it not, therefore, after having served for an instant the purposes of this bill, turn short upon and condemn its whole theory, which attributes to us, not merely the power which is our own, but inordinate power, to be gained only by wresting it from others? Our constitutional and moral security against the abuses of the power of the executive government have already been explained. I will only add that a great and manifest abuse of the delegated authority to make treaties would create no obligation any where. If ever it should occur, as I confidently believe it never will, the evil must find its corrective in the wisdom and firmness, not of this body only, but of the whole body of the people co-operating with it. It is after all in the people, upon whose Atlantean shoulders our whole republican system reposes, that you must expect that recuperative power, that redeeming and regenerating spirit, by which the constitution is

to be purified and redintegrated when extravagant abuse has cankered it.

In addition to an example of the treaty of peace which I have just been considering, let me put another, of which none of us can question the reality. The president may exercise the power of pardoning, save only in the case of impeachments. The power of pardoning is not communicated by words more precise or comprehensive than the power to make treaties. But to what does it amount? Is not every pardon *pro hac vice* a repeal of the penal law against which it gives protection? Does it not ride over the law, resist its command, and extinguish its effect? Does it not even control the combined force of judicature and legislation? Yet, have we ever heard that your legislative rights were an exception out of the prerogative of mercy? Who has ever pretended that this faculty cannot, if regularly exerted, wrestle with the strongest of your statutes? I may be told, that the pardoning power necessarily imports a control over the penal code, if it be exercised in the form of a pardon. I answer, the power to make treaties equally imports a power to put out of the way such parts of the civil code as interfere with its operation, if that power be exerted in the form of a treaty. There is no difference in their essence. You legislate in both cases subject to the power. And this instance furnishes another answer, as I have already intimated, to the predictions of abuse with which, on this occasion, it has been endeavoured to appal us. The pardoning power is in the president alone. He is not even checked by the necessity of senatorial concurrence. He may by his single *fiat* extract the sting from your proudest enactments—and save from their vengeance a convicted offender.

Sir, you have my general notions upon the bill before you. They have no claim to novelty. I imbibed them from some of the heroes and sages who survived the storm of that contest to which America was summoned in her cradle. I imbibed them from the father of his country. My understanding approved them, with the full concurrence of my heart, when I was much younger than I am now; and I feel no disposition to discard them now that age and feebleness are about to overtake me. I could say more—much more—upon this high question; but I want health and strength. It is perhaps fortunate for the house that I do; as it prevents me from fatiguing them as much as I am fatigued myself.

Speech of Mr. CLAY, *on the Direct Tax.*

Mr. Clay (speaker) said, the course had been pursued, ever since he had had the honour of a seat on this floor, to select some subject during the early part of the session, on which, by a general understanding, gentlemen were allowed to indulge themselves in remarks on the existing state of public affairs. The practice was a very good one, he said, and there could be no occasion more proper than that of a proposition to lay a direct tax.

Those who have for fifteen years past administered the affairs of this government, have conducted this nation to an honorable point of elevation, at which they may justly pause, challenge a retrospect, and invite attention to the

bright field of prosperity which lies before us.

The great objects of the committee of finance, in the report under consideration, are, in the first place, to provide for the payment of the public debts, and in the second, to provide for the support of the government, and the payment of such expenses as should be authorised by congress. The greater part of the debt, Mr. C. admitted, had grown out of the late war; yet a considerable portion of it consisted of that contracted in the former war for independence, and a portion of it perhaps of that which arose out of the wars with Tripoli and Algiers. Gentlemen had on this occasion, therefore, fairly a right to examine into the course of administration heretofore, to demonstate the impolicy of those wars, and the unjudiciousness of the public expenditures generally. In the cursory view which he should take of this subject, he must be allowed to say, he should pay no particular attention to what had passed before in debate. An honorable colleague (Mr. Hardin) who spoke the other day, like another gentleman who preceded him in debate, had taken occasion to refer to his (Mr. C.'s) late absence from this country on public business; but, Mr. C. said, he trusted, among the fruits of that absence were a greater respect for the institutions which distinguish this happy country, a greater confidence in them, and an increased disposition to cling to them. Yes, sir, said Mr. C., I was in the neighborhood of the battle of Waterloo, and some lessons I did derive from it: but they were lessons which satisfied me that national independence was only to be maintained by national resistance against foreign encroachments; by cherishing the interests of the people, and giving to the whole physical power of the country an interest in the preservation of the nation. I have been taught that lesson; that we should never lose sight of the possibility, that a combination of despots, of men unfriendly to liberty, propagating what in their opinion constitutes the principle of legitimacy, might reach our happy land, and subject us to that tyranny and degradation which seems to be one of their objects in another country. The result of my reflections is, the determination to aid with my vote in providing my country with all the means to protect its liberties, and guard them even from serious menace. Motives of delicacy, which the committee would be able to understand and appreciate, prevented him from noticing some of his colleague's (Mr. Hardin's) remarks; but he would take the occasion to give him one admonition, that when he next favoured the house with an exhibition of his talent for wit—with a display of those elegant implements, for his possession of which, the gentleman from Virginia had so handsomely complimented him, that he would recollect that it is *bought*, and not *borrowed* wit, which the adage recommends as best. With regard to the late war with Great Britain, history, in deciding upon the justice and policy of that war, will determine the question according to the state of things which existed when that war was declared. I gave a vote for the declaration of war, said Mr. C.—I exerted all the little influence and talents I could command to make the war. The war was made; it is terminated; and I declare with perfect sincerity, if it had been permitted me to lift the veil of futurity, and to have foreseen the

precise series of events which has occurred, my vote would have been unchanged. The policy of the war, as it regarded our state of preparation, must be determined with reference to the state of things at the time that war was declared. Mr. C. said, he need not take up the time of the house in demonstrating that we had cause sufficient for war. We had been insulted and outraged, and spoliated upon by almost all Europe, by Great Britain, by France, Spain, Denmark, Naples, and to cap the climax, by the little contemptible power of Algiers. We had submitted too long and too much. We had become the scorn of foreign powers, and the contempt of our own citizens. The question of the policy of declaring war at the particular time when it was commenced, is best determined, Mr. C. remarked, by applying to the enemy himself; and what said *he!* that of all the circumstances attending its declaration, none was so aggravating, as that we should have selected the moment which of all others was most inconvenient to him; when he was struggling for self-existence in a last effort against the gigantic power of France. The question of the state of preparation for war at any time is a relative question—relative to our own means, the condition of the other power, and the state of the world at the time of declaring it. We could not expect, for instance, that a war against Algiers would require the same means or extent of preparation as a war against Great Britain; and, if it was to be waged against one of the primary powers of Europe, at peace with all the rest of the world, and therefore all her force at command, it could not be commenced with so little preparation as if her whole force were employed in another quarter. It is not necessary again to repel, said Mr. C. the stale, ridiculous, false story of French influence, originating in Great Britain, and echoed here. I now contend, as I have always done, that we had a right to take advantage of the condition of the world at the time war was declared. If Great Britain were engaged in war, we had a right to act on the knowledge of the fact, that her means of annoyance, as to us, were diminished; and we had a right to obtain all the collateral aid we could from the operations of other powers against her, without entering into those connections which are forbidden by the genius of our government. But, Mr. C. said, it was rather like disturbing the ashes of the dead now to discuss the questions of the justice or expediency of the war. They were questions long since settled, and on which the public opinion was decisively made up in favour of the administration.

He proceeded to examine the conditions of the peace and the fruits of the war; questions of more recent date, and more immediately applicable to the present discussion. The terms of the peace, Mr. C. said, must be determined by the same rule that was applicable to the declaration of war—that rule which was furnished by the state of the world at the time the peace was made; and, even if it were true that all the sanguine expectations which might have been formed at the time of the declaration of war were not realised by the terms of the subsequent peace, it did not follow that the war was improperly declared, or the peace dishonorable, unless the condition of the parties in relation to other powers remained substantially the

same throughout the struggle, and at the time of the termination of the war, as they were at the commencement of it. At the termination of the war, France was annihilated, blotted out of the map of Europe; the vast power wielded by Bonaparte existed no longer. Let it be admitted that statesmen, in laying their course, are to look at probable events, that their conduct is to be examined with reference to the course of events which in all human probability might have been anticipated—and is there a man in this house, in existence, who can say, that on the 18th day of June, 1812, when the war was declared, it would have been anticipated that Great Britain would, by the circumstance of a general peace, resulting from the overthrow of a power whose basements were supposed to be deeper laid, more ramified and more extended than those of any power ever were before—be placed in the attitude in which she stood in December, 1814? Would any one say that this government could have anticipated such a state of things, and ought to have been governed in its conduct accordingly? Great Britain, Russia, Germany did not expect—not a power in Europe believed, as late even as January 1814, that, in the ensuing March, Bonaparte would abdicate and the restoration of the Bourbons would follow. What then was the actual condition of Europe when peace was concluded? A perfect tranquillity reigned throughout; for, as late as the first of March, the idea of Napolean re-appearing in France, was as little entertained, as that of a man's coming from the moon to take upon himself the government of the country. In December 1814, a profound and apparently a permanent peace existed: Great Britain was left to dispose of the vast force, the accumulation of twenty-five years, the work of an immense system of finance and protracted war—she was at liberty to employ that undivided force against this country. Under such circumstances, it did not follow, Mr. C. said, according to the rules laid down, either that the war ought not to have been made, or that peace on such terms ought not to have been concluded.

What then, Mr. C. asked, were the terms of the peace? The regular opposition in this country—the gentlemen on the other side of the house, had not come out to challenge an investigation of the terms of the peace, although they had several times given a sidewipe at the treaty on occasions with which it had no necessary connection. It had been some times said that we had gained nothing by the war, that the fisheries were lost, &c. How, he asked, did this question of the fisheries really stand? By the first part of the third article of the treaty of 1783, the right was recognized in the people of the United States, to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank and on all the other banks of Newfoundland; also in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time to fish. This right was a necessary incident to our sovereignty, although it is denied to some of the powers of Europe. It was not contested at Ghent; it has never been drawn in question by Great Britain. But by the same third article it was further stipulated, that the inhabitants of the United States shall have "liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry

or cure the same on that island,) and also on the coasts, bays and creeks of all other of his Britannic majesty's dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen islands and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as the same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement, without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors or possessors of the ground." The British commissioners, assuming that these liberties had expired by the war between the two countries, at an early period of the negotiation declared that they would not be revived without an equivalent. Whether the treaty of 1783 does not form an exception to the general rule, according to which treaties are vacated by a war breaking out between the parties, is a question on which he did not mean to express an opinion. The first article of that treaty, by which the king of Great Britain acknowledges the sovereignty of the United States, certainly was not abrogated by the war; that all the other parts of the same instrument, which define the limits, privileges and liberties attaching to that sovereignty were equally unaffected by the war, might be contended for with at least much plausibility. If we determined to offer them the equivalent required, the question was, what should it be? When the British commissioners demanded, in their projet, a renewal to Great Britain of the right to the navigation of the Mississippi, secured by the treaty of 1783, a bare majority of the American commissioners offered to renew it, upon the condition that the liberties in question were renewed to us. He was not one of that majority. He would not trouble the committee with his reasons for being opposed to the offer. A majority of his colleagues, actuated he believed by the best motives, made however the offer, and it was refused by the British commissioners.

If the British interpretation of the treaty of 1783 be correct, we have lost the liberties in question. What the value of them really is, he had not been able to meet with any two gentlemen who agreed. The great value of the whole mass of our fishery interests, as connected with our navigation and trade, was sufficiently demonstrated by the tonnage employed; but what was the relative importance of these liberties, there was great contrariety of statements. They were liberties to be exercised within a foreign jurisdiction, and some of them were liable to be destroyed by the contingency of settlement. He did not believe that much importance attached to such liberties. And supposing them to be lost, we are perhaps sufficiently indemnified by the redemption of the British mortgage upon the navigation of the Mississippi. This great stream, on that supposition, is placed where it ought to be, in the same independent condition with the Hudson, or any other river in the United States.

If, on the contrary, the opposite construction of the treaty of 1783 be the true one, these liberties remain to us, and the right to the navigation of the Mississippi, as secured to Great Britain by that instrument, continues with her.

But, Mr. C. said he was surprised to hear a gentleman from the

western country (Mr. Hardin) exclaim that we had gained nothing by the war. Great Britain acquired, by the treaty negotiated by Mr. Jay, the right to trade with the Indians within our territories. It was a right upon which she placed great value, and from the pursuit of which she did not desist without great reluctance. It had been exercised by her agents in a manner to excite the greatest sensibility in the western country. This right was clearly lost by the war; for whatever may be the true opinion as to the treaty of 1783, there can be no doubt that the stipulations of that of 1794 no longer exist.

It had been said, that the great object, in the continuation of the war, had been to secure our mariners against impressment, and that peace was made without accomplishing it. With regard to the opposition, he presumed, that they would not urge any such argument. For if their opinion was to be inferred (though he hoped in this case it was not) from that of an influential and distinguished member of the opposition, we had reason to believe that they did not think the British doctrines wrong on this subject. He alluded to a letter said to be written by a gentleman of great consideration, residing in an adjoining state, to a member of this house, in which the writer states that he conceives the British claim to be right, and expresses his hope that the president, however he might kick at it, would be compelled to swallow the bitter pill. If the peace had really given up the American doctrine, it would have been, according to that opinion, merely yielding to the force of the British right. In that view of the subject the error of the administration would have been in contending for too much in behalf of this country; for he presumed there was no doubt that, whether right or wrong, it would be an important principle gained to secure our seamen against British impressment. And he trusted in God that all future administrations would rather err on the side of contending for too much than too little for America.

But, Mr. C. was willing to admit that the conduct of the administration ought to be tried by their own opinions, and not those of the opposition. One of the great causes of the war, and of its continuance, was the practice of impressment exercised by Great Britain, and if this claim has been admitted, by necessary implication or express stipulation, the administration has abandoned the rights of our seamen. It was with utter astonishment that he heard that it had been contended in this country, that because our right of exemption from the practice had not been expressly secured in the treaty, it was therefore given up! It was impossible that such an argument could be advanced on the floor—No member who regarded his reputation would, dared, advance such an argument here.

Had the war terminated, the practice continuing, he admitted that such might be a fair inference; and on some former occasion he had laid down the principle, which he thought correct, that if the United States did not make peace with Great Britain, the war in Europe continuing, and therefore she continuing the exercise of the practice, without any stipulation to secure us against its effects, the plain inference would be, that we had surrendered the right. But what the fact? At the time of the conclusion of the treaty of peace,

Great Britain had ceased the practice of impressment; she was not only at peace with all the powers of Europe, but there was every prospect of a permanent and durable peace. The treaty being silent on the subject of impressment, the only plain rational result was, that neither party had conceded its rights, but they were left totally unaffected by it. Mr. C. said he recollected to have heard in the British house of commons, whilst he was in Europe, the very reverse of the doctrine advanced here on this subject. The British ministry were charged by a member of the opposition with having surrendered their right of impressment, and the same course of reasoning was employed to prove it as he understood was employed in this country to prove our acquiescence in that practice. The argument was this: the war was made on the professed ground of resistance of the practice of impressment: The peace having been made without a recognition of the right of America, the treaty being silent on the subject, the inference was, that the British authorities had surrendered the right: that they had failed to secure it, and, having done so, had in effect yielded it. The member of the opposition in England was just as wrong as any member of the house would be, who should contend that the right of impressment is surrendered to the British government. The fact was, Mr. C. said, neither party had surrendered its rights; things remain as though the war had never been made—both parties are in possession of all the rights they had anterior to the war. Lest it might be deduced that his sentiments on the subject of impressment had undergone a change, he took the opportunity to say, that although he desired to preserve peace between Great Britain and the United States, and to maintain between them that good understanding calculated to promote the interest of each, yet, whenever Great Britain should give satisfactory evidence of her design to apply her doctrine of impressment as heretofore, he was, for one, ready to take up arms again to oppose her. The fact was, that the two nations had been placed in a state of hostility as to a practice growing out of the war in Europe. The war ceasing between Great Britain and the rest of Europe, left England and America engaged in a contest on an aggression which had also practically ceased. The question had then presented itself, whether the United States should be kept in war, to gain an abandonment of what had become a mere abstract principle; or looking at the results, and relying on the good sense and sound discretion of both countries, we should not recommend the termination of the war.—When no practical evil could result from the suspension of hostilities, and there was no more than a possibility of the removal of the practice of impressment, I, as one of the mission, consented with sincere pleasure to the peace, satisfied that we gave up no right, sacrificed no honour, compromitted no important principle. He said, then, applying the rule of the actual state of things, as that by which to judge of the peace, there was nothing in the conditions or terms of the peace that was dishonorable, nothing for reproach, nothing for regret.

Gentlemen have complained that we had lost the islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy. Have they examined into that question, and do they know the grounds on

which it stands? Prior to the war we occupied Moose Island, the British Grand Menan. Each party claimed both islands. America, because they are within the limits of the United States, as defined by the treaty of 1783; and Great Britain, because, as she alleges, they were in the exception contained in the second article of that treaty as to islands within the limits of the province of Nova Scotia. All the information which he had received concurred in representing Grand Menan as the most valuable island. Does the treaty, in stipulating for an amicable and equitable mode of settling this controversy, yield one foot of the territory of the United States? If our title to Moose Island is drawn in question, that of Great Britain to Grand Menan is equally so. If we may lose the one, she may the other. The treaty, it was true, contained a provision that the party in possession, at the time of its ratification, may hold on until the question of right is decided. The committee would observe that this stipulation, as to possession, was not limited to the moment of the signature, but looked to the period of the ratification of the treaty. The American commissioners had thought they might safely rely on the valour of Massachusetts, or the arms of the United States, to drive the invader from our soil; and had also hoped that we might obtain possession of Grand Menan. It is true they have been disappointed in the successful application of the force of that state and of that of the union. But it is not true that we have parted with the right. It is fair to presume that Great Britain will with good faith, co-operate in carrying the stipulations into effect; and she has in fact already promptly proceeded to the appointment of commissioners under the treaty.

What have we gained by the war? Mr. C. said he had shown we had lost nothing in rights, territory or honour; nothing for which we ought to have contended, according to the principles of the gentlemen on the other side, or according to our own. Have we gained nothing by the war? Let any man look at the degraded condition of this country before the war. The scorn of the universe, the contempt of ourselves; and tell me if we have gained nothing by the war? What is our present situation? Respectability and character abroad—security and confidence at home. If we have not obtained in the opinion of some the full measure of retribution, our character and constitution are placed on a solid basis never to be shaken. The glory acquired by our gallant tars—by our Jacksons and our Browns on the land,—is that nothing? True we have had our vicissitudes—that there were humiliating events which the patriot could not review without deep regret. But the great account when it came to be balanced, thank God, would be found vastly in our favour. Is there a man, he asked, who would have obliterated from the proud pages of our history the brilliant achievements of Jackson, Brown, Scott, and the host of heroes on land and sea whom he would not enumerate? Is there a man who could not desire a participation in the national glory acquired by the war?—Yes, national glory, which however the expression may be condemned by some, must be cherished by every genuine patriot. What do I mean by national glory? Glory such as Hull of the Constitution, Jackson, Lawrence, Perry, have acquired. And

are gentlemen insensible to their deeds—to the value of them in animating the country in the hour of peril hereafter? Did the battle of Thermopylæ preserve Greece but once? Whilst the Mississippi continues to bear the tributes of the Iron mountains, and the Allegheny, to her Delta and to the gulf of Mexico, the 8th of January shall be remembered, and the glory of that day shall stimulate future patriots and nerve the arms of unborn freemen in driving the presumptuous invader from our country's soil! Gentlemen may boast of their insensibility to feelings inspired by the contemplation of such events. But he would ask does the recollection of Bunker's-hill, of Saratoga, of York-town, afford them no pleasure? Every act of noble sacrifice to the country—every instance of patriotic devotion to her cause, has its beneficial influence. A nation's character is the sum of its splendid deeds. They constitute one common patrimony—the nation's inheritance. They awe foreign powers. They arouse and animate our own people. Do gentlemen derive no pleasure from the recent transactions in the Mediterranean? Can they regard unmoved the honourable issue of a war, in support of our national rights, declared, prosecuted and terminated by a treaty in which the enemy submitted to a carte blanche, in the short period of forty days? The days of chivalry are not gone. They have been revived in the person of commodore Decatur, who in releasing from infidel bondage Christian captives —the subjects of a foreign power, and restoring them to their country and their friends, has placed himself beside the most renowned knights of former times. I love true glory, said Mr. C. It is this sentiment which ought to be cherished; and in spite of cavils and sneers and attempts to put it down, it will finally conduct this nation to that height to which God and nature have destined it. Three wars, those who at present administer this government may say, and say with proud satisfaction, they have safely conducted us through. Two with powers, which, though otherwise contemptible, have laid almost all Europe under tribute—a tribute from which we are exonerated. The third, with one of the most gigantic powers that the world ever saw. These struggles have not been without their sacrifices, nor without their lessons. They have created or rather greatly increased the public debt. They have taught, that to preserve the character we have established, preparation for war is necessary.

The public debt exists. However contracted, the faith of the nation is pledged for its redemption. It can only be paid by providing an excess of revenue beyond expenditure, or by retrenchment. Did gentlemen contend that the results of the report were inaccurate—that the proceeds of the revenue would be greater, or the public expenses less than the estimate? On these subjects, Mr. C. said, he believed it would be presumption in him, when the defence of the report was in such able hands, (Mr. Lowndes) to attempt its vindication. Leaving the task to that gentleman, he should assume for the present its accuracy. He would lay down a general rule from which there ought never to be a departure, without absolute necessity, that the expenses of the year ought to be met by the revenue of the year. If in time of war it were impossible to observe this rule, we ought, in time of peace,

to provide for as speedy a discharge of the debt contracted in the preceding war as possible. This can only be done by an effective sinking fund based upon an excess of revenue beyond expenditure, and a protraction of the period of peace.—If in England the sinking fund had not fulfilled what was promised, it was because of a failure to provide such a revenue, and because the interests of peace in that country had been too few and too short. From the revolution to 1812, a period of 124 years, there had been 63 years of war, and only 61 of peace; and there had been contracted 638,-129,577*l* of debt, and discharged only 39,594,305*l*. The national debt at the peace of Utrecht amounted to 52,681,076*l*. and during the peace which followed, being 27 years, from 1714 to 1740, there was discharged only 7,231,-503*l*. When the operations of our sinking fund are contrasted with those of Great Britain, they would be found to present the most gratifying results. Our public debt existing on the 1st January 1802, amounted to 78,754,568 dollars, 70 cents, and on the 1st January, 1815, we had extinguished 33,-873,463 dollars 98 cents. Thus in 13 years, one half the period of peace that followed the treaty of Utrecht, we had discharged more public debt than Great Britain did during that period. In 26 years she did not pay much more than a seventh of her debt. In thirteen years we paid more than a third of ours. If then a public debt, contracted in a manner, he trusted, satisfactory to the country, imposed upon us a duty to provide for its payment; if we were encouraged, by past experience, to persevere in the application of an effective sinking fund, he would again repeat that the only alternatives were the adoption of a system of taxation producing the revenue estimated by the committee of ways and means, or by great retrenchment of the public expenses.

In what respect can a reduction of the public expenses be effected? Gentlemen who assailed the report on this ground have, by the indefinite nature of the attack, great advantage on their side. Instead of contenting themselves with crying out retrenchment! retrenchment! a theme always plausible, an object always proper, when the public interest will admit of it, let them point the attention of the house to some specified subject. If they really think a reduction of the army and navy, or either of them, be proper, let them lay a resolution upon the table to that effect. They had generally, it was true, singled out, in discussing this report (and he had no objection to meet them in this way, though he thought the other the fairest course) the military establishment. Mr. C. said he was glad that the navy had fought itself into favour, and that no one appeared disposed to move its reduction or to oppose its gradual augmentation. But the "standing army" is the great object of gentlemen's apprehensions. And those who can bravely set at defiance hobgoblins, the creatures of their own fertile imaginations, are trembling for the liberties of the people endangered by a standing army of ten thousand men. Those who can courageously vote against taxes are alarmed, for the safety of the constitution and the country, at such a force scattered over our extensive territory! This could not have been expected, at least in the honorable gentleman (Mr.

Ross) who, if he had been storming a fort, could not have displayed more cool collected courage than he did, when he declared that he would show to Pennsylvania, that she had one faithful representative bold and independent enough to vote against a tax!

Mr. C. said he had happened, very incidentally the other day, and in a manner which he had supposed could not attract particular attention, to state that the general condition of the world admonished us to shape our measures with a view to the possible conflicts into which we might be drawn; and he said he did not know when he should cease to witness the attacks made upon him in consequence of that general remark, when he should cease to hear the cry of "standing army," "national glory," &c. &c. From the tenor of gentlemen's observations it would seem as if, for the first time in the history of this government, it was now proposed that a certain regular force should constitute a portion of the public defence. But from the administration of general Washington, down to this time, a regular force, a standing army (if gentlemen please) had existed, and the only question about it, at any time, had been what should be the amount. Gentlemen themselves, who most loudly decry this establishment, did not propose an entire disbandment of it; and the question, ever with them, is not whether a regular force be necessary, but whether a regular force of this or that amount be called for by the actual state of our affairs.

The question is not, on any side of the house, as to the nature, but the quantum of the force. Mr. C. said he maintained the position, that, if there was the most profound peace that ever existed; if we had no fears from any quarter whatever; if all the world was in a state of the most profound and absolute repose, a regular force of ten thousand men was not too great for the purposes of this government. We knew too much, he said, of the vicissitudes of human affairs, and the uncertainty of all our calculations, not to know that even in the most profound tranquillity, some tempest may suddenly arise, and bring us into a state requiring the exertion of military force, which cannot be created in a moment, but requires time for its collection, organization and discipline. When gentlemen talked of the force which was deemed sufficient some twenty years ago, what did they mean? That this force was not to be progressive? That the full grown man ought to wear the clothes and habits of his infancy? That the establishment maintained by this government, when its population amounted to four or five millions only, should be the standard by which our measures should be regulated in all subsequent states of the country? If gentlemen meant this, as it seemed to him they did, Mr. C. said he and they should not agree. He contended that establishments ought to be commensurate with the actual state of the country, should grow with its growth, and keep pace with its progress. Look at that map (said he, pointing to the large map of the United States which hangs in the hall of representatives)—at the vast extent of that country which stretches from the Lake of the Woods, in the northwest, to the Bay of Fundi, in the east. Look at the vast extent of our maritime coast: recollect we have Indians and powerful nations conterminous on the whole fron-

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tier; and that we know not at what moment the savage enemy or Great Britain herself may seek to make war with us. Ought the force of the country to be graduated by the scale of our exposure, or are we to be uninfluenced by the increase of our liability to war? Have we forgotten that the power of France, as a counterpoise to that of Great Britain, is annihilated—gone, never to rise again, I believe, under the weak, unhappy and imbecile race who now sway her destinies? Any individual must, I think, come to the same conclusion with myself, who takes these considerations into view, and reflects on our growth, the state of our defence, the situation of the nations of the world, and above all, of that nation with whom we are most likely to come into collision—for it is in vain to conceal it; this country must have many a hard and desperate tug with Great Britain, let the two governments be administered how and by whom they may.—That man must be blind to the indications of the future, who cannot see that we are destined to have war after war with Great Britain, until, if one of the two nations be not crushed, all grounds of collision shall have ceased between us. I repeat, said Mr. C. if the condition of France were that of perfect repose, instead of that of a volcano ready to burst out again with a desolating eruption; if with Spain our differences were settled; if the dreadful war raging in South America were terminated; if the marines of all the powers of Europe were resuscitated as they stood prior to the revolution of France; if there was universal repose, and profound tranquillity among all the nations of the earth, considering the actual growth of our country, in his judgment, the force of ten thousand men would not be too great for its exigencies. Do gentlemen ask if I rely on the regular force entirely for the defence of the country? I answer, it is for garrisoning and keeping in order our fortifications, for the preservation of the national arms, for something like a safe depository of military science and skill, to which we may recur in time of danger, that I desire to maintain an adequate regular force. I know, that in the hour of peril, our great reliance must be on the whole physical force of the country, and that no detachment of it can be exclusively depended on. History proves that no nation, not destitute of the military art, whose people were united in its defence, ever was conquered. It is true, that in countries where standing armies have been entirely relied on, the armies have been subdued, and the subjugation of the nation has been the consequence of it; but no example is to be found of a united people being conquered, who possessed an adequate degree of military knowledge. Look at the Grecian republics struggling successfully against the overwhelming force of Persia; look more recently at Spain. I have great confidence in the militia, and I would go with my honourable colleague, (Mr. M'Kee) whose views I know are honest, hand in hand, in arming, disciplining, and rendering effective the militia—I am for providing the nation with every possible means of resistance. I ask my honorable colleague, after I have gone thus far with him, to go a step farther with me, and let us retain the force we now have for the purposes I have already described. I ask gentlemen who propose to reduce the army, if they

have examined in detail the number and extent of the posts and garrisons on our maritime and interior frontier? If they have not gone through this process of reasoning, how shall we arrive at the result that we can reduce the army with safety? There is not one of our forts adequately garrisoned at this moment; and there is nearly one-fourth of them that have not one solitary man. I said the other day, that I would rather vote for the augmentation than the reduction of the army. When returning to my country from its foreign service, and looking at this question, it appeared to me that the maximum was 20,000, the minimum 10,000 of the force we ought to retain. And I again say, that rather than reduce I would vote to increase the present force.

A standing army, Mr. C. said, had been deemed necessary from the commencement of the government to the present time. The question was only as to the quantum of force; and not whether it should exist. No man who regards his political reputation would place himself before the people on a proposition for its absolute disbandment. He admitted a question as to quantum might be carried so far as to rise into a question of principle. If we were to propose to retain an army of thirty, or forty, or fifty thousand men, then truly the question would present itself, whether our rights were not in some danger from such a standing army, whether reliance was to be placed altogether on a standing army or on that natural safe defence which, according to the habits of the country and the principles of our government, is considered the bulwark of our liberties. But between five and ten thousand men, or any number under ten thousand, it could not be a question of principle: for, unless gentlemen were afraid of spectres, it was utterly impossible that any danger could be apprehended from ten thousand men, dispersed on a frontier of many thousand miles —here twenty or thirty, there an hundred, and the largest amount, at Detroit, not exceeding a thin regiment. And, yet, brave gentlemen—gentlemen who are not alarmed at hobgoblins—who can intrepidly vote *even against taxes*, are alarmed by a force of this extent! What, he asked, was the amount of the army in the time of Mr. Jefferson, a time, the orthodoxy of which had been so ostentatiously proclaimed? It was true, when that gentleman came into power, it was with a determination to retrench as far as practicable. Under the full influence of these notions, in 1802, the bold step of wholly disbanding the army, never was thought of. The military peace establishment was then fixed at about four thousand men. But, before Mr. Jefferson went out of power, what was done—that is, in April 1808? In addition to the then existing peace establishment, eight regiments, amounting to between five and six thousand men, were authorised, making a total force precisely equal to the present peace establishment. It was true that all this force had never been actually enlisted and embodied; that the recruiting service had been suspended; and that at the commencement of the war we had far from this number: and, Mr. C. said, we have not now actually ten thousand men, being at least two thousand deficient of that number. Mr. C. adverted to what had been said on this and other occasions of Mr. Jefferson's not having seized the favourable mo-

ment for war which was afforded by the attack on the Chesapeake. He had always entertained the opinion, he said, that Mr. Jefferson on that occasion took the correct, manly and frank course, in saying to the British government —your officers have done this—it is an enormous aggression—do you approve the act, do you make it your cause or not? That government did not sanction the act; it disclaimed it, and promptly too—and, although they for a long time withheld the due redress, it was ultimately tendered. If Mr. Jefferson had used his power to carry the country into a war at that period, it might have been supported by public opinion during the moment of fever, but it would soon abate and the people would begin to ask, why this war had been made without understanding whether the British government avowed the conduct of its officers, &c. If the threatening aspect of our relations with England had entered into the consideration which had caused the increase of the army at that time, Mr. C. said, there were considerations equally strong at this time, with our augmented population, for retaining our present force. If, however, there were no threatenings from any quarter, if the relative force of European nations, and the general balance of power existing before the French revolution were restored; if South America had not made the attempt, in which he trusted in God she would succeed, to achieve her independence; if our affairs with Spain were settled, he would repeat, that ten thousand men would not be too great a force for the necessities of the country, and with a view to future emergencies.

He had taken the liberty the other day to make some observations which he might now repeat as furnishing auxiliary considerations for adopting a course of prudence and precaution. He had then said, that our affairs with Spain were not settled, &c.; that the Spanish minister was reported to have made some inadmissible demands of our government. The fact turned out, Mr. C. said, as he had presented it. It appeared that what was then rumour was now fact; and Spain had taken the ground not only that there must be a discussion of our title to that part of Louisiana formerly called West-Florida (which it might be doubted whether it ought to take place) but had required that we must surrender the territory first, and discuss the right to it afterwards. Besides this unsettled state of our relations with Spain, he said, there were other rumours—and he wished to God we had the same means of ascertaining their correctness, as we had found of ascertaining the truth of the rumour just noticed—it was rumoured that the Spanish province of Florida had been ceded, with all her pretensions, to Great Britain. Would gentlemen tell him, then, that this was a time when any statesman would pursue the hazardous policy of disarming entirely—of quietly smoking our pipes by our fire sides, regardless of impending danger? It might be a palatable doctrine to some, but he was persuaded was condemned by the rules of conduct in private life, by those maxims of sound precaution by which individuals would regulate their private affairs. Mr. C. said, he did not here mean to take up the question in relation to South America. Still it was impossible not to see that, in the progress of things, we might be call-

ed on to decide the question whether we would or would not lend them our aid. This opinion he boldly declared—and he entertained it, not in any pursuit of vain glory, but from a deliberate conviction of its being conformable to the best interests of the country—that, having a proper understanding with foreign powers—that understanding which prudence and a just precaution recommended—it would undoubtedly be good policy to take part with the patriots of South America. He believed it could be shown that, on the strictest principles of public law, we have a right to take part with them, that it is our interest to take part with them, and that our interposition in their favour would be effectual. But he confessed, with infinite regret, that he saw a supineness on this interesting subject throughout our country which left him almost without hope, that what he believed the correct policy of the country would be pursued. He considered the release of any part of America from the dominions of the old world, as adding to the general security of the new.—He could not contemplate the exertions of the people of South America, without wishing that they might triumph and nobly triumph. He believed the cause of humanity would be promoted by the interposition of any foreign power which should terminate the contest between the friends and enemies of independence in that quarter, for a more bloody and cruel war never had been carried on since the days of Adam than that which is now raging in South America—in which not the least regard is paid to the laws of war, to the rights of capitulation, to the rights of prisoners, nor even to the rights of kindred. I do not, said Mr. C. offer these views expecting to influence the opinions of others: they are opinions of my own. But, on the question of general policy, whether or not we shall interfere in the war in South America, it may turn out that, whether we will or will not choose to interfere in their behalf, we shall be drawn into the contest in the course of its progress. Among other demands by the minister of Spain, is the exclusion of the flag of Buenos Ayres and other parts of South America from our ports. Our government has taken a ground on this subject, of which I think no gentleman can disapprove—that all parties shall be admitted and hospitably treated in our ports, provided they conform to our laws whilst among us. What course Spain may take on this subject, it was impossible now to say. Although I would not urge this as an argument for increasing our force, said Mr. C. I would place it among those considerations which ought to have weight with every enlightened mind in determining upon the propriety of its reduction. It is asserted that Great Britain has strengthened and is strengthening herself in the provinces adjoining us. Is this a moment when in prudence we ought to disarm? No, sir. Preserve your existing force. It would be extreme indiscretion to lessen it.

Mr. C. here made some observations to show that a reduction of the army to from four to five thousand men, as had been suggested, would not occasion such a diminution of expense as to authorize the rejection of the report, or any essential alteration in the amount of revenue, which the system proposes to raise from internal taxes, and his colleague (Mr. M'Kee) appeared equally hostile to all of

them. Having however, shown that we cannot in safety reduce the army, Mr. C. would leave the details of the report in the abler hands of the honourable chairman, (Mr. Lowndes) who, he had no doubt, could demonstate, that with all the retrenchments which had been recommended, the government would be bankrupt in less than three years, if most of these taxes were not continued. He would now hasten to that conclusion, at which the committee could not regret more than he did, that he had not long since arrived.

As to the attitude in which this country should be placed, the duty of congress could not be mistaken. My policy is to preserve the present force, naval and military; to provide for the augmentation of the navy; and if the danger of war should increase, to increase the army also. Arm the militia, and give it the most effective character of which it is susceptible. Provide in the most ample manner, and place in proper depots, all the munitions and instruments of war. Fortify and strengthen the weak and vulnerable points indicated by experience. Construct military roads and canals—particularly from the Miami of the Ohio to the Miami of Erie; from the Sciota to the Bay of Sandusky; from the Hudson to Ontario; that the facilities of transportation may exist of the men and means of the country to points where they may be wanted. I would employ on this object a part of the army; which should also be employed on our line of frontier, territorial and maritime, in strengthening the works of defence. I would provide steam batteries for the Mississippi, for Borgne and Ponchartrain, and for the Chesapeake, and for any part of the north or east where they might be beneficially employed. In short, said Mr. C. I would act, seriously, effectively act, on the principle that in peace we ought to prepare for war; for I repeat, again and again, that in spite of all the prudence exerted by the government, and the forbearance of others, the hour of trial will come. These halcyon days of peace, this calm will yield to the storm of war, and when that comes, I am for being prepared to breast it. Has not the government been reproached for the want of preparation at the commencement of the late war? And yet the same gentlemen who utter these reproaches, instead of taking counsel from experience, would leave the country in an unprepared condition.

He would as earnestly commence the great work, too long delayed, of internal improvement. He desired to see a chain of turnpike roads and canals from Passamaquoddy to New Orleans; and other similar roads intersecting the mountains, to facilitate intercourse between all parts of the country, and to bind and connect us together. He would also effectually protect our manufactories. We had given at least an implied pledge to do so, by the course of administration. He would afford them protection, not so much for the sake of the manufacturers themselves, as for the general interest. We should thus have our wants supplied when foreign resources are cut off; and we should also lay the basis of a system of taxation, to be resorted to when the revenue from imports is stopt by war. Such, Mr. Chairman, is a rapid sketch of the policy which it seems to me it becomes us to pursue. It is for you now to decide, whether we shall draw wisdom from the past, or neglecting

the lessons of recent experience, we shall go on headlong without foresight, meriting and receiving the reproaches of the community. I trust, sir, notwithstanding the unpromising appearances sometimes presenting themselves, during the present session, we shall yet do our duty. I appeal to the friends around me—with whom I have been associated for years in public life—who nobly, manfully vindicated the national character by a war, waged by a young people, unskilled in arms, single-handed, against a veteran power; a war which the nation has emerged from, covered with laurels; let us now do something to ameliorate the internal condition of the country; let us show that objects of domestic no less than those of foreign policy receive our attention; let us fulfil the just expectations of the public, whose eyes are anxiously directed towards this session of Congress; let us, by a liberal and enlightened policy, entitle ourselves, upon our return home, to that best of all rewards, the grateful exclamation, "Well done thou good and faithful servant."

Speech of Mr. HOPKINSON, *on the Revenue discussion, in answer to Mr. Clay.*

My participation in the counsels of the country, is of such recent date that I may feel astonishment at occurrences which excite no surprize in more experienced politicians. The course which the business now under discussion has taken, appears to me a phenomenonin legislation. This Congress, sir, assembled after the conclusion of a war, which had called for vast efforts and expenditures, and accumulated a very heavy debt—at the commencement of the session the usual committees for the arrangement of the public business were appointed; and amongst the rest, most prominent and most important, the committee of ways and means—it was the duty of this committee to examine into the state of the finances of the nation; to make accurate estimates of its wants; a judicious examination of its means; and fairly and impartially to apply the one to the necessities of the other—the committee then appointed, in due time, and it is presumed on due consideration, made their report upon these high matters to the house; and the debate we are now engaged in arises out of that report.—In the usual course of parliamentary affairs, it was doubtless to have been expected, that the opposition, if any, to the estimates and means thus furnished by the avowed friends of the administration, would have come from what, I find, is called "*the opposition.*" But no such thing—we, on this side of the house, sat patient and silent, prepared to take our share of the burthen, and endure our portion of the suffering.—As far as we can judge, from the indications in our knowledge, the system then matured and delivered, would have, generally at least, been adopted and carried into operation—when, behold, the storm of opposition rises, not with the opposition, but the declared friends and supporters of the administration, and of those measures which have called for these extraordinary burthens and supplies!—I should have supposed that these gentlemen would have been willing to forget local interests, to surrender subordinate opinions, and united heartily in the great work of paying the national debt, and provided

for future expenditures—but, I beg it may be distinctly remembered, that the first assault upon the reported system of finance,—that assault which goes to its vitality, and opened a breach which others, still declared friends of the administration, have widened, was made by the honourable gentleman from Kentucky, the speaker of the house.—A motion was made by that gentleman to reduce the land tax, from three to two millions—this motion failed—not disheartened by the defeat, he followed up the attempt, by a blow infinitely more deadly to the whole scheme, by moving that the land tax should be an annual tax, while every other tax reported is perpetual, and the whole together declared to be a *permanent* system of taxation. In this the gentleman was successful, and so great a part as three millions of a permanent system, has assurance of existence but for a single year. If this unfortunate, and I may say ill-judged movement, shall throw the whole into confusion, and the government is thereby embarrassed, the public faith impeached, and the public establishments pinched, let it be remembered from whence these evils have flowed; let them be traced to their true source, *the friends of the administration*, and not the "opposition."—When the honourable speaker had made this first step, it was natural to expect that some other gentleman of the same side, should be ambitious to step before him, and accordingly we find that his colleague proposes to abolish altogether this odious land tax, and strike it out of the system; and of course to throw these three millions upon the shoulders of those who have been, or may be kind enough to take the rest of the burthen.—Is this dealing fairly and equitably by all? But, sir, the cause of wonder does not stop here—the greater wonder is yet untold—no sooner does the honourable speaker suggest his essential, his vital change in this system of finance, than the honourable chairman of the committee, by whom it was reported, surrenders it at discretion, without an effort to defend, or struggle to preserve it.—Can it be expected that we in the opposition, however well disposed, can retain our confidence in a system thus solemnly reported as the matured work of knowledge and deliberation, and thus abandoned as the plaything of a child.—I know not the reasons which have determined the honourable chairman to this course; his intelligence and candour oblige me to believe, he can give a satisfactory explanation of it; but until it is given, I must pause in my confidence. For myself, sir, I assure you most seriously, that I took my seat here with a fixed intent to give all the aid in my power to extricate the country from her difficulties, and provide for her future support; to place the resources of the nation fairly and liberally at the disposal of those the people have chosen to govern them; and to suffer no feelings of my own in relation to the administration to interfere with the conscientious discharge of my duty as an American legislator. But how must I hesitate in the course which would bring me to these results, when I find those who are appointed to lead the way, and are presumed to have all the information necessary for the purpose, halting and receding in their steps, and uncertain whether the path lies in this or in that direction; in fact differing among themselves as to the measures to be pursued.—While I

would watch with double scruple and care, the uses made of the public resources by an administration not possessing my confidence, I could, by no means feel justified in withholding those resources, and suffering the government itself to fall into dissolution. I will not let my house go to decay, because I do not like the tenant.

On the subject of the motives, the policy and the conduct of the war; the advantage and the glory of the peace, I had hoped to hear not a syllable within these walls, and certainly never intended myself to make them topics of discussion.—I was willing to consider the war as an evil gone by, to be remembered no more as a source of irritation and reproach; and recurred to only for its lessons of wisdom and experience.—I desired to look to the country in the actual situation in which we find her; to heal the deep wounds inflicted upon her; reanimate her powers and restore her strength. —My attention has not therefore been for a moment turned to the numerous considerations that belong to the questions of the war and the peace. But, sir, how has this moderation, for such I must call it, been received by the honourable speaker, who has this moment sat down—He has gone into an elaborate and animated justification, nay eulogium, of the causes of the war, and a magnificent display of the glory and advantages of the peace. And, sir, not satisfied with this, he has said the opposition, as he calls us, has not yet challenged either; and he challenges us to do so.—Sir, I feel most fully the rashness of taking up this challenge on the instant, unarmed, unprepared, and without a moment's anticipation, that I should be drawn into the contest. I will, however, venture upon it, taking the gentleman's own positions for my guide; and hoping to refute him on the very points and grounds he has chosen to place himself, in relation to the gains of the peace particularly. Let me however premise that this peace had and has my hearty approbation, and most grateful I am to those who made it—God forbid, that I should reproach a measure which I solemnly and conscientiously believe, snatched my country from the very brink of the gulph of ruin. The federal government was at the last gasp of existence. But six months longer and it was no more. Yes, sir, trust me that, but for this providential peace you and I would not be here listening to proud declamations on the glory of the war; we should have heard nothing of a Congress, at this time, but as a thing that was; we should have had no profound plottings about a next president, no anxious longings for federal offices;—the general government would have dissolved into its original elements; its powers would have returned to the states from which it was derived; and they, doubtless, would have been fully competent to their own defence against any enemy.—Does not every body remember that all the great states, and I believe the small ones too, were preparing for this state of things, and organizing their own means for their own defence. When therefore I speak of our desperate condition, I speak only of the general government, and not of the country, of which I never did despair and never can —But, sir, as I believe that the strength, prosperity and happiness of this country, essentially depend upon the maintenance of the fede-

ral government, can I but be grateful for an event, which has preserved it—This source of approbation however, is obviously independent of the terms of this boasted treaty, in which I see none of the advantages so boasted of; and, indeed, no excellence but the redemption from evil.

The honourable speaker had boldly and distinctly put the question, "*What have we gained by the war?*" and imposed upon himself the task of exhibiting and proving these mighty gains. But to my astonishment, the whole of his argument was exerted to prove not, *what we have gained*, for not an item of gain was produced; but what we *have not lost;* and in those cases in which he admits loss, to show *how* that loss was produced. In what manner any gain is to be made out of this, I cannot conjecture—To begin with the *fisheries* —The gentleman has told us that our right in them, was held under the treaty of 1783; that in the late negotiation the British commissioners contended, that by our war we had forfeited all the rights held under former treaties, and among the rest the use of these fisheries. I do not understand from the gentleman that our commissioners assented to this doctrine, but rather that they made their objections to it. But still I cannot see how all this proves we have not lost the fisheries; and whether we lost them by the argument or the war; the only important fact remains unquestioned, *that we have lost them*. As our present enquiry, to which we are challenged, is into the *gains of the war*, it seems to me that the loss of the fisheries, however lost, cannot add much to the account of our gains. Thus a physician may give a most learned and unanswerable detail of the reasons why and how his patient died; but I have never heard that the argument restored him to life or satisfied any body that he was not dead. The honourable speaker however, has endeavoured to comfort us for *this gain*, by reminding us, that the same argument which deprived us of the fisheries, took from the enemy the navigation of the Mississippi, which he held under a former treaty. If this set off were even of a sufficient value to compensate for our loss, and one gentleman thinks it essentially more valuable, I still cannot see how it could aid the main point of this discussion which is to display our gains by war, and to place the loss of the fisheries on the list. But unfortunately for this comfort, the gentleman has been candid enough to inform us that our commissioners actually offered to renew the Mississippi right to the British, if they would renew our right to the fisheries—the offer was rejected; and proves at least, that our commissioners thought the fisheries worth the navigation of the river; and that the British commissioners did not think that navigation worth the fisheries.

The next attempt made by the honourable gentleman in displaying our gains by the war, was on the subject of the *impressment of seamen;* this great bone of contention. What is the argument to show that we have gained any thing here? The gentleman sets out with alluding to a letter, which has appeared in the papers, and excited much clamour with some people, written by a distinguished gentleman in the opposition, as the honourable speaker describes him. Now, says the speaker, the writer of this letter fully adopts and justifies the British doctrine on the subject of impressment; and if the gentlemen in the opposition hold the same opinions,

surely it is not for them to complain that the treaty has done nothing in relation to it—This is the argument.—Now in the first place I deny that it is fair to urge upon us on this floor, the sentiments or opinions of a letter, by whomsoever it may have been written. I am not now called upon to express any opinion upon the principles held by the respectable writer of that letter; at present I protest against the members on this floor being called upon to be judged by a document of that description. But that the honourable gentleman may have the full benefit of this circumstance, I will agree that the opposition maintain the doctrines of that letter. What inference can be drawn from it to prove that the treaty in question has gained any thing on that subject? We have no right to complain—be it so—But is any thing gained by this?—Is the American seaman more secure than he was before; or the American doctrine better established? If indeed the gentlemen who went to war for this principle have changed their opinion of it; if they also agree with the writer of this letter on the subject, I admit their justification of a treaty, which if it does not surrender, at least leaves it as it was, is full and complete; for why should they ask a principle to be recognized in a treaty, which they are convinced is erroneous, and ought to be abandoned.—But if, on the other hand, these gentlemen adhere to their old opinions; if they still deny the right to search our vessels for British sailors and to take such as they find there; if in short they still hold the principles, the recognition of which was the declared cause and object of the war, then indeed I cannot see how a war or a treaty which has gained nothing on this point can be considered either successful or glorious. Certainly we can reckon nothing here in our account of gains. But we are told such a change took place in the affairs of Europe, as to stop the practice of impressment—And this is all we need be concerned about. If it be so, we owe it confessedly, not to the success of our war, or the skill of our treaty, but to a change in the affairs of Europe, over which we had no control, and for which we can honestly claim no credit. How then is it an item in the account of our gain by the war and the treaty? we should have had the same gain in the same way, and at the same time, if we had had neither the war nor the treaty. But I must beg leave to correct the honourable gentleman in this part of his argument. A mere abstinence from the practice of impressment was not all the American government asked and contended for; but an explicit relinquishment of the principle under which it was defended. Let me refer to the official declarations of the cabinet, that the war would be in vain, without an express recognition of *our principle;* let me also refer to the speeches on the floor of Congress, of the honourable speaker himself, in which in the strongest language, he maintains the same ground. Besides, if a cessation of the practice was all that was required, why did an arrangement fail?—why was a treaty rejected, which would have prevented the abuse of the principle, and secured us from the dangers of the practice. At least however, says the honourable speaker, we are in *statu quo*, we stand as well on this subject as we did before the war—We have given up nothing. To this however I cannot assent; and, if I did, I do not see how it would prove a gain by the war.—How is the fact? Do we

stand as strong on this point as we did before we took up arms for it? I think not—Whatever may have been the strength of our claim before the war, it is weaker now. When a nation makes this last, this dread appeal in support of an asserted right, and then concludes the war by a voluntary treaty without obtaining the right or any recognition of it, the right is weakened by the unsuccessful attempt, followed by a voluntary abandonment, if not of the right, at least, of any acknowledgment of it—I may liken it to the case of an individual, who brings suit for a debt he alleges to be due to him, or a piece of land he claims as his own—If after the commencement of the trial he prosecutes it not to issue, but suffers a non-suit, and gives up his suit, if not his cause, nobody will think as well of his right as before. The man who abandons the prosecution of an asserted right, will excite much distrust of the right itself, and even of his own confidence in it. We do not therefore stand in *statu quo*, on the question of impressment.

The next subject of gain, introduced by the honourable gentleman as resulting from the joint operations of the war and the peace, is, in relation to the islands in Passamaquoddy bay. We have lost nothing here, says he; we have merely agreed that each party shall hold in that bay what he might be possessed of at the date of the treaty; and the right be afterwards settled by commissioners—Besides, says the honourable speaker, we, (the American negociators,) had every reason to believe that the valour and patriotism of Massachusetts, would not only have rescued her own soil from the possession of the enemy, but have also taken possession of the island of ———, and, in this case, we should have been the gainers by this arrangement; that as to the first branch of this argument we have lost nothing, because the right is not surrendered, but to be hereafter ascertained—Is it not undeniable, that we have, at least, lost the possession, which is transferred to the enemy until the right shall be determined; and all the advantages to be derived, even in the arbitration, by this possession? Has not a large portion of the citizens of the United States, in the mean time, been handed over to a new master, and a new government? and, more than all this, does any body believe, but for this war, Great Britain would ever have troubled herself or us about those islands; or drawn into question the boundaries, as they have been received by both parties for so many years? In point of fact, therefore, in sober truth, we have, by this war, and this treaty, lost the *right*, if, hereafter, it shall be decided against us; because, but for the war, it would never have been submitted to any question or decision. As to the expectations that were entertained by our commissioners of the conquests to be made by Massachusetts, I can see no just foundation for them. The arms and resources of all the United States being placed at the disposal of the general government, whose duty it is to defend every state from invasion and conquest, the expectation would have been, and more reasonable if it had been, applied to the general government, and not to the government of the state whose territory was occupied by the enemy. The expectation, however, apply it where you will, was disappointed; the possession of that portion of our country is lost; the right, at least, brought into

unnecessary doubt and jeopardy; and, under these circumstances, I cannot reckon the result among the gains of the war.

But, leaving these matter-of-fact calculations, the honourable gentleman has expatiated upon a wider field of gain by the war—the GLORY that has been acquired. I do not exactly understand how those gentlemen who declared and produced the war, make out their claim to all the glory that was acquired by it. The war was made by the men in power—by the existing administration; and I can trace none of the glory to their foresight; their wisdom, or their personal agency—The glory is due to the valour, the patriotism, the self-denial of our citizens, who met and repelled the dangers that surrounded them, and not to the administration that brought them upon us; and, in many instances, perhaps a majority, the men who acquired this glory for their country were men utterly opposed to the war, to those who made it, and to the policy that produced it. Sir, I am not insensible of national glory; I hope I never shall be—It is the spring of national virtue; the source of high achievements: the people who disregard it are incapable of great actions, and unworthy of honour. But still, I have never understood, that the acquisition of glory is a legitimate cause of war; or an admitted justification of it; and therefore our glory cannot be taken as a gain of one of the objects of the war; which is the true point of enquiry now. In order that this blaze of glory may show the brighter by contrast, the honourable speaker has painted in strong colours, the degraded situation of our country, at the period of declaring war—Our character was sunk almost to infamy; we had become the scorn and contempt of all Europe, and there was no nation so pitiful and weak that it did not insult and tread upon us. If this be true, and I am not disposed to question it, let me ask the honorable gentleman, *who made it so!*—Washington raised the reputation of the United States to a pitch of envied honour, and left them covered with true glory—He is guiltless. In the hands of Mr. Adams, it faded a little, but was not extinguished—then followed Mr. Jefferson, with whom, the honourable speaker has informed us, *his friends* came into power—and they have held it ever since—To what purpose he has told us himself.

Thus, sir, I close the examination of the honourable gentleman's account of the gains of the war; and, be it as it is, I repeat, that I heartily rejoice at the treaty he made for us; not becausé it is good in itself, but because it snatched us from infinitely greater evils. I have rashly ventured, on the instant, upon a reply to the argument of the gentleman, which deserved, and, perhaps, required, a much more deliberate and careful refutation.

Permit me now to offer a few observations on the subject of the tax immediately under consideration. I repeat my entire willingness to put the resources of the country, fairly and justly, but with proper caution and accountability, at the disposal of those the people have chosen to trust with the administration of their affairs. It is better that unfit men should have the means necessary to govern, than that the government should perish for want of means. I repeat, too, that if the administration shall be drawn into any straight or difficulty for these supplies, it must

not be charged on the opposition. The first incision into the system of finance, was made by the honourable speaker himself; it has been followed up, and, as might have been expected, widened and deepened by other gentlemen, on the same side. For myself, sir, I came here to lay taxes. After so expensive a war, which destroyed all the ordinary sources of revenue, while it encreased most enormously all the demands for money; it was to be expected that a system of taxation and revenue, and a pretty efficient one too, would be required. For my constituents, I am ready to grant it; and, I doubt not of their approbation, provided it be formed with moderation, justice, and equality. Equality is the great essential principle of taxation. Men are not so apt to complain of quantum as of inequality—now, in the nature of things, it is impossible that this equality can be obtained in any one tax; which necessarily must affect some of our citizens greatly, while it scarcely touches others. Equality can be produced only by a variety of taxes, judiciously applied and distributed; some of which draw upon one part of the community, and some on another. Proceeding upon this principle, the committee of finance has reported a system, comprehending a great variety of objects of revenue; and, among the rest, a tax upon land, amounting to three millions of dollars per annum. This tax I entirely approve of, because it is fair and just, inasmuch as, without it, many land-holders in the interior will contribute but little, if any thing, to the general wants; and because, it is moderate, being not more than one quarter of one per cent. on the whole landed capital of the United States. But, sir, I object, most decidedly, to the modification, in relation to this tax, introduced by the honourable speaker, because it is unequal and unjust. If all the people of these states are equally bound for the payment of these debts; are equally bound to furnish the future supplies; why should any difference be made in the duration, any more than the amount of the requisite supplies? Why should my constituents, I may say, the citizens of Pennsylvania, be bound to contribute to the end, by the imposition of taxes, made perpetual, while the citizens of other states are to be exempted at the end of a year. The salt tax, the stamp tax, the whiskey tax, and many others, which are perpetual, will press peculiarly on Pennsylvania, and are all perpetual; but the land tax, which reaches some of the states to the south and west, comparatively but little affected by the other taxes, shall be but for a year —No, sir, let us embark fairly, and equally and honestly together, in the same bark, and hold together for the whole voyage—Let no one be landed and escape further duty and difficulty at the end of the first mile. If four men were united in a firm bond to pay a debt contracted for a common object, and to furnish supplies for a commen future interest; would it be tolerated that one should ask his companions to acquit him at the end of a year, and go on by themselves afterwards, not only to contribute their proportions, but make good his deficiency, and yet this is the precise effect of the amendment of the honourable speaker to the report of the committee, which has made the land tax annual, while the other assessments are perpetual. Besides this change breaks up the whole character of the report, which avows itself to be a

permanent system—When therefore a most essential part of it, both as to principle and amount is thus made annual, what becomes of the permanency of the system—As a ground of objection to this branch of revenue, we have had most violent philippics—pronounced against tax-gatherers—they are caterpillars; they are blood-suckers; nay, one honourable gentleman has said; they are scoundrels—I cannot feel either the justice or policy of these attacks. In justice I do not know that they deserve it—I have no reason to believe they are more dishonest than other men exposed to the same temptations—He, through whose hands large sums of money, especially if it be public money, are continually flowing, and whose accountability is far from being rigid and precise, must be strongly armed in integrity if he never fails.—But the remark applies no better in theory, (and not here so often in practice,) to tax-gatherers, than other officers of the government whose temptations are greater and whose accountability is less. —As to the policy of this sort of abuse, I would submit it to honourable gentlemen to say whether it is wise or politic, to endeavour to bring the odium, and suspicion and contempt of the people, upon a class of public officers, so useful and necessary to the very existence of the government; that class of officers, too, which comes directly in contact with the people, and brings the government into every man's house—In truth this hostility to tax gatherers has neither justice or policy to rest upon, but is founded on a natural aversion we all have to pay money on compulsion; and for benefits too remote to be immediately seen or felt—But, sir, I hope my political friends will pursue a more liberal course—I hope I shall never find any of them teaching the doctrine, that tax-gatherers and libellers are the best reformers of a state.

Those gentlemen who oppose every internal tax, raise this clamour against tax-gatherers; and of course would throw us altogether upon the foreign commerce of the country for our revenue—but is this any more satisfactory even in this respect?—Far from it—We must then listen to the assailants upon custom house officers; we must hear of their insolence, their extortions, their frauds—the tax-gatherer thrusts his hand into your pocket; and the custom house officer ransacks your trunks and baggage—so that if charges of this sort against the officers who must collect the revenue, are to be received in forming your system of taxation, the consequence is that you will have no revenue at all.—But, sir, ARMIES, NAVIES and TAXES, have been placed, again and again, in dread array before us—are you for armies, navies and taxes, those instruments of despotic power—the destroyers of the liberties of the people; the greedy consumers of their earnings?—yes sir, I am for armies, navies and taxes; and I have no more idea of a government without them, than I have of a living and moving body without flesh, or bones or blood—But how am I for them? how regulated; to what extent? I am for an army which shall have in truth, all the physical force it professes to have; and not for a lifeless, useless skeleton, covered with epaulets and sashes, and sword knots; or, in other words, for an army of officers without soldiers; affording a wide field for executive patronage and favour; but providing no substantial means of strength or

defence for the country.—If this abuse exists, as has been asserted, it is our duty to correct it—as to number, I would have it not so large as to be either dangerous to the liberty, or oppressive to the pockets of the people—It is our duty to take care of both these points, and we have it fully in our power to do so.—The present establishment appears to me to offend in neither of these particulars; and not to be larger than is really required.—As to the navy—I would not have it disproportioned to our wants or strength; but sufficient for the defence of our coast at the commencement of a war, with a provision of means for an immediate enlargement when required. It should not be a monster living on the bosom of the waters, and devouring all the productions of the land; but large enough to maintain its high character on the most sudden emergency. As to *taxes;* they should neither grind the poor, nor be unjust to the rich; they should be fair and necessary; and above all be equally assessed upon those bound to contribute to the wants of the state—So much every government has a right to exact from its citizens; and so much every good citizen will cheerfully afford to his government. But the first principle in relation to the money concerns of a people, is a regular and inexorable *accountability* for its expenditures. Without this, no taxes will be sufficient to supply the demands of any administration. I will conclude by explaining the course I shall take on the subject directly before the committee—I will vote against the motion of the honorable member from Kentucky (Mr. Hardin) because it expunges a land tax altogether from the system of revenue—I shall also vote against the resolution of the committee of finance, as amended on the motion of the honorable speaker, because it introduces inequality and uncertainty in the system, which ought to be, and professes to be *permanent*; but I am perfectly willing to maintain the resolution as reported by the committee.

ELEGANT LITERATURE.

ARABIAN LITERATURE;

From the French of SISMONDI.

Translated by JOHN S. SMITH, Esq. *of Baltimore*

THE whole West was plunged in barbarism; population and wealth had disappeared; the inhabitants dispersed in small numbers, over immense regions, struggled with difficulty against ever-recurring misfortunes;—invasions of barbarians,—intestine wars,—feudal tyranny; scarcely could an existence constantly menaced by famine and the sword, be preserved; and in this invariable state of violence and fear, there remained no leisure for the indulgence of intellectual enjoyments. Eloquence, having no object, was impossible; poetry unknown; philosophy interdicted as a revolt against religion;—even language was destroyed,—whilst barbarous and provincial dialects usurped the place of that polished Latin tongue, which had for a long period bound together the Western nations, and which had hoarded for them so many treasures of thought and of taste. But, at this very epoch, an infant state, which by its conquests and fanaticism had contributed more than any other to check the culture of sciences and letters, now secure in its dominion, became in its turn, the protectress of literature.

The Arab, master of a great part of the East,—of the abode of the ancient Magi and Chaldeans, whence the first lights of knowledge had been diffused over the earth,—of fertile Egypt, for years the repository of human science,—of smiling Asia minor, where poetry, taste, and the fine arts, first developed themselves,—of burning Africa, land of impetuous eloquence, and subtle genius; the Arab seemed to unite the advantages of all the countries he had vanquished. He had obtained by arms the fullest success which the most rapacious ambition could covet. The extremities of the East, with those of Africa, had submitted to the empire of the Caliphs:—immense riches were the fruits of their conquests, and these Arabs, formerly rude and savage, but become lords of the finest regions of the universe, regions where softness ever held the greatest sway, now wantoned in boundless voluptuousness. To every enjoyment which human industry, excited by immense wealth, could procure,—to all those which could flatter the senses and intoxicate existence, the Arabs wished to add the pleasures of the mind, the flower of all the arts, of all the sciences, of all human knowledge,—the luxury of thought and of imagination. In this new career, their conquests were not less rapid than they had been in that of arms; nor was the empire which they founded in it less extensive; it arose, too, with the same surprising celerity, to the same gigantic magnitude, and both seated on foundations equally frail, were of equally short duration.

The period of Mahomet's flight from Mecca to Medina, which is

called the Hegira, answers to the year 622 of our era; the pretended conflagration of the Alexandrian library by Amrou, general of the Caliph Omar, corresponds with the year 641, the period of the most profound barbarism of the Saracens, and this event, doubtful as it is, has left the most painful memorial of their contempt for learning. Scarcely had one century elapsed from the time at which this savage transaction is supposed to have taken place, when a passionate love of the arts, sciences, and poetry, ascended, in 750, the throne of the Caliphs, with the family of the Abbassides. In Grecian literature, the age of Pericles, had been prepared by near eight centuries of progressive culture—from the Trojan war (1209 to 431 B. C.) In the Latin, the age of Augustus was, in like manner, the eighth from the foundation of Rome. In that of France, the age of Louis IV. is the twelfth from Clovis: but in the rapid progress of the Arabs, the age of Al-Mamoun, the father of letters, and the Augustus of Bagdad, is only one hundred and fifty years from the origin of the monarchy.

All the literature of the Arabs bears the marks of this rapid advancement; and that of modern Europe formed in the Arabian school, and enriched by them, gives us at this day frequent occasion to note ancient remains of a too hasty developement, and of that inebriation of intellect which had led astray the fancy and taste of the people of the East.

It is my intention to give a slight sketch of Arabian literature, for the purpose of making known both its spirit and the influence which it has exerted over the people of Europe; and in order to show the manner in which the oriental style, borrowed as it is from that literature by the Spaniards and Provençals, had pervaded all the Southern idioms. If we could plunge deeper in Arabian literature, if we could unfold to the eyes of our readers those brilliant fictions which made of Asia a fairy land, if we could make them taste the charms of that inspired poetry, which, in expressing the most impetuous passions, employed the boldest and most ingenious figures, and communicated to the soul, sensations, of which our more timid poets are ignorant, we should, without doubt, find ample recompense for the faults we might remark in a taste so different and so novel. But we cannot flatter ourselves with the hope of being able to impart to the soul of another, the impression of the beauties of a foreign language, except in so far as we feel them ourselves. To make others feel we must ourselves feel, and to inspire confidence we must judge by our own sentiments.

Ali, the fourth Caliph after Mahomet, was the first in the Arabian empire who extended any protection to the belles-lettres; his rival and successor Moaviah, the first of the Ommiades, (661—680) was still more indulgent to them; he invited to his court the men who were most distinguished for science; he assembled around him poets; and, as he had already subjected to his empire several Grecian islands and provinces, the sciences of the Greeks began, under him, to exert their first influence over the Arabians.

After the extinction of the dynasty of the Ommiades, that of the Abbassides was still more favourable to literature. Al-Manzor or Manzour, the second of those princes, (754—775) called near his person a Greek physician,

named George Backtischwah, who was the first that gave to the Arabians translations of the learned Greek works on medicine. Backtischwah, or Bocht Jesu, was descended from those christians, who, persecuted in the Greek empire for their attachment to the Nestorian dogmas, had gone in search of peace and security among the Persians, and who founded there, in the province of Gondisapor, a school of medicine, already famous in the seventh century. Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, (429—431) who made, according to the orthodox creed, too marked a difference between two persons, as well as two natures in Christ, manifested a persecuting zeal, of which he was soon in his turn, the victim: thousands of Nestorians, his disciples, perished at the stake and by the sword, after the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. These, in their turn, massacred, towards the year 500, in Persia, between seven and eight thousand of their orthodox or monophysite adversaries; but, after this first retaliation, they devoted themselves to the sciences with more ardour, and at the same time with more charity, than the other christian churches: they preserved, in the Syriac language, the literature of Greece, at a period when superstition was crushing it in the Eastern empire. From their school of Gondisapor, issued a crowd of Jewish and Nestorian savans, who, obtaining repute for their skill in medicine, transported to the Orientals all the rich inheritance of Grecian knowledge.

The renowned Haroun-al-Raschild, who reigned from 786 to 809, gloried in the protection he accorded to letters; and, we are assured by the historian Elmacin, that he never undertook a journey without having at least, one hundred literati in his train. The Arabian nation is indebted to him for the rapid progress which it made in science and literature, for, he made it a rule, never to build a mosque without attaching to it a school. His successor imitated him, and in a short time, the sciences cultivated in the capital, were diffused to the extremities of the empire of the Caliphs. Whenever the faithful assembled to worship God, they found occasion, in his temple, to render the most noble homage which is permitted to mortals, that of cultivating those faculties which the Creator has bestowed on them. Haroun-al-Raschild was likewise sufficiently exalted above the fanaticism which had previously animated his sect, not to contemn the knowledge acquired by the followers of another creed. The principal of his schools and the chief director of studies in his empire was a Nestorian christian of Damascus, named John Ebn Messua.

But the real protector,—the father of Arabian literature, was Al-Mamoun (Mohammed-Aben-Amer,) the seventh Abbassid Caliph, and the son of Haroun-al-Raschild. Even in the life-time of his father, and during the journey to Khorasan, he took with him as companions, the most celebrated of the learned men of the Greeks, Persians, and Chaldeans. When sovereign, (813—833,) he made Bagdad the centre of all literature; studies, books, savans, were almost the only objects of his attention. The learned became his favourites,—his ministers were solely occupied with the advancement of literature; and, it might have been said, that the throne of

the Caliphs had been erected for the Muses. He invited to his court, from every part of the world, all the learned men, of whose existence he could obtain any information;—he retained them by recompenses, honours, and distinctions of every kind;—he collected from the subject provinces of Syria, Armenia, and Egypt, all the valuable books which could be discovered; they formed the most precious tribute which the sovereign required; and the governors of provinces with all the officers of administration, were charged above all things, to collect the literary riches of the vanquished countries, and bear them to the foot of the throne. Hundreds of camels were seen entering Bagdad, loaded only with papers and books; and all those which were deemed proper to aid public instruction were immediately translated into Arabic, for the purpose of bringing them within the reach of every one.

Masters, censors, translators, commentators of books, formed the court of Al-Mamoun. It had more the appearance of a learned academy, than the centre of government of a warlike empire. When this Caliph, as a conqueror, dictated peace to the Greek emperor Michael the stammerer, he demanded of him in tribute, a collection of Greek books. The sciences were especially favoured by the Caliph; speculative philosophy was permitted to exercise itself on the highest questions, in spite of the jealous distrust of some fanatic mussulmen, who accused Al-Mamoun of thus endangering Mahometanism. During his reign, medicine counted among its followers several of his most illustrious doctors; civil law had been taught him by the celebrated Kossa, and as this was, in the estimation of mussulmen, the most religious of all the sciences, it was that to which his subjects devoted themselves with the greatest ardour, whilst Al-Mamoun gave himself up to his taste for mathematics, which he studied with brilliant success. He undertook the grand operation of measuring the earth, and he had it accomplished at his own expense, by his own mathematicians. The elements of astronomy of Alfragan, (Fragani) and the astronomical tables of Al-Merwasi, were the work of two of his courtiers. This same Al-Mamoun, not less generous than he was enlightened, cried out, when pardoning one of his relations who had revolted against him, in order to usurp the throne,—" Ah! if they knew what " pleasure I take in pardoning, all " those who have offended me " would hasten to confess to me " their faults."

The progress of the nation in sciences was proportioned to the zeal of its chief. On all sides, and in every city, schools, colleges, and academies were established,—learned men issued from every quarter: Bagdad was alike the capital of letters and of the Caliphs; but Bassora and Cufa were nearly equal to this city in celebrity, and produced as many eminent works in prose, and as many distinguished poems. Balckh, Ispahan, and Samarcand, were, in like manner, foci of the sciences. The same zeal was conveyed by the Arabians far beyond the frontiers of Asia. The Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, relates in his Itinerary, that he found at Alexandria more than twenty schools for the instruction of philosophy. Cairo, also contained a great number of colleges, and that of Betzuaila, one of the suburbs of this capital,

was built with so much strength, that in a rebellion it served as a citadel to an army. In the cities of Fez and Morocco also, the most magnificent buildings were appropriated to study; they were sustained by the wisest and most munificent institutions. The rich libraries of Fez and Larache have saved for Europe a great number of precious books, which had entirely disappeared in all other places.

But Spain, above all, was the seat of Arabian sciences; it was there that they shone forth with the brightest lustre, and advanced with the greatest rapidity. Cordova, Grenada, Seville, all the cities of the peninsula, rivalled each other, in the magnificence of their schools, their colleges, academies, and libraries. The academy of Grenada had for its prefect, Schamseddin of Murcia, so celebrated by the Arabians. Metuahel-al-Allah, who reigned in Grenada during the twelfth century, possessed a magnificent library; and there is still preserved in the Escurial, a great number of manuscripts, transcribed for his use. Alhaken, founder of the academy of Cordova, presented six hundred volumes to the library of that city. In the different towns of Spain, seventy libraries were open for the use of the public, precisely at the epoch when all the rest of Europe, without books, science, or education, was buried in the most disgraceful ignorance. The number of Arabian authors whom Spain produced, was so great, that several Arabian bibliographers wrote learned treatises on those who were born in a single town, as Seville, Valencia, and Cordova, or on those among the Spaniards, who had devoted themselves to a single study, as philosophy, medicine, mathematics, and above all, poetry. Thus, throughout the vast extent of Arabian dominion in the three sections of the world, the march of learning had followed that of arms, and literature retained its full lustre during five or six centuries, from the ninth to the fourteenth or fifteenth of our era.

One of the first cares of the Arabians, on the revival of letters, should have been to perfect the instrument itself of reflection and imagination; and, in fact, the culture of language did occupy the time of numbers of their learned men. They were divided into two rival schools, that of Cufa, and that of Bassora, whence issued numerous distinguished men, who have analyzed with the greatest ingenuity, all the rules of the Arabian language.

The study of rhetoric was united to that of grammar; and, to say the truth, the precepts, as it happens in all literature, followed the examples. The Koran had not been written according to the rules of rhetoricians; a disorder of ideas, caused by an unbridled imagination,—obscurity, contradiction, consequences of the agitated life, and the various plans of its author, destroyed the unity, and even the interest of this book. Moreover, its chapters were arranged after the completion of the work, and then, not according to their date or connexion, but to their length, commencing with the longest and terminating with the shortest: and a work, the ideas of which might be even less gigantic, less extravagant, would still be often unintelligible, from so fantastical an arrangement. However, no other production of the Arabian language contains passages written in more sublime

poetry, or with a more seductive eloquence. In the same manner, the first discourses which were addressed to the people and to the armies, for the purpose of infusing into them the new faith, and of rousing their spirit to battle, possessed, without doubt, more genuine eloquence, than all those which were subsequently composed in the schools of the most famous Arabian rhetoricians.—These latter, however, hastened to translate the most celebrated of the Greek works on rhetoric, to adapt them to their own language, the genius of which was so different, and thus to form a new art for the illustration of several Arabian Quinctilians.

After the time of Mahomet and his first successors, popular eloquence could no longer be cultivated by the Arabians. Oriental despotism having superseded the freedom of the desert, the chiefs of the state and army deemed it beneath them to harangue either the people or the soldiery; they no longer expected any thing from their deliberations or their zeal, and appealed only to their obedience. But, if political eloquence was of no long duration among the Arabians, they were, in return, the inventors of the oratory which we cultivate the most, at this day. They exercised themselves alternately in academic and pulpit eloquence; their philosophers, so enthusiastic in admiring the beauties of their language, seized with avidity, the opportunity of displaying, in their learned assemblies, all its copiousness and harmony. It was in this career, that Malek was esteemed the most captivating of their orators,—that Schoraiph was acknowledged to be more skilful than any other in uniting the brilliancy of poesy, to the vigour of prose;—that Al-Harisi, in fine, was placed by them, on a level with Demosthenes and Cicero. On the other side, Mahomet had ordained that his faith should be preached in all the mosques; the appellation of orator, *Khateb*, was pointedly given, by custom, to the sacred speakers, and that of oration, *Khotbah*, to their sermons. A great number of these discourses have been preserved in the library of the Escurial, and it may there be seen, how much their proceedings resemble those of christian divines. The preacher commences with thanksgiving, with the profession of faith, and prayers, as well for the king, as for the happiness of the kingdom; he then gives out his text, and opens his subject; he rests his exhortation on the authority of the Koran and the doctors, and endeavours to rouse his hearers in favour of virtue, and in opposition to vice.

Poetry, much more than eloquence, was the favourite occupation of the Arabians from their first appearance. It is asserted, that this nation alone, has produced more poets than all others together. Arabian poetry began, even before the use of writing had become universal; and, from the earliest times, contests of bards, and academic games, were celebrated every year in the city of Ocadh. Mahomet prohibited them, as relics of idolatry. Seven of the most renowned among the ancient poets, are designated, by oriental writers, under the name of the Arabic Pleiades; and their works are suspended around the Caaba or temple of Mecca. Mahomet himself, cultivated poetry, as did Ali, Amrou, and some others of the most celebrated among his first companions; but after him,

the Arabian Muses seem to have been silent until the reign of the Abbassides.

It was under Haroun-al-Raschild, and his successor Al-Mamoun, but still more under the Ommiades of Spain, that Arabian poetry attained its zenith. Then appeared that numerous band of poets, of chivalric lovers, and of princesses, daughters of kings, whom the Orientals compare to Anacreon, Pindar, and Sappho. Their names, which I vainly attempted to engrave on my memory, when unacquainted with their works, would, probably in the same way, escape the memory of the greater part of my readers. The highest celebrity in this language, as remote from us, as its characters and orthography are different from ours, is so fugitive, that I can no longer find in Herbelot those authors whom Andrès places in the first rank, such as a certain Al-Monotabbi of Cufa, whom he styles the prince of poets. I shall not then attempt to class them according to their merit, since I am not sufficiently master of this study to make it my own; I will rather prefer offering here a fragment, translated from other versions both of the Arabic and Persian, and will accompany it with general reflections on Asiatic poetry.

The first of the seven poems hung up in the temple of Mecca, was an idyl, or *casside* of Amralkeisi. The composition and plan of this ancient monument of Arabian poetry, will give some idea of what has since been done.—The hero conducts two of his friends to the spot which his harem had occupied, now a desert—and there bewails the departure of his mistresses. Seeing the print of their footsteps, he sighs, groans, is in despair, and rejects every consolation which his friends offer him. "You have," say they, "experi-"enced, at other times, misfor-"tunes of greater magnitude." —"Without doubt," he replies, "but then, the perfume which my "mistresses diffused, still charm-"ed my heart and intoxicated my "senses; then, my eyes filled "with tears, but they were tears "of desire,—they inundated my "cheeks and my bosom, even my "baldric was bedewed by them." —"At least," resume his friends, "let the remembrance of past "happiness calm your present "grief; think with how many de-"lights they have strewed your "life." The hero, comforted by this memento, recalls, in effect, the blissful days he has enjoyed,—the charms of his conversations with Oneiza, with Fatima, the most beautiful among the beautiful; he plumes himself on having loved a virgin whom none equalled in beauty.—"Her neck," says he, "was that of the antelope, "when she stretches it to descry "some distant object; like hers, "was it adorned with the elegant "collar; her tresses floating on "her shoulders, were of the "black of ebony, and not less "abundant than the waving "branches of the palm; her fi-"gure, not less delicate or flexile "than a cord; and her coun-"tenance illuminated the dark-"ness of night, like the lamp of "the solitary sage at his midnight "vigils; her attire, called to mind "the azure of the heavens, and its "embroidery of precious stones, "resembled the Pleiades appear-"ing above the horizon." He next draws the picture of a chace, then of a banquet, and terminates

his poem, with an admirable description of the shower which refreshes the scorching deserts.*

After this fragment, which is but insignificant, if we consider it as a specimen of a literature as vast as that of all Europe, we shall only add, from sir W. Jones, that the Orientals, and particularly the Arabians, possessed heroic stanzas, destined to commemorate their great men, and to animate their troops; but they had no epic poem, although sir W. Jones gives this title to the history of Timour, or Tamerlane, written in measured prose, by Ebn-Arabschah. He seems, with more reason, to have classed among the epic poems, the work of the Persian Ferduzi, entitled Schah-Namah. It is a poem of sixty thousand distichs, on all the heroes and kings of Persia; of which, the first half, the only part that can be deemed an epopee, describes the ancient war between Afrasiab, king of Transoxian Tartary, and Caikhosru, whom we know under the name of Cyrus. The hero of this poem is Rustem, the Hercules of Persia.

With the exception of this single work, Oriental poetry is entirely lyric or didactic. The Arabians have written innumerable poems on love,—elegies on the death of their heroes or their beauties,—moral poems, amongst which fables may be classed;—eulogiums, satires, descriptions, and particularly, didactic poems on all the sciences, even on the driest of them, as on grammar, rhetoric, or arithmetic: But, amongst so many Arabian poems, the catalogue alone of which, forms, in the Escurial, a collection of twenty-four volumes, there is not one epic poem, not one comedy, and not one tragedy.

In these different poems, the Orientals have displayed great refinement and ingenuity of thought; their diction is delicate and elegant; the sentiments are noble; and we may believe, on the assurance of Orientalists, that in the original tongue, there reigns a harmony in the versification, a propriety in the expressions, and a grace throughout the whole, which are necessarily lost to us. But why not also acknowledge, that the brilliancy of these lyrical compositions is owing to their bold metaphors, extravagant allegories, and excessive hyperboles? Why not concede, that the characteristic of Oriental taste, is, an abuse of imagination and of genius? The Arabians disdained the poetry of the Greeks, which appeared to them timid, cold, and formal. Amongst all the Grecian books which they treasured up with an almost superstitious worship, there is not one poem; none of those productions of classic genius, were deemed by them worthy of a translation; and, in fact, neither Homer, Sophocles, nor Pindar himself, could bear a comparison with their bards. The Arabians aimed at shining by the boldest and most gigantic images; their object is, always to astonish their readers by an unlooked for expression; they overwhelm with their profuseness, and think, that what is beautiful, can never be superfluous. By no means satisfied with one simile, they accumulate them, not for the elucidation of their idea, but that their colouring may be admired. Natural sentiments do not engage their attention; it is art which they are

* Sir William Jones. Poëseas Asiaticæ commentarii, page 84.

anxious to display; and the more that art is profuse of ornament, the more admirable do they esteem it. Hence also, the search after all the difficulties of composition, although they add nothing either to the development of the idea, or to the harmony of the verse.

The imitation of nature had disclosed to the people, whose poetry is classic, the dramatic, and epic species, in which, the poet endeavours to clothe his sentiments in the genuine language of the heart. The people of the East did not make this attempt; their poetry is entirely lyrical: but when poetry abandons altogether the language of nature, it ought to wear the appearance of inspiration; and, under whatever name it is known, or to whatever rule it is subjected, it should always seem the note of the passions.

But, if the Orientals have no dramatic or epic poetry, they are, in return, the inventors of the kind which resembles the epopee, and which serves them as a substitute for theatrical amusements. We are indebted to them for those tales of such brilliant tissue, and of such rich and varied fancy, which have been the delight of our infancy, and which we never open, even in a more advanced age, without feeling ourselves again seduced, captivated by them. Every one is acquainted with the *Thousand and One Nights;* but, if we are to believe their translator, that which we have in French, is but the thirty-sixth part of the great Arabian collection. This immense collection is not confined to books alone; it constitutes the wealth of a numerous class of men and women, who, in the whole extent of the dominion of Mahomet, in Turkey, Persia, and even to the extremity of the Indies, make it a trade to beguile with their fictions, a public which loves to drown in the soft dreams of the imagination, the oftentimes painful sensations of the present. In the midst of the coffee-houses of the Levant, a man collects a silent crowd; sometimes he excites terror or compassion;—more often, he presents to the view of his auditors those brilliant fantastic visions, the patrimony of Oriental imagination;—occasionally, even he awakens laughter, and the stern brow of the austere osmanlis is here alone unbent. This is the only theatre of all the Levant: story-tellers, supply there the place of our comedians. The public square even has its fablers; —female romancers amuse the long leisure of the seraglio,—physicians often direct their patients to employ them, for the purpose of soothing anguish, calming agitation, and recalling sleep, after long wakefulness; and they accustomed to the task, know how to modulate their voice, to graduate its tone, and to suspend it gently, to give place to sleep.

Arabian imagination, which shines forth in all its lustre in these tales, is easily distinguished from the chivalric; but it is by no means difficult to observe, in how many respects they resemble each other. The supernatural world is the same in both; the moral is different. Arabian tales, like the romances of chivalry, introduce us to the same fairy scenes; but the human personages whom they bring there, are not at all the same. These tales have sprung up since the time when the Arabians, yielding the sword to the Tartars, Turks, and Persians, were no longer active, but in the pursuits

of commerce, letters, and the arts. We recognize in them, a commercial people, as we recognize in the romances of chivalry, a warlike people. Riches, and the luxury of the arts, emulate in lustre, the splendid gifts of fairies; heroes are constantly traversing new countries, and the interests of commerce exercise as much their inquisitive alertness, as the desire of fame excites the courage of our ancient knights.

With the exception of females, we remark but four classes of persons in these tales, princes, merchants, monks or calenders, and slaves. Soldiers play scarcely any part in them; valour, and high military deeds, produce, as in the annals of the East, alarm, cause rapid desolation, but awaken no enthusiasm. There is then in the Arabian tales, something less noble, less heroic, than *we* are accustomed to desire.

But, on another hand, it is their story-tellers whom we ought to consider as our masters in the art of raising, of keeping alive interest, and of varying it without cessation,—in the art of creating that brilliant mythology of genii and fairies, which enlarges the world, multiplies riches and human strength, and makes us live in the midst of the marvellous, and the unexpected, without benumbing us with terror. It is from them that we derive that delirium of love, that tenderness, that delicacy of sentiment, that religious adoration of women, by turns slaves and goddesses, which have had so great an influence on our chivalry, and which we shall again encounter, with features truly Oriental, in the literature of the whole south. The narratives themselves had entered into our poetry a long time before the translation of the *Thousand and One Nights*. We find several of them in our old *fabliaux*, in Boccaccio, and in Ariosto; and these very tales, which have delighted our infancy, passing from language to language, and from nation to nation, through channels often unknown, are now found attached to all the recollections, and all the enjoyments of imagination, of the inhabitants of half the globe.

But the influence which the Arabians have exercised over literature in Europe, has not been limited to the mere admiration which their poetry could excite. The rapid strides they had made in the sciences, gave them universal authority in the whole empire of mind; and they whom the European learned were accustomed to regard as their masters in mathematical knowledge, the study of nature, and the attainments of history or geography, appeared to them equally infallible oracles in matters of taste. As regards then, European literature alone, it is important to know, what was the state of the sciences amongst the Arabians, at the moment when our ancestors made the first steps towards emerging from barbarism.

All the branches of history were cultivated with a lively interest by the Arabians. Several of them, among whom is Aboul Feda, prince of Hamah, wrote universal histories from the commencement of the world, to their own times. Each state, each province, each city, had its own chroniclers, and particular historians. Several, in imitation of Plutarch, have written the lives of the great men who were distinguished for their virtues, their high deeds, or their talents. There was, indeed, among the Arabians, such a pas-

sion for attempting every thing, and of leaving no subject untouched, that Ben Zaid, of Cordova, and Aboul Monder, of Valencia, have seriously written the history of celebrated horses, as did Alasueco, that of the camels that had become illustrious. Historical dictionaries were invented by the Arabians; and Abdel Malek gave to the nations who spoke his language, what Moreri has given to modern Europeans. They had also geographical dictionaries of the utmost exactness, with critical and bibliographical dictionaries; all those inventions, in fine, which facilitate labour, which spare investigation, and which afford a relief to indolence, were in use among them. Numismatics was cultivated by them, and Al-Namori wrote the history of the coins of Arabia. Each art, and each science, had its history. The Arabians are richer in this respect, than any other people, ancient or modern. Al-Assakan wrote commentaries on the first inventors of the arts; Al-Gazel, in his erudition of *Arabian antiquities*, treated with profound knowledge, of the studies and pursuits of his compatriots: medicine and philosophy had a greater number of historians than all the other sciences; all were congregated in the historical dictionary of Mohammad-Aba-Abdallah, of Grenada.

Philosophy was cultivated with passion by the Arabians, and constituted the glory of many ingenious and subtle men, whose names are still revered in Europe, as Averrhoes of Cordova, the great commentator of Aristotle, (deceased in 1198;) Avicenna, from the neighbourhood of Chyraz, a no less profound philosopher, than celebrated physician, (deceased in 950;) Al-Gazeli of Thous, who joined religion to philosophy, (deceased in 1111;) Al-Farabi, of Farab (deceased in 950,) who spoke seventy languages, who wrote upon all sciences, and who united them all in an Encyclopedia. The Arabian savans did not confine their studies to the closet; they undertook, for the advancement of science, the most toilsome and perilous journies,—they belonged to the councils of princes, and were often overwhelmed by the violent, and almost always cruel revolutions of the East. Thus is their private history more varied, more studded with events, and more romantic, than those of the philosophers and savans of other nations.

Of all the Arabian sciences, it was philosophy which overspread the West with the greatest rapidity, and which had the greatest influence on the schools of Europe; and it was philosophy also, of which the progress had the least of reality in it. The Arabians more ingenious than profound, attached themselves to subtleties, and not to the concatenation of ideas; their object was, rather to shine than to instruct; obscurity gave them in the eyes of the vulgar, an air of profundity; they sought for mysteries in their own imagination; they wrapped science in clouds, instead of penetrating into the centre of the nature of things, where obscurity is indeed met with, owing to human weakness and the magnitude of the subject, but where it does not exist of itself. More enthusiastic than adventurous, they prefer considering man as the oracle of all human knowledge, to searching for it in nature, and render almost divine worship to Aristotle. In their estimation, all philosophy could be found in his writings, and all the

science of metaphysics expounded by the scholastic method.

An exact version, an ingenious illustration of the works of the Stagirite, appeared to them, the sublimest limit which the genius of philosophers could reach. To this end, they read, explained, and compared all the commentaries of the first disciples of Aristotle; but what is most wonderful, is, that men, possessing so much ingenuity, so much eruditlon, so many resources, and after the application so many years, should never have been able either to comprehend, or solve with clearness, the very books which were the objects of all their labours. All went astray, and often grossly. Averrhoes, in his translations and commentaries, has frequently no connexion with the text. The mania of wishing to discover mysteries in the simplest things, or hidden revelations in the clearest phrases, would have rendered the Arabian school of Aristotle totally unintelligible to the great philosopher himself, could he have re-appeared amongst them.

They cultivated the natural sciences, not with more ardour, but with a more just view of the course which must be pursued to master them. Abou-Ryhan-al-Byrouny, who died in 941, A. D. travelled forty years for the purpose of studying lithology, and his treatise on the nature of precious stones, is a rich collection of facts and observations. Ibn, or Abn-al-Beïthar of Malaga, who devoted himself with equal zeal to botany, explored in the first place, the mountains and plains of Europe, to obtain a knowledge of their vegetables; he then traversed with unconquerable courage, the sands and burning deserts of Africa, to collect and describe all the plants which could support the scorching heat of the sun; he at last visited the most remote countries of Asia. In the three quarters of the world at that time known, he observed with his own eyes, and touched with his own hands, every thing strange or rare, which nature presents in her three kingdoms: animals, vegetables, fossils, all underwent his examination; he then returned rich in the spoils of the East and South, and published in succession, three books, one on the virtues of plants, another on those of stones and metals, and the third on animals, which contained more true science than any other naturalist had yet developed. He died in 1248, A. D. at Damascus, where, after his return, he was made intendant of the gardens of the prince.

There are others of the Arabians, as Al-Rasi, Ali-Ben-al-Abbas, and Avicenna, who have merited the gratitude of ages to come. Chemistry, of which the Arabians were, in some degree, the inventors, gave them a much more profound knowledge of nature, than had the Greeks or Romans, and it received from them the most extensive and useful application to the arts necessary to life. Above all, agriculture was studied with that perfect knowledge of climate, of soil, and of the growth of plants and animals, which can alone reduce long practice to science. No civilized nation, therefore, of Europe, Asia, or Africa, ancient or modern, has possessed a more wise, just, or perfect code of rural laws, than that of the Arabians of Spain; and, no country was ever elevated, by its sage institutions, by the intelligence, activity, and industry of its inhabitants, to a higher degree of agricultural prosperity, than

Moorish Spain, and particularly, the kingdom of Grenada.

The cultivation of the arts was not impaired by the progress of natural science.—On the contrary, it tended to enrich them. A great number of those inventions which now render life easy, those too, without which, literature could never have flourished, are due to the Arabians. Thus, paper, so necessary at this day to the improvement of the mind, paper, the privation of which, plunged Europe, from the seventh to the tenth century, into such an abyss of ignorance and barbarism, is an Arabian invention. In the earliest antiquity, it was, it is true, made in China, from the threads of silk; but, about the year 30, of the Hegira, (A. D. 649,) this art was brought to Samarcande, and when that flourishing city was conquered by the Saracens, in the year 85, of the Hegira, an Arabian, named Joseph Amrou, carried the process by which paper is made, to Mecca, his native place; he made use of cotton, and the first paper, resembling very nearly that which we now use, was fabricated there, in the year 88, of the Hegira, (A. D. 706.) Hence this art spread itself rapidly enough throughout all the States of the Arabians, and particularly in Spain, where the city of Sativa, in the kingdom of Valencia, now San Philippo, was renowned during the twelfth century, for its excellent paper-mills. It appears, that, at this period, the Spaniards had, in the manufacture of paper, substituted flax, which grows abundantly in Spain, for cotton, which is more rare and dearer. It was only about the end of the thirteenth century, that, by the care of Alphonso X. king of Castile, paper-mills were established in the Christian States of Spain, whence they passed, in the fourteenth century, to Treviso and Padua.

Gunpowder, the invention of which has been attributed to a German chemist, was known to the Arabians, at least, one century before we find any mention of it in the European historians. We see it frequently employed in the wars of the Moors of Spain, in the thirteenth century, and some monuments would seem to indicate that it was known in the eleventh. The mariners' compass, the invention of which has been ascribed alternately to the French and Italians in the thirteenth century, was already known to the Arabians in the eleventh. The geographer of Nubia, who wrote in the twelfth, speaks of it as a thing universally used. The numbers, which we call Arabian, but, which ought, perhaps, with more justice, to be called Indian, have, at least, been incontestably, communicated to us by the Arabians. Without these, none of the sciences of calculation could have been pushed to the height they have attained in our days, and to which, the great mathematicians and astronomers of Arabia, had very nearly approached.

The number of Arabian inventions which we enjoy, without knowing it, is immense. They were introduced into Europe, from several quarters at once, slowly, and without causing sensation, because, he who imported them, did not appropriate to himself the glory of being their inventor, and met, in every country, people who, like himself, had seen them practised in the East. It is the peculiar characteristic of all the pretended discoveries of the middle age, to be noticed as in univer-

sal practice, whenever history makes the first mention of them. Neither gunpowder, the compass, figures, or paper, are mentioned any where as discoveries, and yet, they were destined to change the nature of war, of navigation, of the sciences, and of education. What doubt can there then be, that the inventor, if he existed, would have boasted of an invention so important? and, if he has not done so, ought we not to conclude, that all these improvements have been slowy introduced, from a country where they were already universally known, by obscure people, and not by men of genius?

Such was the lustre with which literature and the sciences beamed forth, from the ninth to the fourteenth century of our era, in the vast countries which were subjected to Islamism. The most melancholy reflections are associated with this long enumeration of names unknown to us, and which were, nevertheless, illustrious;—of works, dormant in manuscript, in some dusty libraries, and which yet, for a time, had a powerful influence on the culture of the human mind. What remains then of so much glory? Five or six persons only, have it in their power to visit the treasures of Arabian manuscripts enclosed in the library of the Escurial; and some few hundreds more, scattered over all Europe, have qualified themselves by persevering industry, to explore the mines of the East:—even these persons, can only obtain, with the utmost difficulty, some rare and obscure manuscripts, and cannot ascend high enough, to form a judgment on the whole of a literature, of which they never attain but a part.

Meanwhile, the vast regions where Mahometanism reigned, and still reigns, are now dead to all the sciences. The rich plains of Fez and Morocco, illustrious five centuries ago, by so many academies, so many universities, and so many libraries, are now nothing but deserts of burning sand, for which tyrants contend with tigers. All the gay and fertile shores of Mauritania, where commerce, the arts, and agriculture, had flourished in the highest prosperity, are now the retreats of pirates, who spread terror over the seas, and who relax from their toils in vile debaucheries, till the plague, which returns annually, comes to mark out its victims, and avenge outraged humanity. Egypt, is nearly lost in the sands which it once fertilized; Syria, Palestine, are desolated by wandering Bedouins, less formidable however, than the Pasha who oppresses them. Bagdad, formerly the abode of luxury, of power, and of knowledge, is ruined; the once celebrated universities of Cufa and Bassora, are shut; those of Samarcande, and of Balch, are also destroyed. In this immense extent of country, two or three times larger than our Europe, nothing is found but ignorance, slavery, terror, and death. Few of the inhabitants are able to read any of the writings of their illustrious ancestors; few could comprehend them; none can procure them. The immense literary riches of the Arabians, of which we have only taken a glimpse, no longer exist in the countries which the Arabs and Mussulmen rule. It is no longer there that we must seek either the renown of their great men or their writings. What has been saved of these, is entirely in the hands of their enemies, in the convents of monks,

and in the libraries of the kings of Europe. And yet, these extensive countries have not been conquered; it is not the stranger who has despoiled them of their riches, wasted their population, destroyed their laws, their customs, and their national spirit. The poison was within them, it developed itself, and has annihilated all.

Who knows, if, some centuries hence, this same Europe, to which the reign of literature and sciences is now transported, which shines with so great lustre, which judges so well of times past, which compares so well the successive influence of ancient literature and morals, may not be deserted, and wild as the hills of Mauritania, the sands of Egypt, and the valleys of Anatolia? Who knows, whether in a country entirely new, perhaps, in the highlands whence flow the Oronoko and the Amazon; perhaps, in the now impenetrable inclosure of the mountains of New Holland, there may not be formed nations with other morals, other languages, other thoughts; nations, who shall again regenerate the human race; who shall, like ourselves, study the times past, and, who, seeing with astonishment that we have existed, and that we have known what they shall know, that we have believed like them, in durability and glory, shall compassionate our impotent efforts, and shall recal the names of the Newtons, the Racines, the Tassos, as examples of the vain struggles of man, to attain an immortality of renown which fate denies him.

FRAGMENTS ON ITALIAN LITERATURE.

From the French of Sismondi's Literature of the South.

Translated by John S. Smith, Esq. *of Baltimore.*

John Boccaccio, born in Paris in 1313, was the natural son of a merchant of Florence or rather of Certaldo, a small fortress of the Val d'Elsa in allegiance to Florence. His father destined him to commerce, but previously gave him a literary education. At the age of seven years Boccaccio showed his taste for literature, and began writing verses whilst he manifested an extreme repugnance to business—He was in like manner opposed to an apprenticeship to commerce and to the study of the canon law which his father wished him to undertake. However, to satisfy the latter he made several voyages, but returned having acquired more extensive knowledge and a strong passion for study, instead of the inclination for trade with which it was wished to inspire him. He at last obtained permission to devote himself wholly to a literary career; he established himself at Naples where king Robert extended a powerful protection to letters; he engaged in all the sciences which were then taught; he learnt also the first rudiments of the Greek which was then spoken in Calabria, but which the learned scarcely studied at all. He was present in 1341, at the glorious examination of Petrarch which preceded his coronation at Rome; and from that time he was connected with this great poet by a friendship which lasted to the end of their lives.

At the same epoch, Boccaccio, who was of a very elegant figure, of a lively and agreeable wit, and passionately devoted to pleasure, attached himself to a natural daughter of king Robert, called Maria, who had been for seven or eight years married to a Neapolitan nobleman and whom he has celebrated in his writings under the name of Fiammetta. In his love for her, we must not look for the purity or delicacy of that of Petrarch for Laura. The princess Maria had been brought up in the most corrupt court of Italy; she had imbibed its spirit, and it is to her depraved taste that we must attribute all that is most blameable in the *Decameron*, a work composed by her orders, and for her amusement. On his side, Boccaccio loved her more perhaps from vanity, than from true feeling; and, although she was as eminent in beauty, grace, and wit, as in rank, we do not observe that she exercised a great influence over his life. The conduct, no less than the writings of Boccaccio, show a heart not deeply touched, and an attachment not very profound. Boccaccio left Naples in 1342, to proceed to Florence; he returned to the former, in 1344, and went back again to the latter, for the last time, in 1350. He then fixed himself in his own country, where his reputation had already assigned him a distinguished rank. From this time, his life was spent between public employments, particularly the embassies with which he was charged, the duties of friendship towards Petrarch, for whom he had always the tenderest attachment, and the constant, indefatigable labours to which he devoted him-

self, for the advancement of literature; the search after manuscripts, the elucidation of antiquities, the introduction of the Greek language into Italy, and the composition of voluminous works. He took the ecclesiastical habit in 1361; and died at Certaldo, in the house of his ancestors, the 21st December, 1375, at the age of sixty-two.

The Decameron, the work to which, at this day, Boccaccio owes his highest celebrity, is a collection of a hundred novels, which he has arranged in an ingenious manner, by supposing, that during the terrible plague in 1348, a society of young, modest, and enlightened women, and intelligent men, had retired to a charming country residence, to avoid the plague, where they imposed on themselves an obligation to relate for ten days together, each one a tale a-day. The society consisted of ten persons; and the number of novels is, of course, a hundred. The description of the delicious country around Florence, where these joyous hermits established themselves, that of their walks, their banquets, their repasts, has given Boccaccio an opportunity of displaying all the opulence of a style, the most copious, flexible, and graceful. The novels, which are varied with infinite art, both as to subject and manner, from the most touching and tender, to the most playful and, unfortunately, also, to the most licentious, exhibit his talent for recounting in every form and tone: In fine, the description of the plague of Florence, which serves as the introduction, has been ranked with the finest historic paintings which any age has left us. The perfect truth of the description, the choice of those circumstances which make the deepest impression, and which, bringing into view the most horrible objects, without exciting disgust,—the emotion of the writer, which is always visible, but never obtruded on you, give this piece the character of genuine historical eloquence, like that, which in Thucydides, animates the picture of the plague of Athens. Boccaccio had this model before him, but he had still nearer, the events themselves, of which he had been a witness, and it is the faithful portraiture of what he had seen, and not the classic imitation, which has most advantageously displayed his powers.

As to the tales themselves, it would be difficult to make our readers acquainted with them by means of extracts, and still more difficult, in a translation, to render perceptible a merit which belongs especially to the language. That which constitutes the glory of Boccaccio, is, the perfect purity of diction, the elegance, the grace, and above all, the *naivete*, which is the highest merit of narration, and the peculiar charm of the Italian language. Unfortunately, Boccaccio did not adhere to the same purity in the ideas and images, which he employed in the language. The form of his work was light and sportive; it contained a number of love tales: it deals out unmerciful ridicule on duped husbands, on corrupt and corrupting monks, and on things which he himself considered nevertheless, as sacred, as for example, morality and religion, by which he has acquired a reputation in no way accordant with his own life. The Decameron however, published about the middle of the fourteenth century, (in 1352, or 1353,) when Boccaccio was, at least, thirty-nine years of age, cir-

culated freely throughout Italy, and, from the period of the invention of the art of printing, until the council of Trent, which proscribed it, in the middle of the sixteenth century. At the solicitation of the grand duke of Tuscany, and after two singular negotiations between this sovereign and the popes Pius V. and Sixtus V. the Decameron, corrected and revised, was printed in 1573, and 1582.

The fifteenth century, so poor in Italian literature, was still a highly literary age; it was in this more, perhaps, than in any other, that the ardour for study was the most general; when it was the most powerfully seconded by princes and people; when it procured for those who devoted themselves to it, the most celebrity;—and when the monuments of ancient languages, multiplied by the art of printing then discovered, had the strongest and most durable influence on the whole human race. All sovereigns, at this brilliant epoch, gloried in the protection which they accorded to literature, often in the classic educations which they had themselves received, and in their profound knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages. The popes, who, in preceding times, had directed all the power of superstition against learning, were, on the contrary, in the fifteenth century, the friends, the zealous patrons, and magnificent remunerators of men of letters. Two of them were, themselves, literati of high distinction. Thomas de Sarzane, afterwards Nicholas V. (1447, to 1455,) and Æneas Sylvius, since, Pius II. (1458, to 1464,) who, after gaining great names in the literary world for their immense erudition, were raised, in consequence of this very merit, to the chair of St. Peter. The dukes of Milan, the men whom political history represents as the perturbators and tyrants of Lombardy, Philip-Maria, the last of the Visconti, and Francis Sforza, the founder of a warlike monarchy, were, in their capitals, surrounded with the most distinguished savans, to whom they gave the most generous recompenses, and confidential employments. The discovery of a classic manuscript, was to them, as it was to their subjects, an occasion of rejoicing; and they were as deeply interested in questions of antiquity, and the quarrels of philologists, as they were in affairs of state.

Two less powerful sovereign families, the marquis of Gonzaga at Mantua, and the marquis of Este at Ferrara, endeavoured to supply the want of power, by the active zeal and constant protection which they allotted to literature; they sought after and invited the learned from one end of Italy to the other; they disputed the possession of them by the offer of the richest recompenses, and the most flattering distinctions; they entrusted them exclusively with the education of their children, and we might perhaps, seek in vain for men, in our most learned academies, who wrote Greek verse with as much purity and elegance, as several of the princes of Mantua and Ferrara.

At Florence, a rich merchant, Cosmo de Medici, who shook the constitution of the state, and whose children were soon to establish in their country, the power of an individual, in lieu of that of the people; in the midst of the vast projects of his ambition and policy, master of all the monetary credit of Europe, and the equal of

kings with whom he negotiated, gave, in his own house, an asylum to all the learned, and to every artist; converted his gardens into an academy, and produced a revolution in philosophy, by substituting the authority of Plato for that of Aristotle. At the same time, his counting houses, spread over the whole of Europe and the Mussulman States, were consecrated as well to letters as to commerce; his clerks collected manuscripts, and sold spices: the vessels which came to him, from Constantinople, Alexandria, Smyrna, and filled the ports of Italy, were loaded with rich harvests of Greek, Syriac, and Chaldean manuscripts. Cosmo de Medici opened public libraries at the same time at Venice and Florence. In the south of Italy, an Arragonese king, Alphonso V. rivalled the kings of the North, and the princes of Italian extraction, in his love of the sciences. His secretaries, his friends and counsellors, were men whose names will ever remain illustrious in the republic of letters, and his reign is intimately connected with the literary history of all Italy.

After the year 1470, the academies of literature and some poets of Rome, undertook, for the more complete revival of the ancients, to represent in the original some of the comedies of Plautus; this example was soon followed. The taste for the theatre was renewed with a vivacity proportioned to the view taken of it, as an essential part of classic antiquity; they had not yet thought of supporting it by the contributions of the spectators; and it was, as at Rome and in Greece, a part of the public, often of religious festivals. The sovereigns, who, at this epoch, made it their glory to protect literature and arts, struggled to eclipse each other, in erecting on solemn occasions, theatres, to be used but for one representation; men of letters, and the grandees of the court, contended for the characters of the piece to be played, which was sometimes translated from the Greek or Latin, and sometimes composed by a modern poet in imitation of the ancient masters. Italy was elated, when it could boast of two theatrical representations in the same year, one at Ferrara or Milan, the other at Rome or Naples. All the neighbouring princes eagerly repaired to these places with their courts. The magnificence of the representation, the enormous expense which it occasioned, and gratitude for a gratuitous pleasure, prevented the public from being severe in its criticisms. The chronicles of each city, in recording these representations, speak only of the universal applause which they excited.

The first merit of Tasso is, his having chosen the finest subject possible, to inflame the genius of a modern poet. There exists in history but one solitary example of a great struggle between the nations who were to carry the human species to the highest point of civilization, and those who were to reduce it to the most degrading servitude This example is furnished by the crusades. At the moment when the Latins embarked in them, the Arabs were still greatly superior in literature, in the arts, and even in virtue, to the crusaders who came to attack them; but they had passed the meridian of their glory; the vices of their religion and government, with the barbarism of the Turks, were rapidly propelling them to their present wretched condition.

The crusaders, however, in spite of their ferocity, ignorance, and superstition, had in them the germ of great things. The influence of thought and sentiment was soon to develope this disposition, which manifested itself first among the Latins in the eleventh century, and which has rendered Europe superior to the rest of the world.

If the crusaders had been conquerors in the bloody contest with the Orientals, Asia would have received our laws, morals, and habits,—she would have been at this moment, populous, flourishing, inhabited by a happy and free people. The arts, of which she is the proper soil, would have reached that high degree of perfection in which they were known to the Greeks, and in which they have been found in brilliant Seleucia, in happy Antioch. Millions of cultivators would have been still fertilizing the banks of the Jordan; and the lofty walls of Jerusalem would not have stood insulated, in the midst of the sands of the desert and of barren rocks. The fruitful plains of Syria, the delicious valleys of Libanus, would have been at once, the abode of peace and felicity, and the theatre of the most brilliant achievements. The proud and abject Turk, the ferocious Druse, or the savage Bedouin, would not have oppressed the wretched descendants of the most ancient people of the earth. But, if, on the contrary, the Mussulmen had succeeded in their projects of conquest, if the invasion of Europe, commenced at the same moment from the Levant, the East and the South, had been accomplished, the human mind would have been crushed by the hand of despotism;—none of the qualities which distinguish the European, would have been unfolded; he would have been cowardly, ignorant, and perfidious, like the Greek, the Syrian, and the Fellah of Egypt; and, his country, little favoured by nature, would have been hidden under gloomy forests, or inundated by marshy rivers, like the remote parts of Romania. The contest terminated without victory for either power; the Mussulmen and the Franks are still before us, to furnish examples to each other, and that the latter may know, after the lapse of seven centuries, the immense obligation they owe to the valour of their forefathers.

The birth of the opera, is, perhaps the only literary event of Italy, which has secured any glory to the seventeenth century. The lustre of the art of painting, and that of literature, expired together. Michael Angelo was the cotemporary of Ariosto; his pupils and successors flourished with Tasso; but genius ceased at the same moment to express itself in verse and by the pencil. The grand improvement of music was posterior to that of the other fine arts; and it seems, as if the natural hardihood of genius had retreated to this asylum, in which it was secure from danger; and, as if those who felt within them a creative power, had abandoned themselves to that harmony which gives elasticity to the soul, and in which they do not encounter the various obstacles thrown in the way of the other arts. The Italians were no less admirably organized for music, than for poetry and painting; an exquisite delicacy of sense made, and still makes them, distinguish without study or preparation, the beautiful and the chaste in the arts. The

most skilful composers submit with diffidence, the music of their new operas to the judgment of the lazzaroni of Naples; and the simultaneous movement of those pointed caps, with which the pit of St. Charles is filled, indicates, at the first trial, whether the new music will succeed or fail. A fine voice, united to a good manner of singing, is the only thing which now rouses the Italians from their apathy. I have seen their houses surrounded by the people of the streets, endeavouring to catch the notes of a concert of amateurs, in which a female of talents was singing. The progress of music happening at a time when poetry was on the decline, the former made use of the latter as mere ornament, it subdued it, made it submit to its convenience; and its advancement was in proportion, as well to the importance it had acquired, as to the aid which it received from the other arts.

The creation of the theatre of Alfieri, is a phenomenon that strikes us with astonishment. Until his time, the Italians were inferior in the dramatic art to all the nations of Europe. Alfieri has placed himself on a level with the French tragic writers, and above all others. He has united together the peculiar characteristics of the French, Grecian, and English theatres; from the first he has taken its studied beauty, its unity, its purity of design, and its probability,—from the second, its sublimity of incident and character,—from the last, its profoundness of thought and feeling. He has extricated tragedy from the saloons of the palace, to which it was too much confined by the habits of the court of Louis XIV. and has transported it to the public square, into the councils of state; he has attached to the most sublime of poetical productions, the most weighty public interests; he has destroyed those conventional forms, which substituted a ridiculous affectation, to the grandeur of nature,—the gallantry inherited from the ancient French romances, which exhibited the heroes of Greece and Rome in fantastical masquerade,—that melting softness—that pastoral languor, which, since the time of Guarini, produced the great men on the Italian stage with effeminate manners and sentiments,—he has also destroyed that chivalric boasting,—that rhodomontade, which in the Spanish theatre made life consist in the observance of punctilios of honour, and disguised great men in the strut of bravoes, ever ready to murder each other. Romantic gallantry, pastoral softness, and chivalric susceptibility, seemed to him, masks put on nature, under which true sentiment and passion were concealed from view. He tore them away, to produce man on the stage in his real greatness, and intent on his true interests. If, in this new mode of conceiving tragedy he has sometimes gone astray, if he has abandoned himself to a certain headlong violence peculiar to his character, he has still done quite enough to merit our admiration; and the poets, his successors, who have profited by all that was great in his manner, without falling into the errors peculiar to his genius, have shown us the progress which he alone caused the Italian stage to make, and the great obligations which the dramatic art owes him.

The publication of the four first tragedies of Alfieri was, perhaps, the greatest literary event that

occurred during the eighteenth century. Until then, the nation, content with its languishing love intrigues and effeminate dramas, considered the laws of the theatre as sufficiently elucidated, and its boundaries as fixed where her tragic writers had stopped short: the ennui which all these representations, still seen, but no longer listened to, caused, the Italians ascribed to the want of talent in the poet, rather than to the false idea which they had formed of tragedy. The appearance of four master-pieces of a character so novel, so grand, and so austere, immediately brought every mind back to the study of the essence itself of the art. Alfieri undertook the task of breaking the shameful yoke under which thought was humbled in Italy. All those, whose elevated souls were shocked at the humiliation of their country, felt themselves united to him by a noble sympathy, and the taste for higher tragedy was identified with the love of glory and of liberty. The theatre, which had so long been a school of amorous intrigue, of languor, of effeminacy, and abject sentiment, was now, on the contrary, considered by the most virtuous Italians, the only one where their compatriots could resume the warmth of feeling, the true sentiment of honour, and the culture of public virtues. Critics dared henceforth direct, with a noble pride, their attention to the theatres of other nations, whose superiority had so long humiliated them. Divided in opinion about the laws and the essence of the drama, all were seen to unite in applauding the elevation, the dignity, and the energy of the sentiments of Alfieri; and opinions, which had until then, been most carefully exiled from Italy, now burst forth like a public voice long stifled. Even in the more confined range of criticism, we might be astonished at the profoundness and variety of knowledge manifested at this epoch, by men, whose talents were hitherto unknown, and whose influence on the national mind would have been null, if a great genius had not opened the road to them. Thus, we find in a letter of Renier of Calsabigi to count Alfieri, a knowledge of the ancient, the French, and the English theatres, with their peculiar faults, which no one would have expected from a Neapolitan.

We have endeavoured, by means of extracts and fragments of translations, to make known the poets, who, during five centuries, have rendered the Italian language illustrious, or rather, to awaken curiosity with regard to them, and to engage our readers themselves to study them. Italy however, possesses still another class of poets, whose fugitive talent leaves no monument behind it; but which, in return, causes, perhaps, in the first moment, an enjoyment so much the more vivid. We should have given but a very imperfect idea of Italian poetry, if we did not say some few words on the composers of extempore verse, (Improvisatori). Their talent, their inspiration, the enthusiasm which they excite, are features characteristic of the nation. It is in them that we particularly see how completely poetry is the language of the soul and imagination; how ideas assume the form of harmony from their very birth; how the music of language, and the colouring of description, are so connected with feeling, that the poet has in verse a genius which he would not have in prose,

and that he who is scarcely worthy of being heard in conversation, becomes fruitful, captivating, often sublime, from the moment he abandons himself to this inspiration.

The talent of the *improvisatore* is a gift of nature, a gift which often has no connexion with the other faculties. When it manifests itself in a child, his friends endeavour to cultivate his mind by study, and make him acquainted with all that can be brought to the aid of poetry—mythology, history, science, and philosophy; but this gift of heaven, this second more harmonious language, which yields without effort, to technical form, cannot be altered, nor added to, and is left to unfold itself. Sounds produce corresponding sounds, the rhymes range themselves in their proper order, and the agitated soul is heard only in verse: Like the vibration of a sonorous chord when struck, it divides itself into harmonious parts, and emits accordant tones alone.

The extempore composer demands a subject or theme from the assembly which is to hear him; the topics of mythology, those of religion, history, and the events of the day, are, without doubt, offered to him more frequently than any others; but these four branches contain, after all, a few hundred different heads, which may be considered as worn out, and it must not be thought the conferring a favour on the poet, to give him a theme which he has already treated. He would not be an *improvisatore*, if he did not surrender himself to the impulse of the moment, and if he resorted to his memory rather than to his emotion. After having received his subject, the improvisator remains a few moments in meditation, for the purpose of viewing all its parts, and of arranging the plan of the little poem he is about to compose. He then prepares the eight first verses, in order to rouse himself in the recital, and to kindle that effervescence of soul which makes of him a new being. After seven or eight minutes, he is ready and commences his song, and the extempore composition often contains five or six hundred verses. His eyes wander, his visage is inflamed, and he struggles with the prophetic spirit which seems to animate him. Nothing in our day can represent in a more striking manner, the Pythia of Delphi, when the god descended and spoke by her mouth. There is an easy rhyme, the same which Metastasio employs in his *Partenza a Nice*, which is accommodated to an air known under the name of the *air of the Improvisatore;* it is that which they employ when not disposed to give themselves trouble, or when they have not the ability to rise higher. It is composed of couplets of eight verses of ten syllables, divided into two quartrains, and each quartrain terminated by a verse *tronco*, so that, in fact, there are but two rhymed verses in each quartrain. The music sustains the prosody, and conceals, if necessary, the defective verses; thus, this method of extempore composition is within the reach of persons of very little talent. But all the improvisatori do not sing; some indeed, of the most celebrated have no voice, and are obliged to declaim their verses with as much rapidity as if they read them: and, the most illustrious of them make it an amusement, to subject themselves to the laws of the closest versification. At the

option of him who proposes the theme, they confine themselves to the tiercet of Dante, or to the octaves of Tasso, or to any other form equally constrained; and this limitation of rhyme and verse seems to increase their eloquence, and the richness of their imagination. The celebrated Gianni, the most astonishing of the improvisatori, has written nothing, in the quiet of the cabinet, which can sustain his immense reputation; but, when he composes extemporally, stenographers catch his verses with facility;—they are afterwards printed, and we are astonished to find in them an elevation of poetry, an opulence of imagery, a force of eloquence, and sometimes, even a depth of thought, which place him on a level with men who have done most honour to Italy. The famous Corilla, who was crowned in the capitol, was particularly distinguished for her playful fancy, her grace, and often her gaiety. La Bandettini of Modena, educated by a Jesuit, learned from him the ancient languages. She made herself familiar with the classics, then studied the sciences, in order to qualify herself for treating any theme which might be proposed to her. She thus nourished her poetic talent with a vast fund of knowledge. La Fantastici, the wife of a rich goldsmith of Florence, was not conversant with such elevated subjects, but she had received from heaven a musical ear, an imagination worthy the name she bore, and a facility, a copiousness, which seconded her harmonious voice. Madam Mazzei, of the family of Landi, one of the best in Florence, surpasses, perhaps, all the rest in the fertility of her imagination, the richness and purity of her style, the mellifluousness and perfect regularity of her verse. She does not sing, and her ideas always hurrying on before her words, she cannot pay due attention to her declamation.—Her recitation is, of course, not graceful; but as soon as she commences, the most harmonious language acquires new beauties from her poetry,—we are ravished; borne along by the magic stream;—we feel ourselves transported to a new poetic universe, where mortals seem to use the language of the gods. I have seen her treat the most uncommon subjects;—characterize in magnificent octaves, the genius of Dante, of Machiavel, and of Galileo,—bewail in tiercets, the past glory of Florence, and the destruction of its liberties,—extemporize a fragment of tragedy on a subject which tragic poets had never handled, so that, by a few scenes, she would furnish a distinct plot, and a clear dénouement.—She would fill five different sonnets on as many opposite subjects, always in the same rhyme which had been prescribed to her. But she must herself be heard, to conceive the prodigious effect of this poetic eloquence, and to make us sensible, that a nation, in the midst of which this flame of inspiration still burns, has not yet accomplished its literary career, and that it is reserved perhaps, for still greater glory, than that which it has already acquired.

SHAKSPEARE.

From the German of W. Schlegel.

In conformity with the plan which we at first laid down, we shall now proceed to treat of the English and Spanish theatres.—We were compelled in passing to allude cursorily, on various occasions, sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other, partly for the sake of placing, by means of contrast, many ideas in a clearer light, and partly on account of the influence which these stages have had on the theatres of other countries. Both the English and Spaniards possess a very rich dramatic literature; both have had a number of fruitful dramatic poets of great talents, among whom even the least admired and celebrated, considered as a whole, display uncommon aptitude for dramatic animation and insight into the essence of theatrical effect. The history of their theatre has no connexion with that of the Italians and French; for it developed itself wholly from the fulness of its own strength without any foreign influence: the attempts to bring it back to an imitation of the ancients, or even of the French, have either been attended with no success, or not been made till a late period in the decay of the drama. The formation of these two stages is equally independent of each other; the Spanish poets were altogether unacquainted with the English; and in the older and most important period of the English theatre I could discover no trace of any knowledge of Spanish plays, (though their novels and romances were certainly known;) and it was not till the time of Charles II. that translations from Calderon made their appearance.

So many things among men have been handed down from century to century and from nation to nation, and the human mind has in general displayed such tardiness of invention, that originality in any department of mental exertion is every where a rare phenomenon. We are desirous of seeing the result of the efforts of enterprising heads when they proceed straight forward in invention, without concerning themselves with what has elsewhere been carried to a high degree of perfection; when they lay the foundation of the new edifice on uncovered ground, and derive all the preparations, all the building materials, from their own means. We participate, in some measure, in the joy of success, when we see them advance rapidly from their first helplessness and necessity to a finished mastery in their art. The history of the Grecian theatre would afford us this cheering prospect could we witness its rudest beginnings, which were not preserved, for they were not even committed to writing; but it is easy, when we compare together Æschylus and Sophocles to form some idea of the preceding period. The Greeks neither inherited nor borrowed their dramatic art from any other people; it was original and native, and for that very reason it could produce a living and powerful effect. But it ended with the period when Greeks imitated Greeks; namely, when the Alexandrian poets began learnedly and critically to compose

dramas after the model of the great tragic writers. The reverse of this was the case with the Romans: they received the form and substance of their dramas from the Greeks; they never attempted to act according to their own discretion, and to express their own way of thinking; and thence they occupy so insignificant a place in the history of dramatic art. Among the nations of modern Europe, the English and Spaniards alone, as yet (for the German stage is but forming,) possess a theatre entirely original and national, which, in its own peculiar shape, has arrived at maturity.

Those critics who consider the authority of the ancients as models to be such, that in poetry, as in all the other arts, there can be no salvation beyond the pale of imitation, affirm, that as the nations in question have not followed this course, they have brought nothing but irregular works on the stage, which, though they may possess occasional passages of splendour and beauty, as a whole, must ever be reprobated for barbarousness and want of form. We have already, in the introductory part of these lectures, stated our sentiments in a general manner respecting this way of thinking; but we must now examine this subject somewhat more closely.

If the assertion were founded, all that distinguishes the works of the greatest English and Spanish dramatists, a Shakspeare and a Calderon, ought to rank them beneath the ancients; they would in no manner be of any importance for theory, and could at most appear remarkable, on the assumption that the obstinacy of these nations, in refusing to comply with the rules, might have afforded more ample scope to the poets to display their native originality, though at the expense of art. But even this assumption will, on a more narrow examination, appear extremely doubtful. The poetic spirit requires to be limited, that it may move within its range with a becoming liberty, as has been felt by all nations on the first invention of metre; it must act according to laws derivable from its own essence, otherwise its strength will be evaporated in boundless vacuity.

The works of genius cannot therefore be allowed to be without form; but of this there is no danger. That we may answer this objection of want of form, we must first come to an understanding respecting the meaning of form, which most critics, and more especially those who insist on a stiff regularity, understand merely in a mechanical, and not in an organical sense. Form is mechanical when, through external influence, it is communicated to any material merely as an accidental addition without reference to its quality; as, for example, when we give a particular shape to a soft mass that it may retain the same after its induration. Organical form, again, is innate; it unfolds itself from within, and acquires its determination along with the complete developement of the germ. We every where discover such forms in nature throughout the whole range of living powers, from the crystallization of salts and minerals to plants and flowers, and from them to the human figure. In the fine arts, as well as in the province of nature, the highest artist, all genuine forms are organical, that is, determined by the quality of the work. In a word, the form is nothing but a significant exterior, the speaking physi-

ognomy of each thing, disfigured by no destructive accidents, which gives a true evidence of its hidden essence.

Hence it is evident that the spirit of poetry, which, though imperishable, wanders as it were through different bodies, so often as it is newly born in the human race, must, from the nutrimental substance of an altered age, be fashioned into a body of a different conformation. The forms vary with the direction of the poetical sense; and when we give to the new kinds of poetry the old names, and judge of them according to the ideas conveyed by these names the application of the authority of classical antiquity which we make is altogether unjustifiable. No one should be tried before a tribunal to which he does not belong. We may safely admit, that the most of the dramatic works of the English and Spaniards are neither tragedies nor comedies in the sense of the ancients: they are romantic dramas. That the stage of a people who, in its foundation and formation, neither knew nor wished to know any thing of foreign models, will possess many peculiarities, and not only deviate from, but even exhibit a striking contrast to, the theatres of other nations who had a common model for imitation before their eyes, may be very easily supposed, and we should only be astonished were it otherwise. But when in two nations differing, in a physical, moral, political, and religious respect, so widely as the English and Spanish, the stages which arose at the same time without being known to each other possess, along with external and internal diversities, the most striking features of affinity, the attention of the most thoughtless must be turned to this phenomenon; and the conjecture will naturally occur to him, that the same, or, at least, a kindred principle must have prevailed in the developement of both. This comparison, however, of the English and Spanish theatre, in their common contrast with all the dramatic literature which has grown up from imitation of the ancients, has, so far as we know, never yet been attempted. Could we raise from the dead a countryman contemporary and intelligent admirer of Shakspeare, and another of Calderon, and introduce to their acquaintance the works of the poet to which they were strangers, they would both, without doubt, considering the subject rather from a national than a general point of view, enter with difficulty into the above idea, and have many objections to urge against it. But here a reconciling criticism must step in; and this perhaps may be best exercised by a German, who is free from the nationalities of either the English or Spaniards, yet friendly from inclination to both, and prevented by no jealousy from acknowledging the greatness which has been exhibited in other countries earlier than in his own.

The similarity of the English and Spanish theatres does not merely consist in the bold neglect of the unities of place and time, and in the mixture of comic and tragic ingredients: that they were unwilling or unable to comply with the rules and with reason (which, in the meaning of certain critics, are words of equal signification) may be considered as an evidence of properties of merely a negative description; it lies much deeper, in the inmost substance of the fables, and in the essential relations, through which every deviating form becomes a true requi-

site that has its signification along with its validity. What they have in common with each other is the spirit of the romantic poetry dramatically pronounced. However, to explain ourselves with due limitation, the Spanish theatre, in our opinion, down to its decline and fall since the commencement of the eighteenth century, is almost altogether romantic; the English is only completely so in Shakspeare, its founder and greatest master: in later poets the romantic principle appears more or less degenerated, or is no longer perceivable, although the force introduced by it into the march of dramatic composition has been outwardly pretty well retained. The manner in which the different ways of thinking of two nations, a northern and southern, have been expressed; the former endowed with a gloomy, the latter with a glowing imagination; the one nation possessed of a scrutinizing seriousness disposed to withdraw within themselves, the other impelled outwardly by the violence of passion; this we shall be enabled to explain in the most satisfactory manner at the close of this section, when we come to institute a parallel between Shakspeare and Calderon, the only two poets who are entitled to be called great.

Of the origin and essence of the romantic I treated in the first lecture, and I shall here, therefore, merely mention the subject in a brief manner. The antique art and poetry separate, in a strict manner, things which are dissimilar; the romantic delights in indissoluble mixtures; all contrarieties: nature and art, poetry and prose, seriousness and mirth, recollection and anticipation, spirituality and sensuality, terrestrial and celestial life and death are blended together by them in the most intimate manner. As the oldest lawgivers delivered their mandatory instructions and prescriptions in measured melodies; as this is in a fabulous manner attributed to Orpheus, the first softener of the yet untamed race of mortals: in like manner the whole of the ancient poetry and art is as it were a *rhythmical nomos* (law) an harmonious promulgation of the permanently established legislation of a world submitted to a beautiful order, and reflecting in itself the eternal images of things. The romantic poetry again is the expression of the secret attraction to a chaos which is concealed beneath the regulated creation even in its very bosom, and which is perpetually striving after new and wonderful births; the animating spirit of original love hovers here anew above the waters. The former is more simple, clear, and like to nature in the self-existent perfection of her separate works; the latter, notwithstanding its fragment-like appearance, approaches more to the secret of the universe. For the conception can only circumscribe each thing separately, but nothing can ever in truth exist separately; feeling perceives all in all at one and the same time

Respecting the poetical species with which we are here occupied, we compared the antique tragedy to a group in sculpture: the figures correspond to the characters, their grouping to the action, and to these the consideration in both productions of art is exclusively directed as the only subject exhibited. But the romantic drama must be viewed as a large picture, where not merely figure and motion are exhibited in richer groupes, but where even what surrounds the persons is also portray-

ed; where we see not merely the nearest objects, but are allowed the prospect of a considerable distance, and all this under a magical light, which assists in giving to the impression that particular determination which may be wanted.

Such a picture must be bounded in a less perfect manner than the group; for it is like a fragment cut out of the optic scene of the world. However the painter, by enclosing his foreground, by throwing the whole of his light and other means of giving due stability to the view towards the middle, will know that he must neither wander beyond the composition, nor omit any thing within it.

In the representation of the figure, painting cannot compete with sculpture, while the former only exhibits it by a deception and from a single point of view; but, on the other hand, it communicates more life to its imitations, by colours which are made to express the finest gradations of mental expression in the countenance. The look which can be given only in a very imperfect manner by sculpture enables us in painting to read much deeper in the mind, and to perceive its lightest movements. Its peculiar charm, in short, consists in this, that it enables us to see in bodily objects what is least corporeal, namely, light and air.

The very same description of beauties are peculiar to the romantic drama. It does not, like the old tragedy, separate seriousness and the action in a rigid manner from among the ingredients of life; it embraces at once the whole of the checkered drama with all its circumstances; and while it seems only to represent subjects brought accidentally together, it satisfies the indefinite demands of fancy, buries us in reflections on the inexpressible signification of the objects which we view blended by distribution, proximity and distance, light and colouring, into one harmonious whole; and thus lends, as it were, a soul to the prospect before us.

The alternation of times and places, supposing its influence on the mind to be included in the picture, and that it comes to the aid of the theatrical perspective with reference to what is indicated in the distance or half-concealed by the objects under which it is covered; the contrast of mirth and seriousness, supposing that in degree and kind they bear a relation to each other; finally, the mixture of dialogical and lyrical ingredients, by which the poet is enabled to transform, in a greater or less degree, his characters into poetical natures: these, in my opinion, are not mere licenses but true beauties in the romantic drama. In all these points, and in many others besides, we shall find the English and Spanish works, which are particularly deserving of that name, fully alike to each other, however different they may be in other respects.

We proceed first to the English theatre, as it more early arrived at maturity than the Spanish. In both we must occupy ourselves more particularly with Shakspeare and Calderon, but in an inverted order. Shakspeare may be considered as the first of the English; any remarks on the earlier or contemporary antiquities of the English stage may be made in a review of its history. But Calderon had many predecessors; he is at once the summit and almost the conclusion of the dramatic art among the Spaniards.

While I wish to speak with that brevity which the nature of my subject requires of a poet in the

study of whom I have employed many years of my life, I find myself in no small degree of embarrassment. I know not where to begin; for I should never be able to end, were I to say all that I have felt and thought on the perusal of his works. A more than ordinary intimacy with a poet prevents us, perhaps, from placing ourselves in the situation of those who sit down to him for the first time: we are too familiar with his most striking peculiarities, to be able to pronounce upon the first impression which they are calculated to make on others. On the other hand we ought to possess, and to have the power of communicating, more correct ideas of his mode of procedure, of his concealed or less obvious views, and of the meaning and import of his united efforts, than others whose acquaintance with him is more limited.

Shakspeare is the pride of his nation. A late poet has, with propriety, called him the genius of the British isles. He was the idol of his contemporaries; and after the interval of puritanical fanaticism, which commenced in a succeeding age, and put an end to every thing like liberal knowledge; after the reign of Charles the Second, during which his works were either not acted, or very much disfigured, his fame began to revive with more than its original brightness towards the beginning of the last century; and since that period it has increased with the progress of time; and for centuries to come, I speak with the greatest confidence, it will continue to gather strength like an Alpine *avalanche*, at every period of its descent. As an important earnest of the future extension of his fame, we may allude to the enthusiasm with which he was naturalised in Germany, the moment that he was known. The language, and the impossibility of translating him with fidelity, will be for ever, perhaps, an invincible obstacle to his general diffusion in the south of Europe. In England, the greatest actors vie with each other in the characters of Shakspeare; the printers in splendid editions of his works; and the painters in transferring his scenes to the canvass. Like Dante, Shakspeare has received the indispensable but cumbersome honour of being treated like a classical author of antiquity. The oldest editions have been carefully collated, and where the readings seemed corrupted many improvements have been attempted; and the whole literature of his age has been drawn forth from the oblivion to which it had been consigned, for the sake of explaining the phrases, and illustrating the allusions, of Shakspeare. Commentators have succeeded one another in such numbers, that their labours, with the critical controversies to which they have given rise, constitute of themselves a library of no inconsiderable magnitude. These labours are deserving of our praise and gratitude; and more especially the historical inquiries into the sources from which Shakspeare drew his materials, and into the former state of the English stage. But with respect to the criticisms which are merely of a philological nature, I am frequently compelled to differ from the commentators; and where they consider him merely as a poet, endeavour to pronounce upon his merits, and to enter into his views, I must separate myself from them entirely. I have hardly ever found either truth or profundity in their obser-

vations; and these critics seem to me to be but stammering interpreters of the general and almost idolatrous admiration of his countrymen. There may be people in England, who entertain the same views with themselves; and we know that a satirical poet has represented Shakspeare, with reference to his commentators, as Actæon devoured by his own dogs; and, following up the story of Ovid, exhibited a female that had written on the great poet under the figure of the snarling Lycisca.

We shall endeavour, in the first place, to remove some of the false views which have been adopted, that we may clear the way for our pure admiration, and be enabled to offer it without any hesitation or reserve.

From all the accounts which have come down to us, we learn that the contemporaries of Shakspeare knew well what they possessed in him; and that they felt and understood him better than they did the most of those who succeeded him. In those days a work was generally ushered into the world with recommendatory verses; and one of the productions of this nature, in an early edition of Shakspeare, by an unknown author, contains some of the most beautiful and happy lines that ever were applied to any poet An idea, however, soon became prevalent that Shakspeare was a rude and wild genius, who poureth forth at random and without aim or object his unconnected compositions. Ben Jonson, a younger contemporary and rival of Shakspeare, who laboured in the sweat of his brow, but with no great success, to form the English stage on the model of the ancients, was of opinion that he did not blot enough, and because he did not possess much school-learning, that he owed more to nature than to art. The learned, and sometimes rather pedantic, Milton was also of this opinion, when he says,

> Our sweetest Shakspeare, fancy's child,
> Warbles his native wood-notes wild.

Yet it is highly honourable to Milton, that the sweetness of Shakspeare, the quality which of all others has been least allowed, was felt and acknowledged by him. The modern editors, both in their prefaces, which may be considered as so many rhetorical exercises in praise of the poet, and in their separate observations, go still a great deal farther. They not only admit the irregularity of his pieces, according to principles which are not applicable to them, but they accuse him of bombast, of a confused, ungrammatical, and conceited mode of writing, and even of the most contemptible buffoonery. Pope asserts, that he wrote both better and worse than any other man. All the scenes and passages which did not suit the littleness of his taste he wished to place to the account of interpolating players; and he was in the right road, had his opinion been taken, of mangling Shakspeare in a most disgraceful manner. We are not therefore to be astonished if foreigners, with the exception of Germans of latter times, have, from ignorance, improved upon these opinions. They speak of Shakspeare's plays as monstrous productions, which could only have been given to the world by a disordered imagination in a barbarous age; and Voltaire crowns the whole with more than usual assurance, when he observes that *Hamlet*, the profound masterpiece of the philosophical poet, "appears the work of a drunken "savage." That foreigners, and

Frenchmen in particular, who frequently speak in the most strange language of antiquity and the middle ages, as if cannibalism had been first put an end to in Europe by Louis XIV. should entertain this opinion of Shakspeare, might be pardonable; but that Englishmen should adopt such a calumniation of that glorious epoch of their history, in which the foundation of their greatness was laid, is to me incomprehensible. Shakspeare flourished and wrote in the last half of the reign of Queen Elizabeth and the first half of that of James I.; and consequently under monarchs who were learned themselves, and held literature in honour. The policy of modern Europe, by which the relations of its different states have been so variously interwoven, commenced a century before. The cause of the protestants was decided by the accession of Elizabeth to the throne; and the attachment to the ancient belief cannot therefore be urged as a proof of the prevailing darkness. Such was the zeal for the study of the ancients, that even court ladies, and the Queen herself, were intimately acquainted with Latin and Greek, and could speak the former with fluency; a degree of knowledge which we should in vain seek for in the European courts of the present day. The trade and navigation of the English, which they carried on with all the four quarters of the world, made them acquainted with the customs and mental productions of other nations; and it would appear that they were then more indulgent to foreign manners than they are in the present day. Italy had already produced nearly all for which her literature is distinguished; and translations were diligently, and even successfully, executed in verse from the Italians. They were not unacquainted with the Spanish literature, for it is certain that *Don Quixote* was read in England soon after its first appearance. Bacon, the founder of modern experimental philosophy, and of whom it may be said, that he carried in his pocket all that merits the name of philosophy in the eighteenth century, was a contemporary of Shakspeare. His fame, as a writer, did not indeed burst forth till after his death; but what a number of ideas must have been in circulation before such an author could arise! Many branches of human knowledge have, since that time, been cultivated to a greater extent, but merely those branches which are totally unproductive to poetry: chemistry, mechanics, manufactures, and rural and political economy, will never enable a man to become a poet. I have elsewhere examined into the pretensions of modern cultivation, as it is called, which looks down with such contempt on all preceding ages; I have shown that it is all little, superficial, and unsubstantial at bottom. The pride of what has been called the present maturity of human reason has come to a miserable end; and the structures erected by those pedagogues of the human race have fallen to pieces like the baby-houses of children.

The tone of society at present compels us to remark, that there is a wide difference between cultivation and what is called polish. That artificial polish which puts an end to every thing like original communication, and subjects all intercourse to the insipid uniformity of certain rules, was undoubtedly unknown in the age of Shakspeare, as it is still in a great measure in England in the present day. They possessed the consciousness of healthful energy, which

always expressed itself boldly, though often petulantly. The spirit of chivalry was not yet extinguished; and a Queen who required the observance of much more regard for her sex than for her dignity, and who, from her determination, wisdom, and magnanimity, was, in fact, well qualified to infuse an ardent enthusiasm into the minds of her subjects, inflamed that spirit to the most noble love of glory and renown. Remains of the feudal independence were also still in existence; the nobility vied with each other in splendour of dress and number of retinue, and every great lord had a sort of small court of his own. The distinction of ranks was yet strongly marked; and this is what is most to be wished for by the dramatic poet. In discourse they were delighted with quick and unexpected answers; and the witty sally passed rapidly like a ball from mouth to mouth, till it could no longer be kept up. This, and the excessive extent to which a play on words was carried (for which King James himself had a great fondness, so that we need not wonder at the universality of the mode,) may be considered in the light of bad taste; but to take it for a symptom of rudeness and barbarity, is not less absurd than to infer the poverty of a people from their luxurious extravagance. These strained repartees frequently occur in Shakspeare, with the view of painting the actual tone of the society of his day; it does not follow, however, that they met with his approbation, but, on the contrary, it appears that he held them in derision. Hamlet says, in the scene with the Grave-digger, "By the Lord, Horatio, these three years I have taken note of it; the age is grown so picked, that the toe of the peasant comes so near the heel of the courtier he galls his kibe." And Lorenzo, in the *Merchant of Venice*, alluding to Launcelot:

> O dear discretion, how his words are suited!
> The fool hath planted in his memory
> An army of good words: and I do know
> A many fools, that stand in better place,
> Garnish'd like him, that for a tricksy word
> Defy the matter.

Besides, Shakspeare, in a thousand places, lays an uncommonly great stress on the correct and refined tone of good company, and warns against every deviation from it either through boorishness or affected foppery; he not only gives the most admirable lectures on the subject, but he represents it in all its gradations in every rank, age, and sex.—What foundation is there, then, for the alleged barbarity of that age? Its indecency? But if this is to be admitted as a test, then the ages of Pericles and Augustus must also be described as rude and uncultivated; for Aristophanes and Horace, who both were considered as models of urbanity, display at times the coarest indelicacy. The diversity in the moral feeling of nations on this subject depends on other causes. It is true that Shakspeare sometimes introduces us to improper company; at other times he suffers ambiguous expressions to be used in the presence of women, and even by women themselves. This species of petulance was probably not then unusual. He certainly did not do so to please the multitude, for in many of his pieces there is not the slightest trace of any thing of this sort to be found; and what virgin tenderness does he not preserve throughout many of his female characters! When we see the liberties taken by other dramatic poets in England

in his time, and even much later, we must account him comparatively chaste and moral. Neither must we overlook certain circumstances in the then state of the theatre. The female parts were not acted by women, but by boys; and no person of the fair sex appeared in the theatre without a mask. Under such a carnival disguise, much might be heard by them, and much might be ventured to be said in their presence, which, in other circumstances, would have been quite unsuitable. It is certainly to be wished that decency should be observed on all public occasions, and consequently also on the stage; but even in this it is possible to go too far. That censorious spirit, which scents out impurity in every sally of a bold and vivacious description, is at best but an ambiguous criterion of purity of morals; and there is frequently concealed under this hypocrisy the consciousness of an impure imagination. The determination to tolerate nothing which has the least reference to the sensual relation between the two sexes may be carried to a pitch extremely oppressive to a dramatic poet, and injurious to the boldness and freedom of his composition. If considerations of such a nature were to be attended to, many of the happiest parts of the plays of Shakspeare, for example, in *Measure for Measure*, and *All's Well that Ends Well*, which are handled with a due regard to decency, must be set aside for their impropriety.

Had no other monument of the age of Elizabeth come down to us than the works of Shakspeare, I should, from them alone, have formed the most advantageous idea of its state of social cultivation. Those who look through such strange spectacles as to find nothing in them but rudeness and barbarity, when they cannot deny what I have just now advanced, have no other resource for themselves but to say, "What has Shakspeare to do with the cultivation of his age? He had no share in it. Born in a low situation, ignorant and uneducated, he passed his life in low society, and laboured for bread to please a vulgar audience, without ever dreaming of fame or posterity."

In all this there is not a single word of truth, though it has been repeated a thousand times. We know, it is true, very little of the life of the poet; and what we do know, for the most part, consists of raked up anecdotes of a very suspicious nature, nearly of such a description as those which are told at inns to inquisitive strangers, who wish to know something of a celebrated man in the place where he lives. The first actual document which enabled us to have a peep into his family concerns was the discovery of his will. It betrayed an extraordinary deficiency of critical acumen in the commentators of Shakspeare, that none of them, as far as we know, have ever thought of availing themselves of his sonnets for tracing the circumstances of his life. These sonnets paint most unequivocally the actual situation and sentiments of the poet; they enable us to become acquainted with the passions of the man; they even contain the most remarkable confessions of his youthful errors. Shakspeare's father was a man of property, whose ancestors had held the office of magistrate in Stratford, and in a diploma from the Herald Office, for the renewal or confirmation of his coat of arms, he is styled *Gentleman*. Our poet,

the oldest of four children, could not, it is true, receive an academical education, as he married when hardly eighteen, probably in consequence of family arrangements. In this private way of life he continued but a very few years; and he was either enticed to London from the wearisomeness of his situation, or banished from home, as it is said, in consequence of his irregularities. He there resorted to the situation of player, which he considered at first as a degradation, principally because he was seduced by the example of his comrades to participate in their wild and irregular manner of life. It is extremely probable, that by the poetical fame which he acquired in the progress of his career, he was the principal means of ennobling the stage, and bringing the situation of a player into better repute. Even at a very early age he endeavoured to distinguish himself as a poet in other walks than those of the stage, as is proved by his juvenile poems of *Adonis* and *Lucrece*. He afterwards obtained the situation of joint proprietor and manager of the theatre for which he laboured. That he was not admitted to the society of persons of distinction is altogether incredible; besides many others, he found in the Earl of Southampton, the friend of the unfortunate Essex, a most liberal and kind patron. His pieces were not merely the delight of the million, but in great favour at court: the two monarchs under whose reigns he wrote were, according to the testimony of a contemporary, altogether taken with him. They were acted at court; and Elizabeth appears herself to have given occasion to the writing of more than one of them for the celebration of her court festivals. It is known that King James honoured Shakspeare so far as to write to him with his own hand. All this looks very unlike either contempt or banishment into the obscurity of a low circle. Shakspeare acquired, by his activity as a poet, player, and stage-manager, a considerable property, which he enjoyed in his native spot, in retirement and in the society of a beloved daughter, in the last years of his too short life. Immediately after his death a monument was erected over his grave, which may be considered sumptuous for those times.

Amidst such brilliant success, and with such distinguished proofs of respect and honour from his contemporaries, it would be singular indeed, if Shakspeare, notwithstanding the modesty of a great mind, which he certainly possessed in a peculiar degree, should never have dreamed of posthumous fame. As a profound thinker he had pretty accurately taken the measure of the circle of human capabilities, and he could say to himself with confidence, that many of his productions would not easily be surpassed. What foundation then is there for the contrary assertion, which would degrade the immortal artist to the situation of a daily labourer for a rude multitude? Merely this, that he himself published no edition of his whole works. We do not reflect, that a poet, always accustomed to labour immediately for the stage, who has often enjoyed the triumph of overpowering assembled crowds of spectators, and drawing from them the most tumultuous applause, who is not dependent on the caprice of vitiated stage directors, but left to his own discretion in the selection of a proper mode of theatrical composition, cares naturally much less

for the closet of the solitary reader. In the first formation of a national stage, more especially, we find frequent examples of such negligence. Of the almost innumerable pieces of Lope de Vega, many undoubtedly never were printed, and are thereby lost; and Cervantes did not print his earlier dramas, though he certainly boasts of them as meritorious works. As Shakspeare, on his retiring from the theatre, left his manuscripts behind with his fellow managers, he might rely on theatrical tradition for handing them down to posterity, which would indeed have been sufficient for that purpose, if the closing of the theatres, under the oppression of the puritans, had not interrupted the natural order of things. We know, besides, that the poets used then to sell the exclusive possession of their pieces to a theatre: it is therefore not improbable that the right of property in his unprinted pieces was no longer vested in Shakspeare, or had not at least yet reverted to him. His fellow managers entered on the publication seven years after his death (which probably surprised him in the intention) as it would appear on their own account, and for their own advantage.

The ignorance or learning of our poet has been the subject of endless controversy, and yet it is a matter of the easiest determination. Shakspeare was poor in dead learning, but he possessed a fulness of living and applicable knowledge. He knew Latin, and even something of Greek, though not, probably, enough to read the writers with ease in the original language. Of the modern languages, the French and Italian, he had also but a superficial acquaintance. The general direction of his inclination was not towards the collection of words but of facts. He had a very extensive acquaintance with English books, original and translated: we may safely affirm, that he had read all that his language then contained which could be of any use to him in any of his poetical objects. He was sufficiently intimate with mythology to employ it in the only manner he wished, as a symbolical ornament. He had formed the most correct notions of the spirit of ancient history and more particularly of that of the Romans; and the history of his own country was familiar to him even in detail. Fortunately for him it had not yet been treated in a diplomatic and pragmatical, but merely in the chronicle stile; that is, it had not yet assumed the appearance of dry investigations respecting the developement of political relations, diplomatical transactions, finances, &c. but exhibited a visible image of the living and moving of an age full of distinguished deeds. Shakspeare was an attentive observer of nature; he knew the technical language of mechanics and artisans; he seems to have been well travelled in the interior of England, and to have been a diligent inquirer of navigators respecting other countries; and he was most accurately acquainted with all the popular usages, opinions, and traditions which could be of use in poetry.

The proofs of his ignorance, on which the greatest stress is laid, are a few geographical blunders and anachronisms. Because in a comedy founded on a tale, he makes ships land in Bohemia, he has been the subject of laughter. But I conceive that we should be very unjust towards him, were we to conclude that he did not, as well as ourselves, possess the valuable

but by no means difficult knowledge that Bohemia is nowhere bounded by the sea. He could never, in that case, have looked into a map of Germany, whereas he describes the maps of both Indies with the discoveries of the latest navigators. In such matters Shakspeare is only faithful in the historical subjects of his own country. In the novels on which he worked, he avoided disturbing his audience to whom they were known, by the correction of errors in secondary things. The more wonderful the story, the more it ranged in a purely poetical region, which he transfers at will to an indefinite distance. These plays, whatever names they bear, take place in the true land of romance and in the century of wonderful love stories. He knew well that in the forest of Ardennes, there were neither the lions and serpents of the Torrid Zone, nor the shepherdesses of Arcadia: but he transferred both to it, because the design and import of his picture required them. Here he considered himself entitled to the greatest liberties. He had not to do with a petty hypercritical age like ours, which is always seeking in poetry for something else than poetry; his audience entered the theatre, not to learn true chronology, geography, and natural history, but to witness a vivid exhibition. I undertake to prove that Shakspeare's anachronisms are, for the most part, committed purposely, and after great consideration. It was frequently of importance to him to bring the subject exhibited, from the back ground of time, quite near to us. Hence in Hamlet, though avowedly an old northern story, there prevails the tone of modish society, and in every respect the costume of the most recent period. Without those circumstantialities it would not have been allowable to make a philosophical inquirer of Hamlet, on which however the sense of the whole is made to rest. On that account he mentions his education at a university, though in the age of the historical Hamlet there was not yet any university. He makes him study at Wittenberg, and no selection could be more suitable. The name was very popular: from the story of Dr. Faustus, of Wittenberg it was wonderfully well known: it was of particular celebrity in protestant England, as Luther had taught and written there shortly before, and the very name must have immediately suggested the idea of freedom in thinking. I cannot even consider it an anachronism that Richard the Third should speak of Macchiavel. The word is here used altogether proverbially: the contents of the book of the prince have been in existence even since the existence of tyrants; Macchiavel was merely the first to commit them to writing.

That Shakspeare has accurately hit the essential costume, namely, the spirit of ages and nations, is at least generally acknowledged by the English critics; but many sins against the external costume may be easily remarked. Here we must bear in mind that the Roman pieces were acted upon the stage of that day in the European dress. This was, it is true, still beautiful and noble, not so silly and tasteless as it became towards the end of the seventeenth century. Brutus and Cassius appeared in the Spanish cloak; they wore, quite contrary to the Roman custom, the sword by their side in time of peace, and drew it, according to the testimony of an eye witness in

the dialogue where Brutus stimulates Cassius to the conspiracy, as if involuntarily, half out of the sheath. This will in no wise answer our way of thinking: we are not contended without the Toga. The present may not be an unsuitable place for delivering a general observation respecting costume, considered with reference to art. It has never been more accurately observed than in the present day; art has become a pedantic antiquity slop-shop. This is because we live in a learned and critical, but by no means poetical age. The ancients used to represent the religions of other nations, which deviated very much from their own, according to the Greek mythology. In sculpture the same dress, namely, the Phrygian, was adopted, once for all, for every barbaric tribe. Not that they did not know that there were as many different dresses as nations; but in art they merely wished to acknowledge the great contrast between barbarian and cultivated: and this appeared to them to be rendered most advantageously visible in the Phrygian clothing. The more early Christian painters represent the Saviour, the Virgin Mary, the Patriarchs, and Apostles in an ideal dress; but the subordinate actors or spectators of the action, in the dresses of their own nation and age. Here they were guided by a correct feeling: the mysteriously sacred ought to be kept in an awe-inspiring distance, but the human can only be properly understood when seen with the usual accompaniments. In the middle ages all heroical stories of antiquity, from Theseus and Achilles down to Alexander, were metamorphosed into true books of chivalry. What was related to themselves alone spoke an intelligible language to them; of differences and distinctions they did not wish to know. In an old manuscript of the Trojan war, I saw a miniature picture representing the funeral procession of Hector, where the coffin, hung with noble coats of arms, is carried into a gothic church. It is easy to make ourselves merry with this piece of simplicity, but a reflecting mind will view the subject in a very different light. A powerful consciousness of the universal prevalency and the solid consistency of their manner of being, an undoubted conviction that it is has always so been and will continue so to be in the world: these feelings of our ancestors were symptoms of the fresh fulness of life; they were the marrow of action in real life as well as in poetry. Their plain and affectionate attachment to every thing around them, handed down from their fathers, is by no means to be confounded with the obstreperous vanity of ages of mannerism, which vainly introduce the fleeting modes and fashion of the day into art, because every thing, like a noble simplicity, seems to them boorish and rude. This last impropriety is now abolished: our poets and artists must, like servants, wear the livery of distant centuries and foreign nations if they would hope for our approbation. We are every where at home, except at home. We do ourselves the justice to allow that the present mode of dressing, forms of politeness, &c. are altogether unpoetical, and art is therefore obliged to beg, as an alms, a poetical costume from the antiquaries. To that simple way of thinking, which is merely attentive to the inward truth of the composition without stumbling at anachronisms, or other external inconsistences, we

cannot, alas! now return; but we must envy the poets to whom they occurred; they allowed them a great breadth and freedom in the handling of their subject.

Many things in Shakspeare must be judged of according to the above principles, respecting the essential and the merely learned costume; and they will also admit of an application to Calderon.

So much with respect to the spirit of the age in which Shakspeare lived, and his peculiar cultivation and knowledge. To me he appears a profound artist, and not a blind and wildly luxuriant genius. I consider, generally speaking, all that has been said on this subject as a mere fabulous story, a blind and extravagant error. In other arts the assertion refutes itself; for in them acquired knowledge is an indispensable condition before any thing can be performed. But even in such poets, as are usually given out for careless pupils of nature, without any art or school discipline, I have always found, on a nearer consideration, when they have really produced works of excellence, a distinguished cultivation of the mental powers, practice in art, and views worthy in themselves and maturely considered. This applies to Homer as well as Dante. The activity of genius is, it is true, natural to it, and in a certain sense unconscious; and consequently the person who possesses it is not always at the moment able to render an account of the course which he may have pursued; but it by no means follows that the thinking power had not a great share in it. It is from the very rapidity and certainty of the mental process, from the utmost clearness of understanding, that thinking in a poet is not perceived as something abstracted, does not wear the appearance of meditation (after thought). That idea of poetical inspiration, which many lyrical poets have brought into circulation, as if they were not in their senses, and like Pythia, when possessed by the divinity, delivered oracles unintelligible to themselves (a mere lyrical invention), is least of all applicable to dramatic composition, one of the productions of the human mind which requires the greatest exercise of thought. It is admitted that Shakspeare has reflected, and deeply reflected, on character and passion, on the progress of events and human destinies, on the human constitution, on all the things and relations of the world; this is an admission which must be made, for one alone of thousands of his maxims would be a sufficient refutation of whoever should attempt to deny it. So that it was only then respecting the structure of his own pieces that he had no thought to spare? This he left to the dominion of chance, which blew together the atoms of Epicurus? But supposing that he had, without the higher ambition of acquiring the approbation of judicious critics and posterity, without the love of art which endeavours at self-satisfaction in a perfect work, merely laboured to please the unlettered crowd; this very object alone and the theatrical effect, would have led him to bestow attention to the conduct of his pieces. For does not the impression of a drama depend in an especial manner on the relation of the parts to each other? And however beautiful a scene may be in itself, will it not be at once reprobated by spectators merely possessed of plain sense who give themselves up to nature, whenever it is at variance with

what they are led to expect at that particular place, and destroys the interest which they have already begun to take? The comic intermixtures may be considered as a sort of interlude, for the purpose of refreshing the spectators after the straining of their minds in following the more serious parts, if no better purpose can be found for them; but in the progress of the main action, in the concatenation of the events, the poet must, if possible, display even more superiority of understanding than in the composition of individual character and situations, otherwise he would be like the conductor of a puppet-show who has confused the wires, so that the puppets, from their mechanism, undergo quite different movements from those which he actually intended.

The English critics are unanimous in their praise of the truth and uniform consistency of his characters, of his heart-rending pathos, and his comic wit. Moreover, they extol the beauty and sublimity of his separate descriptions, images, and expressions. This last is the most superficial and cheap mode of criticising works of art. Johnson compares him, who should endeavour to recommend this poet by passages unconnectedly torn from his works, to the pedant in Hierocles, who exhibited a brick as a sample of his house. And yet he himself speaks so little, and so very unsatisfactorily, of the pieces considered as a whole! Let any man, for instance, bring together the short characters which he gives at the close of each play, and see if the aggregate will amount to that sum of admiration which he himself, at his outset, has stated as the correct standard for the appreciation of the poet. It was, generally speaking, the prevailing tendency of the time which preceded our own; a tendency displayed also in physical science, to consider what is possessed of life as a mere accumulation of dead parts, to separate what exists only in connexion and cannot otherwise be conceived, instead of penetrating to the central point and viewing all the parts as so many irradiations from it. Hence nothing is so rare as a critic who can elevate himself to the contemplation of an extensive work of art. Shakspeare's compositions, from the very depth of purpose displayed in them, have been exposed to the misfortune of being misunderstood. Besides, this prosaical species of criticism applies always the poetical form to the details of execution; but in so far as the plan of the piece is concerned, it never looks for more than the logical connexion of causes and effects, or some partial and trivial moral by way of application; and all that cannot be reconciled to this is declared a superfluous, or even a detrimental addition. On these principles we must equally strike out the most of the choral songs of the Greek tragedies, which also contribute nothing to the developement of the action, but are merely an harmonious echo of the impressions aimed at by the poet. In this they altogether mistake the rights of poetry and the nature of the romantic drama, which, for the very reason that it is and ought to be picturesque, requires richer accompaniments and contrasts for its main groupes. In all art and poetry, but more especially in the romantic, the fancy lays claims to be considered as an independent mental power governed according to its own laws.

In an essay on *Romeo and Juliet*,

written a number of years ago, I went through the whole of the scenes in their order, and demonstrated the inward necessity of each with reference to the whole; I showed why such a particular circle of characters and relations was placed around the two lovers; I explained the signification of the mirth here and there scattered, and justified the use of the occasional heightening given to the poetical colours. From all this it seemed to follow unquestionably, that with the exception of a few plays of wit now become unintelligible or foreign to the present taste, (imitations of the tone of society of that day) nothing could be taken away, nothing added, nothing otherwise arranged, without mutilating and disfiguring the perfect work. I should be ready to undertake the same thing in all the pieces of Shakspeare produced in his maturer years, but this would require a separate book. Here I am reduced to confine my observations to the tracing his great designs with a rapid pencil; but still I must previously be allowed to deliver my sentiments in a general manner on the subject of his most distinguishing properties.

Shakspeare's knowledge of mankind has become proverbial: in this his superiority is so great, that he has justly been called the master of the human heart. A readiness in remarking even the nicer involuntary demonstrations of the mind, and the expressing with certainty the meaning of these signs acquired from experience and reflection, constitutes the observer of men; acuteness in drawing still farther conclusions from them, and in arranging the separate observations according to grounds of probability in a connected manner, may be said to be knowing men. The distinguishing property of the dramatic poet who is great in characterization is something altogether different from this, which either, take it which way we will, includes in it this readiness and this acuteness, or dispenses with both. It is the capability of transporting himself so completely into every situation, even the most unusual, that he is enabled, as plenipotentiary of the whole human race, without particular instructions for each separate case, to act and speak in the name of every individual. It is the power of endowing the creatures of his imaginaton with such self-existent energy, that they afterwards act in each conjuncture according to general laws of nature: the poet, in his dreams, institutes as it were experiments which are received with as much authority as if they had been made on real objects. The inconceivable in this, and what never can be learned, is, that the characters appear neither to do nor to say any thing on account of the spectator; and yet that the poet, by means of the exhibition itself without any subsidiary explanation, communicates the gift of looking into the inmost recesses of their minds. Hence Goëthe has ingeniously compared Shakspeare's characters to watches with crystalline plates and cases, which, while they point out the hours as correctly as other watches, enable us at the same time to perceive the inward springs whereby all this is accomplished.

Nothing, however, is more foreign to Shakspeare than a certain dissecting mode of composition, which laboriously enumerates to us all the motives by which a man is determined to act in this or that particular manner. This way of ac-

counting for motives, the rage of many of the modern historians, might be carried at length to an extent which would abolish every thing like individuality, and resolve all character into nothing but the effect of foreign or external influences, while we know that it frequently announces itself in the most decided manner in the earliest infancy. After all, a man acts so because he is so. And how each man is constituted, Shakspeare reveals to us in the most immediate manner: he demands and obtains our belief, even for what is singular and deviates from the ordinary course of nature. Never perhaps was there so comprehensive a talent for characterization as Shakspeare. It not only grasps the diversities of rank, sex, and age, down to the dawnings of infancy; not only do the king and the beggar, the hero and the pickpocket, the sage and the idiot, speak and act with equal truth; not only does he transport himself to distant ages and foreign nations, and portray in the most accurate manner, with only a few apparent violations of costume, the spirit of the ancient Romans, of the French in their wars with the English, of the English themselves during a great part of their history, of the Southern Europeans (in the serious part of many comedies), the cultivated society of that time, and the former rude and barbarous state of the North; his human characters have not only such depth and precision that they cannot be arranged under classes, and are inexhaustible even in conception; no, this Prometheus not merely forms men, he opens the gates of the magical world of spirits, calls up the midnight ghost, exhibits before us his witches amidst their unhallowed mysteries, peoples the air with sportive fairies and sylphs; and these beings existing only in imagination possess such truth and consistency, that even when deformed monsters like Caliban, he extorts the assenting conviction, if there should be such beings they would so conduct themselves. In a word, as he carries with him the most fruitful and daring fancy into the kingdom of nature, on the other hand, he carries nature into the regions of fancy, lying beyond the confines of reality. We are lost in astonishment at seeing the extraordinary, the wonderful, and the unheard of, in such intimate nearness.

Pope and Johnson appear to contradict each other in a singular manner, when the first says, all the characters of Shakspeare are individuals, and the second, they are species. And yet perhaps these opinions may admit of reconciliation. Pope's expression is unquestionably the more correct. A character which should merely be a personification of a naked general idea could neither exhibit any great depth nor any great variety. The names of genera and species are well known to be merely auxiliaries for the understanding, that we may embrace the infinite variety of nature in a certain order. The characters which Shakspeare has thoroughly delineated possess undoubtedly a number of individual peculiarities, but at the same time a signification which is not applicable to them alone: they generally supply materials for a profound theory of their distinguishing property. But even with the above correction, this opinion must still have its limitations. Characterization is merely one ingredient of the dramatic art, and not dramatic poetry itself. It would be improper in the extreme, if the poet were to draw

our attention to superfluous traits of character, when he ought to endeavour to produce other impressions. Whenever the musical or the fanciful preponderate, the characteristical is necessarily thrown into the back ground. Hence many of the figures of Shakspeare exhibit merely external designations, determined by the place which they occupy in the whole: they are like secondary persons in a public procession, to whose physiognomy we seldom pay much attention; their only importance is derived from the solemnity of their dress and the object in which they are engaged. Shakspeare's messengers, for instance, are for the most part merely messengers, yet not common, but poetical messengers: the messages which they have to bring is the soul which suggests to them their language. Other voices too are merely raised as melodious lamentations or rejoicings, or reflections on what has taken place; and in a serious drama without chorus this must always be more or less the case, if we would not have it prosaical.

If Shakspeare deserves our admiration for his characters, he is equally deserving of it for his exhibition of passion, taking this word in its widest signification, as including every mental condition, every tone from indifference or familiar mirth to the wildest rage and despair. He gives us the history of minds; he lays open to us, in a single word, a whole series of preceding conditions. His passions do not at first stand displayed to us in all their height, as is the case with so many tragic poets who, in the language of Lessing, are thorough masters of the legal style of love. He paints, in a most inimitable manner, the gradual progress from the first origin; "he gives," as Lessing says, "a living picture of all the most minute and secret artifices by which a feeling steals into our souls, of all the imperceptible advantages which it there gains, of all the stratagems by which every other passion is made subservient to it, till it becomes the sole tyrant of our desires and our aversions." Of all poets, perhaps, he alone has portrayed the mental diseases, melancholy, delirium, lunacy, with such inexpressible and, in every respect, definite truth, that the physician may enrich his observations from them in the same manner as from real cases.

And yet Johnson has objected to Shakspeare that his pathos is not always natural and free from affectation. There are, it is true, passages, though comparatively speaking very few, where his poetry exceeds the bounds of true dialogue, where a too soaring imagination, a too luxuriant wit, rendered the complete dramatic forgetfulness of himself impossible. With this exception, the censure originates only in a fanciless way of thinking, to which every thing appears unnatural that does not suit its tame insipidity. Hence an idea has been formed of simple and natural pathos, which consists in exclamations destitute of imagery and nowise elevated above every day life. But energetical passions electrify the whole of the mental powers, and will consequently, in highly favoured natures, express themselves in an ingenious and figurative manner. It has been often remarked that indignation gives wit; and as despair occasionally breaks out into langhter, it may sometimes also give vent to itself in antithetical comparisons.

Besides, the rights of the poetical form have not been duly

weighed. Shakspeare, who was always sure of his object, to move in a sufficiently powerful manner when he wished to do so, has occasionally, by indulging in a freer play, purposely moderated the impressions when too painful, and immediately produced a musical alleviation of our sympathy. He had not those rude ideas of his art which many moderns seem to have, as if the poet, like the clown in the proverb, must strike twice on the same place. An ancient rhetorician delivered a caution against dwelling too long on the excitation of pity; for nothing, he said, dries so soon as tears; and and Shakspeare acted conformably to this ingenious maxim without knowing it. The paradoxical assertion of Johnson that Shakspeare had a greater talent for comedy than tragedy, and that in the latter he has frequently displayed an affected tone, does not even deserve to be so far noticed that we should adduce, by way of refutation, the great tragical compositions of the poet which, for overpowering effect, leave almost every thing which the stage has yet seen far behind them; a few of the much celebrated scenes would be quite sufficient. What might to many readers lend an appearance of truth to this opinion are the plays on words, which, not unfrequently in Shakspeare, are introduced into serious and sublime passages, and into those also of a peculiarly pathetic nature. I have already stated the point of view in which we ought to consider the sportive plays on words. I shall here, therefore, merely deliver a few observations respecting a play on words in general, and its poetical use.—A thorough investigation would lead us too far from our subject, and too deeply into considerations on the essence of language, and its relation to poetry, or rhyme, &c. There is in the human mind a desire that language should exhibit the object which it denotes in a sensible manner by sound, which may be traced even as far back as the origin of poetry. As, in the shape in which language comes down to us, this is seldom the case in a perceptible degree, an imagination which has been powerfully excited is fond of laying hold of the congruity in sound which may accidentally offer itself, that by such means he may, in a single case, restore the lost resemblance between the word and the thing. For example, it was common to seek in the name of a person, though often accidentally bestowed, a reference to his qualities and fortune,—it was purposely converted into an expressive name. Those who cry out against plays on words as an unnatural and affected invention, only betray their own ignorance. With children, as well as nations of the most simple manners, a great inclination to them is often displayed, as correct ideas respecting the derivation and affinity of words have not been developed among them, and do not consequently stand in the way of this caprice. In *Homer* we find several examples; the *Books of Moses*, the oldest written memorial of the primitive world, are, as is well known, full of them. On the other hand, poets of a very cultivated taste, or orators like Cicero, have delighted in them. Whoever, in *Richard the Second*, is disgusted with the affecting play of words of the dying John of Gaunt on his own name, let him remember that the same thing occurs in the *Ajax* of Sophocles. We do not mean to say that all plays on words are on all occa-

sions to be justified. This must depend on the disposition of mind, whether it will admit of such a play of fancy, and whether the sallies, comparisons, and allusions, which lie at the bottom of them, possess internal solidity. Yet we must not proceed upon the principle of trying how the thought appears after it is deprived of the resemblance in sound, any more than we are to endeavour to feel the charm of rhymed versification after being deprived of rhyme. The laws of good taste on this subject must also vary with the quality of the languages. In those which possess a great number of homonymes, that is, words possessing the same, or nearly the same sound, though quite different in their derivation and signification, it is almost more difficult to avoid than to fall on plays of words. It has also been dreaded lest a door might be opened to puerile witticism, if they were not proscribed in the most severe manner. I cannot find, however, that Shakspeare had such an invincible and immoderate passion for plays on words. It is true he often makes a most lavish use of this figure; in other pieces he has introduced it very sparingly; and in some of them, for example in *Macbeth*, I do not believe that the least vestige of it is to be found. Hence, in respect to the use or the rejection of plays on words, he must have been guided by the measure of the objects, and the different style in which they required to be treated, and have followed probably, as in every thing else, principles which would bear a strict examination.

The objection that Shakspeare wounds our feelings by the open display of the most disgusting moral odiousness, harrows up the mind unmercifully, and tortures even our eyes by the exhibition of the most insupportable and hateful spectacles, is one of much greater importance. He has never, in fact, varnished over wild and blood-thirsty passions with a pleasing exterior, never clothed crime and want of principle with a false show of greatness of soul, and in that respect he is every way deserving of praise. Twice he has portrayed downright villains, and the masterly way in which he has contrived to elude impressions of too painful a nature may be seen in Iago and Richard the Third. I allow that the reading, and still more the sight, of some of his pieces are not adviseable to weak nerves, any more than the *Eumenides* of Æschylus; but is the poet, who can only reach an important object by bold and hazardous means, to allow himself to be influenced by considerations for persons of this description? If the effeminacy of the present day is to serve as a general standard of what tragical composition may exhibit to human nature, we shall be forced to set very narrow limits to art, and every thing like a powerful effect must at once be renounced. If we wish to have a grand purpose, we must also wish to have the means, and our nerves should in some measure accommodate themselves to painful impressions when, by way of requital, our mind is thereby elevated and strengthened.—The constant reference to a petty and puny race must cripple the boldness of the poet. Fortunately for his art, Shakspeare lived in an age extremely susceptible of noble and tender impressions, but which had still enough of the firmness inherited from a vigorous olden time, not to shrink back with dismay from every strong and violent

picture. We have lived to see tragedies of which the catastrophe consists in the swoon of an enamoured princess: if Shakspeare falls occasionally into the opposite extreme, it is a noble error originating in the fulness of a gigantic strength. And this tragical Titan, who storms the heavens and threatens to tear the world from off its hinges, who, more fruitful than Æschylus, makes our hair to stand on end, and congeals our blood with horror, possessed at the same time the insinuating loveliness of the sweetest poetry; he plays with love like a child, and his songs are breathed out like melting sighs. He unites in his existence the utmost elevation and the utmost depth; and the most foreign, and even apparently irreconcilable properties subsist in him peaceably together. The world of spirits and nature have laid all their treasures at his feet: in strength a demi-god, in profundity of view a prophet, in all-seeing wisdom a protecting spirit of a higher order, he lowers himself to mortals as if unconscious of his superiority, and is as open and unassuming as a child.

If the delineation of all his characters, separately considered, is inimitably firm and correct, he surpasses even himself in so combining and contrasting them, that they serve to bring out each other. —This is the very summit of dramatic characterization: for we can never estimate a man altogether abstractedly by himself according to his true worth; we must see him in his relations with others; and it is here that most dramatic poets are deficient. Shakspeare makes each of his principal characters the glass in which the others are reflected, and in which we are enabled to discover what could not be immediately revealed to us. What in others is most profound, lies in him at the surface. We should be very ill advised were we always to take the declarations of the characters respecting themselves and others for sterling gold. Ambiguity of intention, very properly in him, overflows with the most praiseworthy principles; and sage maxims are not unfrequently put in the mouth of imbecility, to show how easily such common place truisms may be acquired. Nobody ever painted as he has done the facility of self-deception, the half self-conscious hypocrisy towards ourselves, with which even noble minds attempt to disguise the almost inevitable influence of selfish motives in human nature. This secret irony of the characterization is deserving of admiration as a storehouse of acuteness and sagacity; but it is the grave of enthusiasm. But this is the conclusion at which we arrive when we have had the misfortune to see human nature through and through; and besides the melancholy truth that no virtue and greatness are altogether pure and genuine, and the dangerous error that the highest perfection is attainable, we have no remaining choice. Here we may perceive, notwithstanding his power in exciting the most fervent emotions, a certain cool indifference in the poet himself, but still the indifference of a superior mind, which has run through the circle of human existence and survived feeling.

The irony in Shakspeare has not merely a reference to the separate characters, but frequently to the whole of the action. Most poets who portray human events in a narrative or dramatic form

take themselves a part, and exact from their readers a blind approbation or condemnation of whatever side they choose to support or oppose. The more zealous this rhetoric is, the more easily it fails of its effect. In every case we perceive that the subject does not come immediately before us, but that we view it through the medium of a different way of thinking. When, however, the poet, by a dextrous manœuvre, occasionally allows us a glance of the less brilliant reverse of the picture, he then places himself in a sort of secret understanding with the select circle of the intelligent among his readers or spectators; he shows them that he previously saw and admitted the validity of their objections; that he himself is not tied down by the subject represented, but soars freely above it; and that, if he chose, he could unrelentingly annihilate the beautiful and irresistibly attractive scenes which his magic pen has produced. Wherever the proper tragic enters, it is true, every thing like irony immediately ceases; but from the avowed raillery of comedy, to the point where the subjection of mortal beings to an inevitable destiny demands the highest degree of seriousness, there is a multitude of human relations which unquestionably may be considered in an ironical view, without confounding the eternal line of separation between good and evil. This purpose is answered by the comic characters and scenes which are interwoven in the most of Shakspeare's pieces where romantic fables or historical events are made the subject of a noble and elevating exhibition. A determinate parody of the serious part is frequently not to be mistaken in them; at other times the connexion is more loose and arbitrary, and the more wonderful the invention of the whole, the more easily it becomes merely a light delusion of the fancy. The comic interruptions every where serve to prevent the play from being converted into an employment, to preserve the mind in the possession of its hilarity, and to keep off that gloomy and inert seriousness which so easily steals into the sentimental, but not tragical, drama. Most assuredly Shakspeare did not wish in this to comply with the taste of the multitude contrary to his own better judgment: for in various pieces, and in considerable parts of others, especially when the catastrophe approaches, and the minds are consequently more on the stretch and no longer susceptible of any entertainment serving to divert their attention, he has abstained from all comic intermixtures. It was also an object with him, that the clowns or buffoons should not occupy a more important place than that which he had assigned them: he expressly condemns the extemporizing with which they loved to enlarge their parts. Johnson founds the justification of the species of drama in which seriousness and mirth are mixed, on this, that in real life the vulgar is found close in the sublime, that the merry and the sad usually accompany and succeed one another. But it does not follow that because both are found together, they must not therefore be separated in the compositions of art. The observation is in other respects just, and this circumstance invests the poet with a power to proceed in that manner, because every thing in the drama must be regulated by the conditions of theatrical probability; but the mixture of such

dissimilar, and apparently contradictory, ingredients, in the same works, can only be justifiable on principles reconcileable with the views of art, which I have already described. In the dramas of Shakspeare the comic scenes are the antichamber of the poetry, where the servants remain; these prosaical associates must not give such an extension to their voice as to deafen the speakers in the hall itself; however, in those intervals when the ideal society has retired they deserve to be listened to; the boldness of their raillery, the pretension of their imitations, may afford us many a conclusion respecting the relations of their masters.

Shakspeare's comic talent is equally wonderful with that which he has shown in the pathetic and tragic: it stands on an equal elevation, and possesses equal extent and profundity; all that I before wished was, not to admit that the former preponderated. He is highly inventive in comic situations and motives: it will be hardly possible to show whence he has taken any of them; whereas in the serious part of his dramas he has generally laid hold of something already known. His comic characterization is equally true, various, and profound, with his serious. So little is he disposed to caricature, that we may rather say many of his traits are almost too nice and delicate for the stage, that they can only be properly seized by a great actor, and fully understood by a very acute audience. Not only has he delineated many kinds of folly, he has also contrived to exhibit mere stupidity in a most diverting and entertaining manner. There is also a peculiar species of the farcical to be found in his pieces, which seems to us to be introduced in a more arbitrary manner, but which, however, is founded in imitation of an actual custom. This is the introduction of the buffoon; the fool with his cap and motley dress, called in English, *Clown*, who appears in several comedies though not in all, but in *Lear* alone of the tragedies, and who generally exercises his wit merely in conversation with the principal persons, though he is also sometimes incorporated with the action. In those times it was not only usual for princes to keep court fools, but in many distinguished families they retained, along with other servants, such an exhilarating housemate as a good antidote against the insipidity and wearisomeness of ordinary life, as a welcome interruption of established formalities. Great men, and even churchmen, did not consider it beneath their dignity to recruit and solace themselves after important concerns with the conversation of their fools; the celebrated Sir Thomas More had his fool painted along with himself by Holbein. Shakspeare appears to have lived immediately before the time when the custom began to be abolished; in the English comic authors who succeeded him the clown is no longer to be found. The dismissal of the fool has been extolled as a proof of refinement; and our honest forefathers have been pitied for taking delight in such a coarse and farcical entertainment. I am much rather however disposed to believe, that the practice was dropped from the difficulty in finding fools able to do full justice to their parts: on the other hand, reason, with all its conceit of itself, has become too timid to tolerate such bold irony; it is always careful lest the

mantle of its gravity should be disturbed in any of its folds; and rather than to allow a privileged place to folly beside itself, it has unconsciously assumed the part of the ridiculous; but, alas! a heavy and cheerless ridicule. It would be easy to make a collection of the excellent sallies and biting sarcasms which have been preserved of celebrated court fools. It is well known that they frequently told such truths to princes as are never now told to them. Shakspeare's fools, along with somewhat of an overstraining for wit, which cannot altogether be avoided when wit becomes a separate profession, have for the most part an incomparable humour and an infinite abundance of intellect, enough to supply a whole host of ordinary wise men.

I have still a few observations to make on the diction and versification of our poet. The language is here and there somewhat obsolete, but on the whole much less so than most of the writers of that day, a sufficient proof of the goodness of his choice. Prose had yet been little cultivated, as the learned generally wrote in Latin: a favourable circumstance for the dramatic poet; for what has he to do with the scientific language of books? He had not only read, but studied the earlier English poets; but he drew his language immediately from life, and he possessed a masterly skill in blending the dialogical element with the highest poetical elevation. I know not what certain critics mean, when they say that Shakspeare is frequently ungrammatical. To make out this affirmation, they must prove that similar constructions never occur in his contemporaries, the direct contrary of which can be established. In no language is every thing determined on principle, much is always left to the caprice of custom; and because this has since changed, do they wish to make the poet answerable for it? The English language had not then attained that correct insipidity which has been introduced into the more recent literature of the country, to the prejudice, perhaps, of its originality. As a field when first brought under the plough produces, along with the fertile shoots, many luxuriant weeds, we shall also find that the poetical diction of that day run occasionally out into extravagance, but an extravagance originating in the fulness of its strength. We may still perceive traces of a want of assistance, but no where of a laborious and spiritless display of art. In general Shakspeare's style yet remains the very best model, both in the vigorous and sublime, and the pleasing and tender. In his sphere he has exhausted all the means of language. On all, the stamp of his mighty spirit is impressed. His images and figures, in their unsought for, nay, unarbitrary singularity, have often a sweetness altogether peculiar. He becomes occasionally obscure from too great fondness for the most compressed brevity; but the poring over Shakspeare's lines affords us an ample requital for our labour.

The verse of all his plays is generally the rhymeless Iambic of ten or eleven syllables, occasionally only intermixed with rhymes, but more frequently alternating with prose. No one piece is wholly written in prose; for even in those which approach the most to the pure comedy, there is always something added which elevates them to a higher rank than belong to this species. Many scenes are wholly prosaical, in others discourses in verse and prose suc-

ceed each other alternately. This can only appear an impropriety in the eyes of those who are accustomed to consider the lines of a drama like so many soldiers drawn up rank and file on a parade, with the same uniform, arms, and accoutrements, so that when we see one or two we may represent to ourselves thousands as being every way like them.

In the use of verse and prose Shakspeare observes very nice distinctions according to the ranks of the speakers, but still more according to their characters and disposition of mind. A noble language, elevated above the usual tone, is only suitable to a certain decorum of manners, which is thrown over both vices and virtues, and which does not even wholly disappear amidst the violence of passion. If this is not exclusively possessed by the higher ranks, it still however belongs naturally more to them than to the lower; and therefore in Shakspeare dignity and familiarity of language, poetry, and prose, are in this manner distributed among the characters. Hence his tradesmen, peasants, soldiers, sailors, servants, but more especially his fools and clowns, speak almost, without exception, in the tone of their actual life. However, inward dignity of sentiment, wherever it is possessed, does not stand in need of the artificial elegancies of education and custom to display itself in a noble manner; it is a universal right of mankind, of the highest as well as the lowest; and hence also, in Shakspeare, the nobility of nature and morality is elevated above that of society. He not unfrequently also makes the very same persons express themselves at times in the most sublime language, and at others in the lowest; and this inequality is in like manner founded in truth. Extraordinary situations, which intensely occupy the head and throw mighty passions into play, give elevation and tension to the soul: it collects together all its powers, and exhibits an unusual energy, both in its operations and in its communications by language. On the other hand, even the greatest men have their moments of remissness, when to a certain degree they forget the dignity of their character in the most unreserved carelessness. This very tone of mind is necessary to admit of their receiving amusement from the jokes of others, or passing jokes themselves, which surely cannot reflect dishonour even on a hero. Let any person, for example, go carefully through the part of Hamlet. How bold and powerful the language of his poetry when he conjures the ghost of his father, when he spurs himself on to the bloody deed, when he thunders into the soul of his mother! How he lowers his tone down to that of common life, when he has to do with persons whose station demands from him such a line of conduct; when he makes game of Polonius and the courtiers, instructs the player, and even enters into the jokes of the grave-digger. Of all the principal characters of the poet of a serious description, there is no one so rich in wit and humour as Hamlet; hence, of all of them he makes the greatest use of the familiar style. Others do not fall in it; either because they are constantly surrounded by the pomp of rank, or because a uniform seriousness is natural to them; or, in short, because they are throughout the whole piece under the dominion of a passion calculated to excite and not depress the mind, like the sorrow of Hamlet. The choice of the one form or the other is every where

so suitable, and so much founded in the nature of the thing, that I will venture to assert, even where the poet in the very same speech makes the speaker leave prose for poetry, or the converse, this could not be altered without the danger of injuring or destroying something or other. The blank verse has this advantage, that its tone may be elevated or lowered; it admits of approximation to the familiar style of conversation, and never forms such an abrupt contrast as that, for example, between plain prose and rhymed Alexandrines.

Shakspeare's Iambics are sometimes highly harmonious and full sounding; always varied and suitable to the subject, at one time they are distinguished for ease and rapidity, at another they move along with ponderous energy. They never fall out of the dialogical character, which may always be traced even in the continued discourses of individuals, excepting when they run into the lyrical. They are a complete model of the dramatic use of this species of verse, which, in English, since Milton, has been also used in epic poetry; but in the latter it has assumed a quite different turn. Even the irregularities of Shakspeare's versification are expressive; a broken off verse, or a sudden change of rhythmus, is in unison with the pause in the progress of the thought, or the entrance of another disposition of mind. As a proof that he purposely violated the mechanical rules, in the conviction that too symmetrical a versification does not suit with the drama, and has in the long run a tendency on the stage to lull the spectators asleep, we may observe that his earlier pieces are those which he has most diligently versified, and that in the works of a later period, when through practice he must have acquired a greater facility, we find the strongest deviations from the regulated progress of the verse. He was merely enabled by the verse to render the poetical elevation audible, but he claimed in it the utmost possible freedom.

The views or suggestions of feeling by which he was guided in the use of rhyme may be traced with almost equal certainty. Not unfrequently scenes, or even single speeches, close with a few rhymed lines, for the purpose of more strongly marking the division and of giving it more rounding. This was imitated in an injudicious manner by the English tragic poets of a later period; they suddenly elevated the tone in the rhymed lines, as if the person began all at once to speak in another language. The practice was hailed by the actors from its serving as a signal for clapping when they made their exit. In Shakspeare again the transitions are more easy: all changes of forms are introduced imperceptibly, and as if of themselves. Moreover, he generally loves to elevate a series of ingenious and antithetical sayings by the use of rhyme. We find other passages in continued rhyme, where solemnity and theatrical pomp were suitable, as in the mask, as it is called, in the *Tempest*, and in the play introduced into Hamlet. In other pieces, for instance the *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet*, the rhyme constitutes a considerable part; because he wished to give them a glowing colour, or because the characters utter in a musical tone their love complaints or love suits. Here he has even introduced rhymed trophes, which

approach to the form of the sonnet then usual in England. The assertion of Malone that Shakspeare in his youth was fond of rhyme, but that he afterwards rejected it, is sufficiently refuted by his own chronology of the poet's works. In some of the earliest, for instance in the Second and Third Part of *Henry the Sixth*, there are hardly any rhymes; in what is stated to be his last piece, *The Twelfth Night, or What You Will*, and in *Macbeth*, which is proved to have been composed under the reign of King James, we find them in no inconsiderable number. Even in the secondary matters of form Shakspeare was not guided by humour and incident, but acted like a genuine artist on solid grounds. This might also be shown in the kinds of verse which he least often used; for instance, in the rhymed verses of seven and eight syllables, were we not afraid of dwelling too long on merely technical peculiarities.

The manner of handling rhymed verse, and the opinion respecting its harmony and elegance, have undergone a much greater change in England in the course of two centuries than has been the ease in the rhymeless Iambic or blank verse. In the former, Dryden and Pope have become models; these writers have communicated the utmost smoothing to rhyme, but they have also tied it down to a harmonious uniformity. A foreigner, to whom antiquated and new are the same, may perhaps feel with greater freedom the advantages of the more ancient manner. Certain it is, the rhyme of the present day, from the too great confinement of the couplet, is unfit for the drama. We must not estimate the rhyme of Shakspeare by the mode of subsequent times, but by a comparison with his contemporaries or with Spenser. The comparison will without doubt turn out to his advantage. Spenser is often diffuse; Shakspeare, though sometimes hard, is always brief and vigorous. He has much more frequently been induced by the rhyme to leave out something necessary than to insert any thing superfluous. Many of his rhymes however are yet faultless: ingenious with attractive ease, and rich without false brilliancy. The songs interspersed (namely, those of the poet himself) are generally sweetly playful and altogether musical; we hear in imagination their melody while we merely read them.

The whole of Shakspeare's productions bear the certain stamp of his original genius, but yet no writer was ever farther removed from every thing like a manner acquired from habit and personal peculiarities. He is rather, from the diversity of tone and colour, which he assumes according to the qualities of objects, a true Proteus. Each of his compositions is like a world of itself, which moves in its own sphere. They are works of art, finished in the most consummate style, in which the freedom and judicious choice of their author are revealed. If the thorough formation of a work, even in its minutest parts, according to a leading idea; if the dominion of the animating spirit over all the means of execution deserves the name of correctness (and this, excepting in matters of grammar, is the only proper sense of the word); we shall then, after allowing to Shakspeare all the higher qualities which demand our admiration, be also compelled, in most cases, to allow him the name of a correct poet.

It would be instructive in the

highest degree, could we follow, step by step, in his career, an author who at once founded and carried his art to perfection, and to go through his works in the order of time. But, with the exception of a few fixed points, which at length have been obtained, we are here in want of the necessary materials. The diligent Malone has indeed has made an attempt to arrange the plays of Shakspeare in chronological order; but he himself only gives it out for hypothetical, and it could not possibly be attended with complete success, as he excludes from his research a considerable number of pieces which have been ascribed to the poet, though rejected as spurious by all the editors since Rowe, but which, in my opinion, must, if not wholly, at least in a great measure be attributed to him.

The best and easiest mode therefore of reviewing the dramas will be to arrange them in classes. This, it must be owned, is merely a last shift: several critics have declared that all Shakspeare's pieces substantially belong to the same species, although sometimes one ingredient, sometimes another, the musical or the characteristical, the invention of the wonderful or the imitation of the real, the pathetic or the comic, seriousness or irony, may preponderate in the mixture. Shakspeare himself, it would appear, only laughed at the petty endeavours of many critics to find out divisions and subdivisions of species, and to hedge in what had been so separated with the most anxious care; the pedantic Polonius in *Hamlet* recommends the players, for their knowledge of "tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical, historical-pastoral, scene-undividable, or poem unlimited." On another occasion he ridicules the limitation of tragedy to an unfortunate catastrophe:

"And tragical, my noble lord, it is;
For Pyramus therein doth kill himself."

However the division into comedies, tragedies, and historical dramas, according to the usual practice, may in some measure be adopted, if we do not lose sight of the transitions and affinities The subjects of the comedies are generally taken from novels: they are romantic love tales; none are altogether confined to the sphere of common or domestic relations: all of them possess poetical ornament, some of them run into the wonderful or the pathetic. To these two of his most distinguished tragedies are immediately linked, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello;* both true novels, and composed on the same principles. In many of the historical plays a considerable space is occupied by the comic characters and scenes; others are serious throughout, and leave behind a tragical impression. The essential circumstance by which they are distinguished is, that the plot bears a reference to a poetical and national interest. This is not so much the case in *Hamlet*, *Lear*, and *Macbeth;* and hence we do not include these tragedies among the historical pieces, though the first is founded on an old northern, the second on a national tradition; and the third comes even within the epoch of the Scottish history, after it ceased to be fabulous.

EXTRACT FROM RUSSIAN HISTORY.

An account of the Reign of IVAN IV. *first Czar and Autocrat of all the Russias.* Abridged from an unpublished History of Russia.

I SHALL now pass, without further preface, to the period which forms the first great epoch in the annals of Russia, and which is in itself highly interesting on various accounts. In 1541, after a turbulent and disastrous minority, the sceptre passed into the hands of *Ivan Vassilievitch 2d*, or *Ivan* the 4th, appropriately surnamed by his subjects, the Terrible, and by foreigners, the Tyrant. His long reign of forty years laid the foundation of Russian greatness in almost every respect, and abounds with memorable events. Much more deserves to be known of his political and domestic career, than it would comport with my purpose to narrate. I shall confine myself principally to such transactions of both, as may serve to develope the progress of the Russian power, which, henceforth, as regards Europe, will present itself in a regular and tangible shape.

From the time that Ivan, at the age of fourteen, snatched the rod of empire from an ambitious regency, and gave thus a sure pledge of the extraordinary energy and ardour of character, for which he was ever afterwards distinguished, three great objects are said to have fixed his attention and constituted the business of his life;—the destruction of the Tartar power,—the humiliation of the Poles and Swedes,—and the civilization of his people. In the former, he was entirely successful; and if he failed in the last, it was not altogether from the want of sagacity or even liberality in the choice of means. —His first steps towards the accomplishment of his aims of aggrandizement argue no contemptible discernment, and a profitable study of European affairs. I allude to his assumption of the titles of *Czar* and *Autocrat of all the Russias*, and to the formation of a standing military force—after the Asiatic model, indeed, but with European tactics,—under the name of *Streltzi*.—One of the earliest of the domestic efforts of vigor which his designs and situation called upon him to make, was the correction of the mutinous propensities of his soldiery and their leaders, the Boyars, the great civil and military functionaries of the empire. This point he effected, on the occasion of an insurrection, which broke out amongst them, during his first expedition against the Tartar city of Kasan. Never was a similar reform accomplished in a manner, which denoted greater ferocity of disposition and a more implacable spirit in the chief, or which was better fitted to strike terror into rebellious subjects. The army was decimated, and those upon whom the lot fell, together with multitudes of other supposed delinquents were massacred in every form of butchery and mutilation, and their bodies, after being dragged through the

streets of his capital, thrown into the Moskowa.

Ivan experienced only mortification and loss in his first attempts upon the kingdom of Kasan, which although humbled and weakened, had not been tototally subdued, by his two immediate predecessors. He persevered, however, and with the aid of musquetry and artillery then first employed by the Russians, took the metropolis by assault, after an obstinate siege. The carnage was horrible and the victory decisive of the permanent fate of the kingdom. Astrackan was next invaded, and speedily reduced. The Tartars were too blind and furious in their mutual animosities, to be instructed by the misfortunes of their brethren, or to comprehend the necessity of union. After the fall of Astrackan, but one great fragment of their empire remained,—the kingdom of the Crimea,—of which much remains to be said hereafter.

The enormities committed by the Russians in these two important conquests, were of a nature to sustain that appalling reputation, which their previous history had established. Columns or pyramids of human heads, are the trophies which the "Delight of the East," Tamerlane, is said to have sometimes left on the ground where stood before flourishing cities. Ivan might have reared the same execrable monuments, out of the slaughter of the unresisting victims, on the occasions just mentioned.

The inestimable value to Russia of these acquisitions, may be understood from a simple inspection of the map of the empire. Independently of being for ever relieved from a formidable enemy and rival, she became, by the conquest of Kasan, the mistress of the Volga. By the reduction of the city of Astrackan so favourably situated for commerce, her power was solidly established on the Caspian sea, and the opportunity afforded for the extension of her dominion towards the South and East.

It would be idle to examine whether the wars waged by Ivan upon the Tartars were just or otherwise, as respects the motives from which they were undertaken. In that rude stage of society beyond which the Russians had not then advanced, the passions alone prompt to action. Revenge, hate, the lust of dominion, the spirit of rapine or of adventure, are the causes of contention; never those deliberations of right, necessity, or general expediency which in a higher state of refinement usually precede a resort to arms, and sometimes justify it, even in the eye of pure morality and enlightened reason.* Self preservation undoubtedly required of the Russians to break and dispere the Tartar power. When we consider likewise the original

* "Civilized nations," says Dr. Robertson in his introduction to the history of Charles V., "which take up arms upon cool reflection, from motives of policy or prudence, with a view to guard against some distant danger, or to prevent some remote contingency, carry on their hostilities with so little rancor or animosity, that war among them is disarmed of half its terrors. Barbarians are strangers to such refinements. They rush into war with impetuosity, and prosecute it with violence. Their sole object is to make their enemies feel the weight of their vengeance, nor does their rage subside until it be satiated with inflicting on them every possible calamity."

aggression, the provocations, the numberless incentives given to deadly hate, we can the more easily excuse the intemperance and severity of the vengeance exercised. Neither would I undertake to decide as to the comparative merits, under the same point of view, of the Russians and their *Western* neighbours, in the many sanguinary contests in which they were engaged before the time of Ivan. The remarks just made would seem applicable to this, as well as the other case.

There is, however, a material circumstance which should not be forgotten in this train of observation: I mean the inevitable tendency of such intestine feuds, as those by which Russia was so frequently convulsed; of such external wars as those in which she was constantly involved, to produce or render inveterate in the national character, the passions and habits most hostile to the peace and security of the world. An insensibility to the finer touches of humanity, a contempt of all moral restraints, an invincible restlessness of dispotion, an insatiable lust of dominion, the spirit of intrigue and guile, in short, all those anti-social unruly qualities of which the natural agent is the sword, are the necessary consequences. I will not now say how far they are visible in the ulterior march of Russia; but they may be readily traced in the proceedings of Ivan subsequent to his expedition against the Tartars, whatever may be the dispositions with which he set out. It seems evident from the sequel, that while his sword was yet reeking with their blood, he indulged ambitious hopes concerning Finland and Livonia, and meditated a plan for the conquest of both these provinces. The war which he either provoked with Sweden and Poland, or which their injustice furnished as an opportunity for the purpose, deserves to be noticed, although it did not end in any immediate increase of the Russian power.

Gustavus Vasa of Sweden, and Sigismund Augustus of Poland were cotemporaries of Ivan, as were Francis the first of France, and Charles the fifth of Spain. The constellation of such characters is fitted to place the ruggedness of the Czar in still higher relief. Gustavus; the heroic deliverer, the mild legislator, the enlightened reformer of his country, the true founder of the Swedish monarchy; merits all the admiration and gratitude, with which Sweden celebrates his memory: *Sigismund*, although of an inferior order of merit, is illustrious for the gentleness of his nature, his taste for the sciences and fine arts, his fortitude and bravery, and the love and esteem which he conciliated from a rude and turbulent nation.

Both monarchs conceived, perhaps, a well founded jealousy of Ivan and leagued against him; at a moment however, when he was best prepared to withstand their attacks. The Swedes were severely beaten and compelled to abandon the enterprize. The Czar entered and ravaged Finland, renewing there the scenes which had been exhibited by his ancestors, in their expeditions against Constantinople. After forcing Gustavus to sign a separate peace, he turned his tri-

umphant arms against Livonia. This province existed as an independent power under the Knights of the Sword, and was invaded on the pretext that its sovereigns had once paid tribute to Russia. It was quickly overrun by an army composed not only of Russians, but of Tartars and Cossacks of the Don, whom the Czar had taken into his service. The fate of the wretched Livonians was such as might be expected from the dispositions of the spoilers, who indulged an unbounded license of pillage and butchery. The fields were desolated, the towns mercilessly sacked, and such of their inhabitants of whatever sex or age as accidently escaped the sword and the flames, either sold as slaves to the Tartars, or torn to pieces by the explosion of combustible materials introduced into their vitals. The governor of Wittenstein and those who survived the assault of that fortress, were, by the order of Ivan, spitted and roasted alive, on lances.

Lithuania and Courland were also laid waste and occupied by the Russian forces. The war with Poland continued for a long term with various success; and here I must repeat a remark made in a preceding part of this work, of the Polish government, that whatever might have been its superior refinement, it seems, in the course of this contest to have manifested at times a character still more ingeniously perfidious and scarcely less sanguinary than that of its antagonist. Fortune however ultimately declared against Russia. Her armies were discomfited in several recounters. Ivan found himself attacked at once by the Poles, the Swedes, the Tartars, and the Turks.* The Tartars however penetrated as far as Moscow, and wrapped it in flames. Ivan was at length compelled to sue for peace. What is not a little remarkable, he appealed to Pope Gregory XIII. of Rome as mediator, through whose nuncio the Jesuit Possevin,† A. D. 1581, deputed to Russia, for the purpose, it was finally negotiated upon the basis of a mutual relinquishment of all conquests made, and pretensions advanced, during the war.

Ivan was thus frustrated in his views on Livonia and Finland, and had lost an immense number of men. Russia was covered with mourning from calamities of every kind; but the war was not wholly unproductive of advantage. It contributed to extend her military renown, to improve her tactics, and to establish more direct relations between her and the Western powers. During these hostilities an event occurred which fully indemnified her for every disaster. I refer to the arrival at the port since called Archangel, of a British ship which had formed part of a squadron of four sent from England in 1550, under the directions of Sebastian Cabot, to discover a north-east passage to China and

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* Selim II., eager to wrest Astrackan from his hands, sent against it a body of thirty or forty thousand Janissaries, which the Russians nearly annihilated under the walls of the city. Of the whole expedition only three or four thousand survived to return to Constantinople.

† From whom we have an entertaining work entitled *Antonii Possevini Moscovia*, containing an account of his mission, and of the state of Russia under Ivan.

the Indies. Mere chance carried her, after being separated from her companions by a furious tempest, into the White Sea, and to the mouth of the Dwina. As she was the first vessel that had ever appeared in that quarter, information of the circumstance was communicated with all possible speed, to the Czar, then at Moscow. Her captain, Richard Chancellor, was invited to proceed to the capital, where he was most graciously and splendidly received. Every encouragement was held out for the immediate establishment of commercial relations between the two countries, and the fortunate navigator was charged on his return with a letter from the Czar to his sovereign, of the most munificent purport. Chancellor made a second voyage to Russia in 1555, with suitable instructions from his government, and obtained in favour of his countrymen, a license or or formal patent authorizing them to establish themselves, and carry on trade in any part of the Russian empire, with an exemption from taxes, duties and imposts of whatever description.*

The alacrity and liberality with which Ivan seconded this great behest of fortune, redound much to the credit of his discernment, and prove an unusual enlargement of mind. He seems to have distinguished at once its unrivalled importance, not only with a view to the developement and fructification of the natural resources of Russia, but to her advancement in civilization. The connection to which it led has, indeed, done more for her in every respect, than all the domestic reforms of her sovereigns. Whatever empty or interested clamours may have been raised in regard to monopoly, it must be evident, on calm reflection, that British capital and enterprize have poured riches into her lap, animated her industry, benefited her agriculture, and promoted her naval strength to a far greater extent than would have resulted from her solitary efforts, or a communion with any other people. I need not add that, with respect to sound knowledge and moral dignity, the same superiority could be claimed for the intercourse with England, had the bulk of the Russians been properly susceptible of impression on this score. In proportion as

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* Of the first communications of England with Russia, the most ample and authentic narratives are to be found in *Hackluyt's principal navigations of the British nation*, and in *Purchas' Pilgrims*, printed in 1625. The following are the titles of some of the accounts contained in the last mentioned work.

"The beginning of English discoveries towards the North and North-East, by Sir Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, and others of the Muscovite trade—as also voyages by Russia over the Caspian sea and through divers regions of Tartaria."

"The first voyage for discoveries with 3 ships set forth under the charge of sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, in which he died, and Muscovia was discovered by captain Chancellor. Some additions for better knowledge of this voyage taken by Clement Adams, schoolmaster to the Queen's Henshmen, from the mouth of captain Chancellor.

"Copy of the duke of Muscovia and emperor of Russia his letters sent to king Edward the sixth, by the hands of Richard Chancellor."

"The first voyage made by Master Anthonia Jenkinson, from the city of London, towards the land of Russia, begun the 12th of May in the year 1557."

they become so, the policy of rendering the communion as intimate as possible, will be the only true one for every Russian sovereign who sincerely aims at raising his people to the highest standard of excellence and felicity.

Ivan studied to improve to the utmost this new and auspicious acquaintance. He drew a number of artificers and artists of every description from England, and sent thither an ambassador accompanied by twelve of his nobles. He seems to have made that country an object of the deepest personal interest, if we may credit the statement that he proposed, at one period, to marry lady Ann Hastings, daughter of the earl of Huntingdon, and demanded of Elizabeth an asylum near her throne, in case the presence of external enemies or the discontent of his subjects should compel him to abandon his own. The English company of "*merchants adventurers for the discovery of lands unknown*" obtained from him the exclusive privilege of tranporting merchandize through his empire by the Caspian into Great Buckara and Persia. Their attempts to carry this project into execution were, however, frustrated, by the depredations of the Cossacks who infested the route. Ivan sent troops to punish the freebooters. They made resistance, but were speedily overcome. One of their leaders, of the name of *Yermak*, escaping from the banks of the Boristhenes with a body of five or six thousand of the delinquents, was pursued from province to province, until at length driven by despair, he pushed forward into Siberia, and as Cortes and Pizarro had done in Mexico and Peru, effected through inumerable perils and difficulties, the subjugation of a great part of that region.*

After a lapse of four years, Ivan was equally delighted and surprised by the appearance at his court, of Cossack deputies from the east bank of the Irtish, sent to do homage for a new empire conquered by his rebellious vassals, and to solicit the pardon of the conqueror as the only recompense desired for so splendid a service. The whole narrative of this adventure,—which, however, was not completed in the reign of Ivan—is scarcely less romantic and interesting, than that of the Spanish usurpations in South America. These were, in fact, of much less importance and value to the mother country, than was to Russia, the acquisition which English enterprise thus singularly induced. Siberia, by her position, her inexhaustible mines and her rich furs, has added incalculably to the security, strength, commercial wealth and facilities, of the Russian empire.† Whether

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* The Russians had previously carried on a regular exchange of trinkets for the furs of Siberia, and Ivan had sent an army against its principal Khan, which was almost annihilated in the attempt. Gibbon mentions in his account of the conquests of the Moguls that Sherban Khan, a grandson of Gengis Khan, led, in 1243, a horde of fifteen thousand families into the wilds of Siberia, and that his descendants reigned at Tobolskoy above three centuries. He adds that fifteen years after the death of Gengis, the Moguls were informed of the name and manners of the Samoyds, who dwelt in subterraneous huts in the neighbourhood of the Polar circle. (Decline and Fall, C. lxiv.)

† The following article from a late London paper, in relation to Siberia,

the cause of humanity has gained by the opening of a receptacle for the innumerable victims of despotism, whose blood might otherwise have contributed to swell the streams that so constantly flowed about the throne, is a problem which I shall not undertake to solve. To the majority immediate death might be more desirable, less afflictive, than the protracted sufferings of such an exile: under a seeming economy of human life, a greater havoc might be made of human happiness: to tyranny which must be always more or less confined in its range, when the ax and the knout are the only instruments of its persecutions, a wider scope, a safer opportunity, full encouragement for the gratification of its malignant passions, might be afforded by the new penal policy.* Innocence might be more exposed; but at the same time we cannot deny, that the guilty, while punished with adequate severity, might yet be reformed, and rendered useful both to themselves and to the public.

The first printing press known in Russia was established by Ivan the fourth, for the purpose of having a native edition of the bible, beyond which his literature did not extend. He also caused to be compiled a body of laws, in the shape of a regular code, of which the provisions in general savour strongly of the rudeness and ferocity of the national character.†

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is of itself interesting, and serves to show how tardy has been the reduction of the *Nomades* of that region.

"The Russian government has made considerable progress towards opening a communication with the northern regions of America, by the way of Siberia. The Tschuktsches, a nation inhabiting the north-east part of Siberia, having been continually in a state of war with the Konrakes, who inhabit the shores of the sea of Ochotks, the latter threw themselves under the protection of Russia. The prudent measures adopted by the Russian commissary Panner, succeeded in inducing the Tschuktsches to make peace with the Konrakes, and to come every year into the circle of Nischuckolyma to exchange their furs for linen, tobacco and other goods. This traffic was carried on for several years, and finally they submitted themselves to the Russian government in form.

"On the 5th of March 1813, they sent a deputation of 70 persons to Fort Angora, on the great river Anui; these deputies took the oath of fidelity to the Emperor of Russia, and many of them were baptized according to the rites of the Greek church.—The chiefs have engaged a fox's skin for every individual baptized, in the name of tribute. The trade with these new subjects of the Russian empire has since become brisker than ever; and there is every reason to believe that the Russians will speedily, by advancing overland to Behring's straits, open a communication with the people of America who inhabit these coasts, and who can supply abundance of teeth of sea-horses, and furs of great value."

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* During the short reign of the empress Anne, in the eighteenth century, there were comparatively but few public executions. "Yet," says general Manstein in his memoirs, "it was reckoned that since the commencement of her reign there had been above twenty thousand state criminals sent into Siberia. There were five thousand of them of which the habitation could never be discovered, nor any the least news learnt what was become of them. But as the empress Elizabeth had recalled all that could be found, there was not a day passed, but there were seen at court some new faces of persons who had passed several years successively in the most horrid prisons." (P. 321.)

† See, for this code, William's history of the northern governments, vol. 2d. and *Le Clerc Histoire de la Russie Ancienne*, vol. 2d.

Some small part of it, however, is marked by intelligence, and a clear sense of justice. From such a source nothing mild or equitable could well be expected to spring.

All that is related of the depravity and cruelty of the tyrants of antiquity nearly ceases to inspire horror, when compared with the vices and atrocities ascribed to Ivan. The murder of his eldest son was among the least of his crimes. No imagination can well endure the recital of the massacres with which he ensanguined Novogorod and Moscow. His subjects were often butchered in crowds by his own hands, and his courtiers made to co-operate with him in the fell tragedy. There is no refinement of barbarity or hypocrisy, no excess of extortion or violence, no wild riot of sensuality or rage of which he is not accused by cotemporary writers, whose veracity can be questioned only on the ground of the incompetency of human nature to produce, or to support such a mass of turpitude and guilt.* In their pictures, he is a heteroclete monster even among despots. His subjects viewed him, nevertheless, with veneration, and towards the end of his reign *with affection!* The sentiments with which he inspired them, gave rise to their proverb, when speaking of a doubtful circumstance, "It is known to God and the Czar;" as his tyranny might well have suggested the other, "near the Czar, near death." Notwithstanding the enormity of his vices, he was not without glimmerings of generosity and moderation, and possessed great qualities of understanding, as his undertakings abundantly prove. What with these, and the fruits of accident, the Russian power made important advances under his sway in strength, consistency, and reputation.

The history of the interval between the accession of Ivan IV., and that of Michael Romanof in 1613—much of which yet remains to be traced—depends for its authenticity, not merely on the Russian chronicles, but on copious relations of foreigners, eye-witnesses in general, of what they relate. Among the number are the ambassadors sent from England and Germany, to the court of Moscow; who corroborate fully what the professed historians have written, concerning the character of Ivan and the transactions of his reign. The events immediately subsequent are attested by similar and unquestionable evidence.*

The writers just mentioned speak largely of the civil condition, morals, and customs of the Russians, during this period. What the two first must have been, is sufficiently evident from their political history, and would be much more so to my readers, could I have quoted particular

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* The works upon which the text is grounded are,—*Levesque Histoire de Russie*, *Le Clerc* do., Tooke and Card's Russia, *Histoire des Czars par Le Baron Iwan Nestesurandi*, the work of *Possevin* cited above, the travels of *Olearius*, the narratives of various ambassadors sent to Ivan by foreign powers, including the commentaries of *Baron Herberstein*, sir Jerome Bowes' discourse on Russia, &c. &c.

* Particularly the curious work of Fletcher entitled "A treatise of Russia and the adjoining regions written by Dr. Giles Fletcher, lord ambassador from the late queen ever glorious Elizabeth, to Theodore then emperor of Russia. A. D. 1588."

traits,—the actions of individuals, which exhibit every class and degree of the Russian population, as alike ignorant, abject, ferocious, and debauched. It is made a question by those who visited Russia in the time of Ivan, and even by a cotemporary Russian of the highest authority,* whether the savage government of this monster was not best suited to the character of his subjects;—whether the tyranny of her sovereigns had operated to render the nation barbarous, or her barbarism has made it necessary for them to be such as they were.†

Ivan is said to have first attached the peasants to the glebe, in consequence of their prospensity to emigration and a vagabond life. He could not however by any regulation, have degraded the nation to a more abject state of political servitude, than that in which it had uniformly existed from the foundation of the monarchy. In relation to the throne, as in the Asiatic despotims, all were upon the same level; all animated by the same spirit. When the noble sunk under the lash of the knout, at the feet of the Czar, he would yet, although guilty of no crime, thank the tyrant for condescending to honour his faithful slave, so far as to think of his amendment. A similar trait is to be noted in the history of ancient Persia, where, according to the historians, even those who were publickly scourged by the king's order, used to return him thanks for vouchsafing to remember them.

The sciences and most of the mechanical arts were altogether unknown in Russia. To be able to read the bible was a rare accomplishment with the Czars, and scarcely less so with the clergy. Among the latter but three were acquainted with the Latin, in the time of Ivan, and none with the Greek tongue. Their morals corresponded to the extent of their knowledge, and their fanataicism could only be exceeded by that of the populace, from whom they sprung, and over whom they possessed an unlimited ascendancy. The nation held all christians not of the Greek church, in abhorrence, and regarded intercourse with them as a contamination: a circumstance which proved a material obstacle to her civilization, by causing it to be strictly forbidden to a Russian to visit foreign countries.

The domestic condition of the Russian was little better than the social and political. Physically, his comforts, if he did not belong to the highest class, scarcely exceeded those of the savage; and his habits were almost equally gross: morally, he was a stranger to all the refinements and endearments which prevail even among the lowest orders of civilized life. The wife ascribed it to indifference on the part of the husband, if he did not incessantly ply her with blows. She was kept in Asiatic seclusion, and the husband seems to have had the right of putting her to death, since no punishment is prescribed for the act by the ancient laws of Russia. Children were at the disposal of the father, throughout the whole course of life, with this limitation only, that they could not be sold *beyond the fourth time* as slaves.

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* *Prince Kourbskoi* in his life of *Ivan.*

† Incertum est an tanta immanitas gentis tyrannum principem exigat, an tyrannide principis gens ipsa tam immanis tamque dura crudelis que reddatur. (*Herberstein.*)

In power and deportment the father and the husband were the representatives of the Czar; the domestic economy was the image of the political.

Fear was the universal principle of action, and corporal suffering—the natural correlative of this principle,—the means of government and authority, in every department, and through all degrees of rank. Russia, in short, exhibited most of the vices of character and gloomy customs, which distinguish the Asiatic despotisms; but her population possessed qualities of which the Asiatics are usually destitute, energy and acuteness of mind, vivacity of temper, a spirit of enterprise and enquiry. The primitive Russians were conspicuous for that talent of imitation, which is still the admiration of travellers in Russia. They excelled, as do their posterity, in the preparation of leather and the crystallization of salt. Their manufacturing industry, was, however, in general, extremely limited and rude. They owed to foreign officers whatever progress they had made in the military art. The Russian soldier displayed indeed the same qualities for which he is now remarkable, and which render him so perfect an instrument of conquest in the hands of a skilful leader. He was to the last degree submissive, and patient of suffering, and seemed to be gifted with a sort of impassibility as to fatigue and hunger.

It is proper to have a general idea of what the Russians were at the commencement of the seventeenth century, to understand what progress they have since made in civilization, and what is to be expected from them on this score for the future. They must appear to less disadvantage contrasted at present with the Western and Southern nations, when it is considered, how far the latter were beyond them, at the period just mentioned. In Italy, the age of Leo X. was even passed. Michael Angelo and Raphael, Ariosto and Tasso, Machiavel and Guicciardini had accomplished their chef d'œuvres and brought the arts of imagination and narrative to the acmé of excellence. In France, the genius, the learning, the wit and the courtesy which shed so brilliant a light over the age of Louis the fourteenth, were beginning to dawn. England could boast of her More, her Bacon, her Spenser, her Shakspeare, her Harvey, and her sir Philip Sidney; Spain of her Cervantes; Portugal of her Camoens. What was the proficiency of the Germans in knowledge, in the arts, in domestic and social refinement, I need not mention to those who have any acquaintance with the modern history of Europe. The case would be, on this side, much stronger, if I spoke of the commencement of the eighteenth century, the era of Peter the Great, from which the comparison between Russia and Western Europe should properly date,—an era when the human mind in the latter was in its richest blaze of glory: in full fruition of all the delights and honours of civilization;—when, by the purification of the moral sentiments through the influence of knowledge and religion, our nature was brought as near to its divine original in dignity, as it is probably ever destined to approach.

EULOGY OF M. PARMENTIER,

Read at the Public Sitting of the Institute, the 9th of January, 1815, by M. CUVIER, *Perpetual Secretary.*

Translated by H. PATILLO, Esq. of Baltimore.

THE sciences have arrived at such a point, that they no longer astonish us so much by the great efforts which they suppose, and the striking truths which they reveal, as by the immense advantages which the application of them procures every day to society. There is not one of them in which, at present, the discovery of a single proposition may not enrich an entire people or change the face of nations; and far from our having to dread that this influence may diminish, it cannot but increase, for it is easy to prove that it originates in the very nature of things.

We may be permitted to make some reflections upon this subject, which cannot be improper in this place, or before this assembly.

Hunger and cold are the two great enemies of our race, and it is to combat them, that all the arts are applied more or less directly.

Now it is only by the combination and disengagement of two or three elementary substances, that they can answer this purpose.

To nourish ourselves is nothing else that to replace the quantities of carbon and hydrogen which respiration and perspiration take from us; to warm ourselves, is to retard the dispersion of the caloric with which respiration supplies us.

For one or the other of these purposes are intended the palace and the cabin; the coarse bread of the poor and the dainties of the sensualist; the purple of kings and the rags of misery. Consequently, architecture and the liberal arts, agriculture and manufactures, navigation, commerce, wars even and the vast display of courage and of genius, the grand apparatus of strength and of knowledge which they require, have for their final object two simple operations of chemistry. Consequently also the smallest discovery concerning the laws of nature in these two operations may reduce public and private expenditure, change the system and the course of commerce, transfer the power of one nation to another, and finish by altering the most fundamental relations of the different classes of society.

In fact, this carbon, and this hydrogen which we are incessantly consuming in our fire places, in our clothing and our food, are continually reproduced for a new consumption by vegetation which takes them back again from the atmosphere and from water; but the quantity of vegetation is itself limited by the extent of the soil, by the species of vegetables which are cultivated in it, and by the proportion of wood, of meadow, of corn-land and of cattle. In vain therefore shall the most paternal government attempt to increase

the population of its territory beyond certain limits; all its efforts will be unavailing unless science come to its assistance. But let a philosopher imagine a fire-place of a new construction which shall economise in some degree the consumption of fuel, it is as if he had added in the same degree to our wood lands; let a botanist present us a plant capable of yielding more nourishment in the same space, it is as if he had increased in the same proportion the quantity of our cultivated lands. Immediately there is room for a greater number of inhabitants.

Happy conquests which cost no blood, and which repair the disasters of more vulgar ones.

Yes! however paradoxical the assertion may appear, it is, in fact, the progress of the sciences which prevents society from sinking under the effects of its own madness.

But for chemistry what would have become of our manufactures at a time when we had voluntarily denied ourselves all intercourse with the countries which produce our raw materials? Has not vaccination preserved the children, who are soon to replace those whom war has swept away? And, to consider only the labours of Parmentier and count Rumford, is it not evident to all the world that the perseverance with which the first urged the propagation of the potatoe, has fertilized and rendered habitable entire districts formerly barren, and has saved us from the horrors of famine twice within twenty years; that the discoveries of the other on the most economical use of fuel have counterbalanced the devastation of our forests, and that applied to the preparation of food, they sustain at this moment a multitude of unfortunate beings, from one extremity of Europe to the other.

If we reflect an instant on the effect of the smallest improvement applicable on so vast a scale, we shall find that it is to be calculated by hundreds of millions.

If I could bring before you those fathers, who no longer hear around them the mournful cries of want; those mothers who have found their milk return when misery had dried up the sources of it; those children who no longer fall in their infancy, withered like the flowers of spring; if I could inform them to whom they are indebted for these alleviations of their calamities, their cries of gratitude would render my vain discourse unnecessary; there is not one of you who would not renounce with joy his finest discoveries for such a concert of benedictions.

You will listen then with some interest to the particulars of the life of this useful man; you will render honour to that kind of labours which the progressive state of civilization most imperiously demands.

Antoine-Augustin Parmentier was born at Montdidier in 1737, of a creditable family which had long been established in that town, where it had occasionally filled some municipal offices.

The premature death of his father, and the narrowness of his mother's fortune, who was left a widow with three young children, confined the early education of M. Parmentier to a little knowledge of Latin, which he received from his mother, a woman of understanding, and better informed than

those of her condition generally are.

A worthy ecclesiastick had taken upon himself to develope these first germs, imagining that the young man would become a valuable member of the church; but the necessity of maintaining his family soon compelled him to choose a profession which should afford him more prompt resources: he was therefore obliged to desist from the study of letters, and his laborious life never afterwards permitted him to return to them fully; and this explains how his works, so important from their utility, have not always the order and the precision which a regular education and long practice alone can give to a writer.

In 1755 he commenced his apprenticeship with an apothecary at Montdidier, and the following year came to Paris, where he continued it with one of his relations who exercised the same profession. Having shown intelligence and industry he obtained in 1757, an employment as apothecary in the hospitals of the army of Hanover. The late M. Bayen, one of the most distinguished men whom this class has possessed, then presided over that department of the service. We all know that he was not less estimable from the elevation of his character than from his talents. He remarked the good qualities and regular conduct of the young Parmentier, attached himself to him, and presented him to M. de Chamousset, intendant general of the hospitals, whose active benevolence has rendered him so celebrated, and to whom Paris and all France are indebted for so many useful establishments.

It was from his intercourse with these two excellent men that M. Parmentier drew the ideas and sentiments which afterwards informed all his labours. He learnt from them two things equally unknown to those whose greatest duty it is to be acquainted with them: the extent, the variety of the miseries from which it is possible to rescue mankind if their well being were seriously sought; and the number and power of the resources which nature offers against so many scourges, if the knowledge and study of them were encouraged and disseminated.

Chemical knowledge, which took its rise in Germany, continued at that time much more diffused in that country than among us; more frequent applications of it had been made; the numerous little sovereigns among whom the country was divided, had attended particularly to the improvement of their principalities, and the chemist, the speculative husbandman, the friend of the useful arts, found every where something to learn.

M. Parmentier, incited by his virtuous masters, profited eagerly of these sources of instruction. When his duty detained him in a town, he examined the manufactures the least known among us; he obtained permission from the most skilful apothecaries to work in their laboratories. In the country he observed the methods of the farmers. He noted even the interesting objects which struck him on his marches with the troops. Nor did he want opportunities of remarking these things in all their varieties, for he was five times made a prisoner, and transported to places where his generals would not have conducted

him; he had occasion even to learn from experience the horrors of want, an experience necessary perhaps to light that fine fire of humanity which burnt within him during the course of his long life.

However, before making any use of the knowledge he had acquired, and endeavouring to ameliorate the condition of the people, it was necessary for him to render his own a little less precarious.

At the peace of 1763, he returned to the capital, and there recommenced, in a more scientific order, the studies connected with his art. The courses of Nollet, of Rouelle, of *Antoine*, and of *Bernard de Jussieu*, enlarged his ideas, and assisted him in arranging them more methodically. He acquired extensive and solid information on all the physical sciences, and an inferior place of apothecary becoming vacant in the invalids in 1766, he obtained it after a warm contest.

His subsistence being thus secured, his condition soon became easy. The administrators of the establishment finding that his conduct justified the choice which had been made of him, induced the king in 1772 to confer upon him the direction of the apothecary's department; a recompence which an unforeseen incident rendered much more complete than had been intended or than he had ventured to expect.

The pharmacy of the invalids had been from the beginning of the establishment under the direction of the sisters of charity. These worthy women, who had been very kind to young Parmentier, while he was a sort of journeyman to them, were not at all satisfied at his being placed upon their level. They raised such a clamour on the occasion, they set so many springs in motion, that the king at last was obliged to recede, and after two years of controversy, this singular decision was made, that M. Parmentier should continue to enjoy the emoluments, but should no longer discharge the functions of his office.

He was thus enabled to surrender himself entirely to his zeal for researches of general utility; and from this moment he never more intermitted them.

The first opportunity which he had of publishing some results of his speculations had been afforded by the academy of Besançon in 1771. The dearth of 1769 had called the attention of the ministers and of philosophers to those vegetables which might supply the place of corn, and the academy had proposed a prize for the history of them, which Parmentier gained. He endeavoured to prove in his dissertation that the most useful nutritive portion of vegetables is the starch, and showed how it may be obtained from the roots and seeds of various indigenous plants, and might be deprived of the acrid and poisonous principles by which it is modified in some. He also pointed out the ingredients which may assist in converting this starch into a tolerable bread, or at least into a kind of biscuit fit to be eaten in soup.*

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* Memoir which gained the prize on this question: *to point out the vegetables which in times of scarcity may supply the place of those that are usually employed for the nourishment of man.* Paris, *Knapen*, 1773, in 12mo.

Undoubtedly in some cases, advantage might be derived from the processes which he proposes, but as those plants are for the most part wild, not abundant, and would cost more than corn at the highest price, a general famine alone could induce the employment of them. Parmentier readily perceived that the surest plan was so to regulate rustic economy that famine and even scarcity should become impossible, and it was with this view, that he so anxiously recommended the potatoe, and opposed with firmness the prejudices which militated against the propagation of this beneficent root.

The majority of botanists, and Parmentier himself, have supposed with *Gaspar Bauhin** that the potatoe was brought from Virginia about the end of the sixteenth century, and it is to the celebrated and unfortunate Walter Raleigh that they generally attribute the honour of having imported it into Europe. I think it much more probable that it was brought by the Spaniards from Peru. Raleigh did not go to Virginia until 1586, and we may conclude from the testimony of *Clusius*† that as early as the year 1587 the potatoe must have been common in several parts of Italy, where it was already given to cattle, which supposes at least some years of cultivation. This vegetable is, besides, mentioned towards the end of the fifteenth century by the early Spanish writers, as being cultivated in the environs of Quito, where it was called *papas*,‡ and where there were various methods of preparing it for food. In fine, what seems to complete the necessary proof, *Banister* and *Clayton*, who have made extensive researches concerning the indigenous plants of Virginia, do not rank the potatoe among the number, and *Banister* even says expressly that he sought for it in vain for twelve years,* while, on the other hand, *Dombey* found it wild throughout the whole of the Cordilleras, where the Indians still use it in the same manner that they did at the time of the discovery.

The circumstance which may have given rise to the error is, that there are, in Virginia, several other plants with tuberous roots, which from imperfect descriptions may have been confounded with the potatoe. In fact Bauhin mistook for it the plant called *openawk* by *Thomas Harriot*. There are also in Virginia the common potatoes, but the anonymous author of the history of that country, says positively, that they have nothing in common with the potatoe of Ireland and England, which is the same as ours.

However this may be, this admirable vegetable met with a various reception in the different countries of Europe. It appears that the Irish were the first who turned them to account, for, at an early period, we find them denominated *Irish potatoes;* but in France we began by proscribing them. Bauhin relates that, in his time, the use of them had been forbidden in Burgundy, because it was imagined that they caused leprosy.

One could hardly persuade one-

* Prodom. p. 89.
† Plantar. rarior., lib. iv. p. 79.
‡ Emmanuel Acosta.

* Morison, Hist. plant. exot. III. 522.

self that a vegetable so wholesome, so agreeable, so productive, which requires so little labour, that a root so well protected from the inclemency of the seasons, that a plant, in a word which by a singular privilege manifestly unites every species of advantage without any other inconvenience than that of not lasting all the year, but which owes to this defect one advantage more, that of not giving hold to the avidity of monopolizers, should have needed two centuries to overcome puerile prejudices.

Nevertheless, we ourselves have witnessed it. The English had brought the potatoe into Flanders during the wars of Louis XIV.; it had afterwards spread, although inconsiderably, in some parts of France; Switzerland had received it more favourably, and to much advantage; after her example, several of our southern provinces had planted it, at the period of those dearths which occurred several times in the last years of Louis XV. Turgot especially had introduced the cultivation of it throughout the *Limousin* and *Angoumois* districts, of which he was intendant; and there was reason to hope that the whole kingdom would soon enjoy the full benefit of this new branch of subsistence, when a few old physicians renewed against it the charges of the sixteenth century.

The question was not now about leprosy, but fevers. The scarcities had produced epidemics in the south, which it was thought proper to attribute to the only means that existed of preventing them. In 1771, the comptroller general was obliged to obtain an opinion of the faculty of medicine to quiet the minds of the people.

Parmentier, who had learnt the value of the potatoe in the prisons of Germany, where he frequently had no other food, seconded the views of the minister by a chemical examination of that root* in which he showed that none of its component parts are injurious. He did more. To induce the common people to take a liking to them, he cultivated them in spots which were much frequented, causing them to be guarded with great care during the day only; and was well pleased if he thus induced persons to steal them by night. He could have wished that the king might, as is related of the emperors of China, have traced the first furrow of his field. His majesty deigned at least, to wear, in full court, on the day of a solemn *fete*, a bouquet of potatoe blossoms in his button hole, and nothing more was wanting to induce several of the nobility to plant them.

Parmentier even forced into the service of the poor all the science of the kitchen by exercising it on the potatoe, for he well knew that the poor would never possess it in abundance, until the rich should be convinced that it might furnish them with a palatable food. He declares that he once gave a dinner consisting only of potatoes, with twenty different sauces, and at which the appetite did not repine.

But the enemies of the potatoe, although not able to prove

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* *Chemical examination of Potatoes*, &c. Paris, *Didot*, 1773, and *an economical work on potatoes*, &c. *H. Monary*, 1774. It is the same edition with a different title.

that it was injurious to man, would not acknowledge themselves beaten; they pretended that it was so to lands, and rendered them sterile. It was not at all probable that a method of cultivation by which a greater number of cattle were fed, and the quantity of manure increased, could result in impoverishing the soil; however, this objection was to be answered, and the potatoe considered under an agricultural point of view. Parmentier, therefore, republished under several forms, every thing that regarded its cultivation and uses, even for fertilizing grounds; he treated of it indefatigably in learned dissertations, in popular addresses, in journals, in dictionaries, in works of every kind.* For forty years he never missed an opportunity of recommending it, and every bad year served as an auxiliary, of which he carefully availed himself to recal the public attention to his favourite plant.

It is thus that the name of this beneficent vegetable and his, have become almost inseparable in the memory of the philanthropist. The common people had even united them, and not always with gratitude. At a certain period of the revolution, it was proposed to elect Parmentier to some municipal office. One of the voters opposed the choice with violence. *He will make us eat nothing but potatoes*, said he, *it is he who invented them.*

But Parmentier did not desire the suffrages of the people; he knew that it is always a duty to serve them, but he knew also that while their education remains as it is at present, it is frequently a duty not to consult them. Moreover, he did not doubt but that, in the end, his efforts would be appreciated; and in fact, one of the blessings of his old age, was the almost complete success of his perseverance. *The potatoe has now none but friends*, exclaims he in one of his last works,* *even in those districts from which the spirit of system and of contradiction seemed to have banished it for ever.*†

However Parmentier was not one of those narrow spirits who are occupied exclusively with one idea. The advantages which he found in the potatoe, did not make him neglect those which other vegetables offered.

Maize which, next to the potatoe, affords us the cheapest food, is also a present from the new world, although in some places it is still called Turkish corn. It was the principal basis of food with the Americans, when the Spaniards first landed among them. It was brought to Europe much earlier than the potatoe: for Fuchs delineated and described it in 1543. It also spread much more rapidly; and, by giving to Italy and our southern provinces a new and abundant branch of nourishment, it has singularly contributed to enrich and increase their population.

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* Inquiries concerning those vegetables which, in times of scarcity, may replace our usual food, with new observations on the culture of potatoes. Paris, royal press, 1781, 8vo.

* *Traité sur la culture et les usages des pommes-de-terre, de la patate et du topinambour*, published and printed by order of the king. Paris, Barrois, 1789, 8vo.

† The article on the potatoe, in the agricultural dictionary of Rozier, vol. viii. is nearly a repetition of this work; that of the dictionary of Deterville, vol. xviii. is an extract from it.

Accordingly, to encourage the further multiplication of it, Parmentier only found it necessary to set forth, as he has done very completely, the precautions which its culture and preservation require, and the many purposes to which it may be applied. He would have wished to see it entirely exclude buckwheat which is so inferior to it, from the few districts in which the latter is still retained*.

The chesnut, which, we are told, was the food of our ancestors, before they were acquainted with corn, is still a valuable production in some of our provinces, principally towards the centre of the kingdom. M. *Daine*, intendant of Limoges, induced Parmentier to examine whether it might not be possible to make of it a bread which should be palatable and fit for keeping: his experiments were unsuccessful, but they gave occasion to a complete treatise on the chesnut tree and the different preparations of its fruit.†

Wheat itself was an object of long study with Parmentier, and perhaps he has not rendered less service in making known the proper methods of grinding and baking it, than in extending the cultivation of the potatoe.‡ Having ascertained by a chemical analysis that the bran does not contain any nourishing principle for man, he concluded that it must be of advantage to exclude it from bread; he thence deduced the benefit of economical grinding which, by passing the grain several times through the mill and the bolting cloth, entirely separates the bran from the flour, and he showed that it furnishes bread at a cheaper price, whiter, more savoury and more nutritious. So totally had ignorance misconceived the advantages of this method, that for a long time, there had been decrees proscribing it, and the most valuable part of the grain was given to cattle with the bran.

Parmentier studied with care every thing relating to bread; and as books would have been of little use for the instruction of millers and bakers, classes of people who for the most part are not much addicted to reading, he induced the government to establish a school of baking, the pupils of which might carry into the provinces all the best processes.* He went himself with M. Cadet-Devaux, into Brittany and Languedoc to preach his doctrine.

He caused the greater part of the bran which was mixed with the bread of the troops to be excluded, and at the same time that he procured them a more wholesome and palatable food, he put an end to a multitude of abuses of which this mixture was the source.

In a word, skilful men have calculated that the progress made throughout France, in our time, in the art of grinding and in that of baking, is such, that leaving out of the account the other vegetables which might be substituted in part for corn, the quantity of corn itself necessary for the subsistence

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* Memoir which was crowned, the 25th August, 1784, by the academy of Bordeaux, on Maize. Bordeaux, 1785. 8vo.

The same work has been printed by order of the government with this title; *le Maïs ou blé de Turquie apprécié sous tous ses rapports*. Paris, imperial press, 1812, in 8vo.

† Traité de la chataigne—1780.

‡ Le parfait Boulanger—1778.

* *Discours prononcés a l'ouverture de l'ecole gratuite de boulangerie le* 8 *Juin* 1780, par **M. M. Parmentier et Cadet-Devaux.**

of an individual, may be reduced more than a third. As it is principally to Parmentier that we owe the adoption of these new processes, this calculation establishes his services better than any eulogium.

Feeling a sort of enthusiasm for arts which he valued in proportion to their utility, Parmentier would have regulated, on this single basis, the consideration and welfare of those who exercise them. He deplores especially the condition of the baker, whose work is so laborious, whose industry is subjected to so many vexatious regulations, and who is sure to become one of the first objects of popular fury at the slightest appearance of scarcity. His benevolence made him forget that it is one of the conditions attached to the existence of a large community, that the trades necessary for life should have arrived at such a degree of simplicity, that the attainment of them shall require no great expense of time or money, and consequently that the exercise of them shall not be attended with great profits. A nation could hardly subsist if the labourer aspired to the same consideration and emolument, as the physician, or the baker as the astronomer. And after all, it is probable that the proportion of recompense is not so much to the disadvantage of artizans, for we undoubtedly find among them many more who make fortunes than we do among learned men and artists.

Ardent as Parmentier was in the cause of public utility, we may readily suppose that he took an active part in the attempts occasioned by the last war, to supply the want of foreign commodities; it was he, in fact, who brought to most perfection and cried up the syrup of grapes; a perparation which might well bring ridicule upon those who wished to make it pass as a complete substitute for sugar, but which has nevertheless diminished the consumption of sugar by many thousand quintals; which has caused immense savings in our hospitals, to the great benefit of the poor; which gave a new value to our vines at a time when war and taxes were causing them to be pulled up in many places, and which will continue in use for many purposes of food, even if sugar should ever fall to its old price among us.*

These labours merely agricultural or economic, did not prevent Parmentier from attending to those more nearly related to his first profession. He had published, in 1774, a translation with notes, of the physical recreations of *Model*, a work in which pharmaceutical operations occupy a larger place than the other branches of natural science, and in 1775, he published an edition of the *Hydraulic Chemistry of Lagaraye*, which is hardly more than a collection of receipts for obtaining the principles of medicinal substances without impairing them by too much fire. Perhaps he would not have remained a stranger to the great progress which chemistry made at this epoch, if the bickerings of which we have already spoken had not deprived him of his laboratory at the invalids. Still we may assert that the chemical examination of milk and that of blood, at which he co-operated with our fellow-member M. *Deyeux*, are fine examples of the application of chemistry to the products of organized bodies and their modifications.

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* Instruction sur les moyens de suppléer le sucre. Instruction sur les sirops et conserves de raisins, &c. &c.

In the first of these works the authors compare the milk of woman, and that of the domestic animals, of which we make most use; and, in the second, they examine the changes produced in blood by inflammatory and putrid maladies and by the scurvy, changes which are often hardly perceptible, and which are far from explaining the disorders which they occasion, or which at least they accompany.

We have seen already how Parmentier had been in a manner singular enough, arrested in the proper line of his advancement. His merit was too great for this injustice to last long; the government employed him on several occasions as a military apothecary; and when, in 1788, a board of physicians and consulting surgeons for the army was organized, the minister wished to place him at it as apothecary, but *Bayen* was still alive, and Parmentier was the first to declare that he could not seat himself above his master. He was therefore only appointed as assistant to Bayen. This institution like so many others, was suppressed at the epoch of the great revolutionary anarchy, when subordination even in medicine could not be tolerated; but it was soon found necessary to re-establish it under the names of *committee and council of health for the armies*, and Parmentier whom the reign of terror had for some time driven from Paris, was speedily recalled.

He pursued this career with the same zeal as all the others. The hospitals of the army have been wonderfully indebted to his labours. Circulars, repeated orders to inferiors, pressing solicitations to authority, nothing was neglected. We have seen him of late years bitterly deploring the total neglect of the asylums of the victims of war, by a government occupied with conquering and not with preserving.

Above all, we should bear a signal testimony to the care which he bestowed upon the young men employed under his orders; to the kindness with which he received, and rewarded them. His protection followed them to whatever distance they might be dragged, and we know more than one of them who has owed his life in foreign climates to the provident advice of his paternal director.

But his activity was not confined to the duties of his office, every thing which promised utility became of right, its object.

At the time of the establishment of steam engines, water works by steam, he removed the fears of the public concerning the salubrity of the water of the Seine: at a later period he engaged with ardor in the distribution of cheap soups;—he contributed greatly to the extending of vaccination;—it was he chiefly who introduced the beautiful order which reigns in the central pharmacy of the hospitals of Paris, and who compiled the pharmaceutical code which is used in them: he superintended the great bake-house of *Scipion* where all the bread for the hospitals is made; the domestic hospital (Hospice des Mênages) was under his particular direction, and he attended most minutely to every thing which could mitigate the lot of the 800 old persons of both sexes who compose it.

In a word, wherever there was much to be done, wherever great services were to be performed without any reward, wherever there was an association for the

purpose of doing good, he was among the first, ready to consecrate his time, his pen, and even his fortune, in case of need.

This long and continual habit of devoting himself to the welfare of mankind, had at length impressed itself upon his external appearance. You fancied that you saw in him beneficence personified. A person tall and erect, even in his old age, a countenance full of amenity and gentleness, fine hair as white as snow, made this venerable old man the image of goodness, and of virtue. His countenance pleased particularly by an expression of happiness arising from the good he had done; and indeed who could better deserve to be happy than the man who, without birth, without fortune, without high station, without any eminence of genius even, but by the sole perseverance of benevolence, has perhaps contributed as much to the welfare of his fellow creatures, as any of those on whom nature and chance have heaped all the means of serving them.

Parmentier was never married; his sister, Madame *Houzeau*, had always remained with him, and had assisted him with the utmost zeal in his auspicious labours. She died at a time when her affectionate attentions were most necessary to her brother, whose health had been declining for some years from a chronic affection of the breast. His sorrow for the loss of her increased the sufferings of this excellent man, and rendered his last days very painful, but without in the least altering his character or suspending his exertions. He was taken from us on the 17th of December, 1813, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

ROYAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE.

Reflections on the progress of the Sciences, and on their relations with Society, by the Chevalier CUVIER, *perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, for the Physical Sciences; read at the public sitting of inauguration on the 24th April*, 1816.

Translated by H. PATILLO, Esq. of Baltimore.

AT the time when the Academy of Sciences received from Louis XIV. the form which the august successor of that monarch this day restores to us, in a solemnity similar to that which now brings us together, the ingenious historian of that body would not permit himself without a degree of reserve, to advance the opinion that the labours of his fellow-members might not be so entirely useless as they were considered in his own time.

Now, we may hold a language less timid, or rather, we may speak with boldness.

The success which has of late years attended the observation of nature,—the study of her resources and her laws,—has excited an interest in their history, and we have collected from it more enlarged ideas of their power and utility.

We have seen them if not create society, at least grow, and expand with it, procuring to the latter in succession all its enjoyments; sometimes completely transposing its elements; and from what they have done, it has not been difficult to foresee what they might still do.

Thrown weak and naked on the surface of the globe, man appeared created for inevitable destruction; evils assailed him on every side; the remedies remained hidden from him;—but, he had been endowed with genius to discover them.

The first savages collected in the forests a few nourishing fruits, a few salutary roots, and thus supplied their most immediate wants; the first shepherds observed that the stars move in a regular course, and made use of them to guide their journies across the plains of the desert; such was the origin of the mathematical, and such of the physical sciences.

Once convinced that it could combat nature by the means which she herself afforded, genius reposed no more; it watched her without relaxation; it incessantly made new conquests over her, all of them distinguished by some improvement in the situation of our race.

From that time a succession of conducting minds, faithful depositories of the attainments already made, constantly occupied in connecting them, in vivifying them by means of each other, have conducted us, in less than forty ages, from the first essays of rude observers, to the profound calculations of Newton and Laplace, to the learned classifications of Linnæus and Jussieu. This precious inheritance, perpetually increasing, brought from Chaldea into Egypt, from Egypt into Greece, concealed during ages of disaster and of darkness, recovered in more fortunate times, unequally spread among the nations of Europe, has

every where been followed by wealth and power; the nations who have reaped it are become the mistresses of the world; such as have neglected it, are fallen into weakness and obscurity.

It is true that for a long time, even those who were so fortunate as to reveal any important truths, did not clearly perceive the great relations by which all truths are united, nor the infinite consequences which may flow from each.

And, indeed, it could not be expected that those Phœnician sailors who saw the sand of the shores of Bœtica transformed by fire into a transparent glass, should have at once foreseen that this new substance would prolong the pleasures of sight to the old; that it would one day assist the astronomer in penetrating the depths of the heavens, and in numbering the stars of the milky way; that it would lay open to the naturalist a miniature world as populous, as rich in wonders as that which alone seemed to have been granted to his senses and his contemplation; in fine, that the most simple and direct use of it would enable the inhabitants of the coast of the Baltic sea, to build palaces more magnificent than those of Tyre and Memphis, and to cultivate, almost under the frost of the polar circle, the most delicious fruits of the torrid zone.

When a pious monk, in the seclusion of a German cloister, first set fire to a mixture of sulphur and saltpetre, what mortal could have predicted to him the consequences which would arise from his experiment? To change the art of war; to deprive mere physical strength of its superiority over courage; to re-establish the authority of kings in the west; to render it impossible that civilized countries should ever again be the prey of barbarous nations; to become, in a word, one of the great causes of the propagation of knowledge, by rendering knowledge necessary to conquering nations, who had in almost every instance been the sconrges of it; such was the destination of one of the most simple chemical combinations.

These consequences now strike every eye; but the most piercing sight could not have discovered them in the commencement, when every one was content with following the path which chance had opened to him; it was almost unconsciously that these first observers became the benefactors of their race.

The principle and the immense advantage of the present progress of the sciences, consist in the cessation of this insulated state.

The different roads have met; those who travelled on them have created for themselves a common language; their different doctrines, by gradual dilatation, at length touch, and lending a mutual support, proceeding on the same great line, they embrace, as it were, all existence in its universality.

By thus elevating herself above every thing, science has been enabled to inspect every thing; all the arts are subjected to her; industry acknowledges her as its regulator; she has assisted and protected man in all his modes of being and employment, and she has connected herself in the most intimate and perceptible manner, with all the relations of society.

Even before she had attained this elevation, it was not difficult to perceive that her observations, those in appearance the most humble and indifferent, might give rise to changes as important as unex-

pected in social habits, in commerce, and the public weal.

A botanist whose name is hardly known, brought tobacco from the new world to Europe about the time of the league. This plant now furnishes to France alone the subject of a tax of fifty millions; the other nations of Europe draw resources from it in the same proportion; even in Turkey and Persia it is become a considerable article of commerce and agriculture.

Another botanist, in the time of the regency, transported to Martinique a coffee-plant, an Arabian shrub, the use of which had only commenced in Europe about the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV. This single plant has yielded all those of our islands; it has enriched the colonists. The use of this grain is now become common, and certainly it has been more efficacious than all the eloquence of moralists in destroying the abuse of wine among the upper classes of society.

Who can answer that even now our botanical gardens do not contain some neglected herb, destined to produce quite as great revolutions in our customs and political economy?

And what places in a very distinct class, the revolutions which the sciences occasion, is, that they are always fortunate.

They combat other revolutions: it is the opposition of two principles; the war of Orosmades against Arimanius.

When a fatal negligence had abandoned our forests to destruction, natural philosophy improved our fire-places. When the jealousy of other nations deprived us of foreign productions, chemistry made them grow in our soil. The nations of Europe seem never to have laboured with more ardour to destroy their means of subsistence than during the last twenty years! How many famines would not the devastations which we have witnessed have formerly produced? Botany had provided against them; she had gone beyond the seas to seek out new plants for our nourishment; she had taken advantage of every bad year to recommend the propagation of them, and had at length succeeded in rendering a famine impossible.

Further yet; to see how fortunate inventions occur at the moment when the sufferings of humanity require them, it would seem that Providence holds in reserve the beneficent discoveries of the sciences to counterbalance the disastrous ingenuity of ambition. Inoculation came into use shortly after the scourge of standing armies; and at the time of the still more dreadful scourge of the conscription, the unexpected miracles of vaccination seemed intended to console the world.

And, we feel a pleasure in repeating that benefits so great, so numerous, have been justly appreciated; they have been proclaimed with eclat; and in this respect, the sciences and those who cultivate them have no cause to complain of our contemporaries.

But the men who do them justice do not all entertain ideas equally exact of the causes of their progress, nor of the proper means of encouraging them.

Some who confound different times, imagine that we might still content ourselves with such parts of science as are immediately useful; others considering all lofty theories as barren exercises of the mind, are afraid that by deadening the imagination, they may contract the understanding, and would wish

to confine them among those to whom their profession renders them indispensable.

The fact alone would prove that if, in their beginnings, the sciences have been indebted for any thing to chance, and if ordinary men have made useful discoveries in them, henceforward it is only by the meditations of superior intellects that they can disseminate any new benefits. All the great practical discoveries which have been made in our times, possess exactly this feature, that they derive their origin from that method of generalization and that abstraction which have been introduced into scientifical researches. Those deep speculations and those abstruse difficulties which light and proud minds deride as useless are precisely what has been productive of the most marked utility.

What experience demonstrates, a very simple reasoning will explain.

At an early period, men had already discovered what required but a superficial observation, a rude mode of experiment, and the result was the vulgar arts; but in this first inspection of the resources of nature, those must necessarily have been neglected, the application of which could only become important by being multiplied, or which were accompanied by difficulties insurmountable in the then state of science. Profound conceptions therefore could alone open new tracks, and at every step a wider horizon was displayed. Every new use of a thing induces and multiplies the uses of a variety of other things; and each new property which is discovered assists in overcoming the obstacles that obstructed the employment of a multitude of other properties; it is in infinite progression, in which the new terms are always multiples of the preceding ones; in which the chances of the succeeding terms being quickly found, increase in the same proportion as the terms themselves.

It is for this reason that science, and the industry which it produces among all the creations of human genius, possess this peculiar advantage, that their flight not only cannot be interrupted but that it is continually accelerated. While the constitution of the human heart, drawing it incessantly back into the narrow circle of the same sentiments and the same passions, prescribes to the art of governing men as well as to that of delighting them, bounds which they cannot pass, the ken of science is every day widening and extending; the field of external nature, which is her empire, enlarges in proportion as she rises above it, and in the whole immensity of space she can discern no limits to her success or to her hopes.

Innumerable examples to illustrate this reasoning present themselves to one who has studied the history of modern discoveries.

Obliged to choose among such numerous efforts of genius, I will fix upon those which may most easily be explained in a few words; but, although I cannot hold them all up to public gratitude, they will all be comprised in what I shall say; for it is not so much my intention to dwell minutely on each discovery as to point out the spirit which inspired them all.

We will begin by transcendant geometry which the loftiness of its abstractions would seem to place at the greatest distance from whatever is earthly and practical in the arts.

From the earliest ages the course of the stars has clumsily directed

the path of navigators; more recently, the compass enabled them to lose sight of land; but now the pilot pursues his course on the ocean with as much certainty as if it had been traced for him by engineers; astronomical tables inform him at every moment on what point of the globe he is, and with so much exactness that he cannot err by an interval as great as is comprised in the glance of his eye. Antiquity could not believe that the vessels of Pharaoh Nechao had gone around Africa; and in our days Russia sends squadrons from one of her ports to another, circumnavigating thus three-fourths of the world, without any one remarking it. The English possess a flourishing colony at the antipodes of Europe, and they arrive there, beyond comparison more easily, than the Phœnicians went to Carthage or Cadiz. The first colonists of New Holland have lately passed a chain of mountains which concealed from them immense countries of wonderful fertility. In a few generations this country will be covered with a people of European origin, studying nature, worshiping her author, obeying the laws of humanity. It is the precision of astronomy which has rendered all this possible, and for this precision we are indebted to the formulas of our geometricians. Cook, Bougainville, Vancouver, would never have braved the polar ice, or the rocks of the Indian Ocean, nor would civilized men now dwell in New Holland, if Euler, Lagrange, Laplace, had not, in the seclusion of their cabinets, resolved certain very obstruse problems of the integral calculus; if Meyer, Delambre, Burkardt, Bürg had not, with wonderful patience, deduced from them those long series of cyphers which now seem to control even heaven itself.

Natural philosophy followed, though far behind, the example of geometry, but in proportion as she approached it, she gave birth to a greater number of results of daily and popular use.

If Rumford diminished by half the expense of those arts which require the use of fire; if he succeeded in nourishing the poor for eighteen farthings a meal, it was by means of a close study of the laws of the communication of heat. If filters of charcoal assure every where the salubrity of water, it is because certain Dutch chemists have examined minutely the laws of the absorption of gaseous substances. If Paris was not decimated in 1814 by the pestilential fever which the war brought into her hospitals, it is because Scheele, a Swede, had discovered, thirty years before, an acid which holds contagion a prisoner, and soon destroys even its germ.

Above all, there is nothing which equals the wonders of the steam-engine.

Since the profound and mathematical theory of the action of heat, has made it the most powerful and at the same time the most easily managed implement, there is nothing of which it is not capable; we might suppose we had geometry and mechanics vivified. It spins, it weaves, and more equally than any workman, for there is neither inattention nor fatigue. In three strokes it makes shoes. A cylinder furnished with nippers cuts out the sole and fixes it to the upper leather; another cylinder makes the holes into which a third drives the small nails already prepared, which it rivets immediately and the shoe is made. It draws

from the vat sheets of paper which might be prolonged to several leagues if it were necessary.—It prints! What admiration would not Guttemburg feel, that fortunate inventor of moveable characters, if he could see issuing by thousands, in a single night, from between two cylinders, without interruption, almost without the intervention of the hand, those voluminous journals, which afterwards penetrate to the centre of the forests of America, carrying with them the lessons of moral experience and the light of the arts? A steam-engine on a carriage, the wheels of which fit in a road prepared for them, draws a long line of other carriages. They are loaded, the fire is lighted, and they set off alone to be unladen at the end of their journey. The traveller who sees them thus traversing the plain, can scarcely believe his eyes. But can any thing be more surprising or more fruitful of important consequences than what we have lately witnessed? A vessel has crossed the neighbouring sea without canvas, without oars, without sailors. One man to feed the fire, another to guide the helm, compose her whole crew. It is impelled by an internal force, like an animated being, like a bird of the sea, skimming over the waves: such was the description of the captain. Every one may see how much this invention will simplify the navigation of our rivers, and how much agriculture will gain in men and horses, that may now return to the fields; but what we may also be permitted to descry at a distance, and what will perhaps be still more important, is the revolution to which it will lead in maritime warfare and in the power of nations. It is extremely probable that we shall have to reckon this among the experiments that can be said to have changed the face of the world.

The existence of the saccharine matter in vegetables differing from the cane, was also in appearance a discovery merely theoretic. Margraf, the author of it, was far from expecting that it would one day sap the basis of colonial monopoly, and take away every pretext for the horrid traffic in slaves. This effect, however, it will very probably have, and that in a few years. We at first laughed at the manufacture of native sugar, because it seemed only to be part of a scheme of policy justly odious. The manufacturers bore our ridicule; but availing themselves of the light of science, they have perfected their processes, they have sold us much of their sugar without telling us of it; and if, as every thing appears to indicate, their profits are certain whenever the manufacture and the culture are put side by side, their industry will soon have furnished fifty millions' worth of a new product; it will provide occupation every winter for forty thousand persons, and the waste alone will fatten a hundred thousand oxen: and all this without diminishing by a single atom what our soil produced already.

This enormous augmentation of riches, these mighty changes in commerce, in navigation, in the relations of states, are to be traced to the idea which a chemist of Berlin conceived fifty years ago, of analyzing the juices of the beet by alcohol.

But this discovery which may one day become so prolific, is only a single problem belonging to a theory much more elevated and already much more productive.

I allude to the theory of the elements of organized substances,

and of the facility of their metamorphoses, which has been especially developed by Lavoisier.

As the immediate principles of organized bodies are at the same time a little variant from each other, and yet of the same nature, in the several species in which they are found, when one of these species fails, another supplies its place; and, if it be necessary, we create the principles of which we stand in need, by slightly varying the proportions in the elements of some other principle.

In this new magic, the chemist has only to will: every thing may be changed into any thing; every thing may be extracted from any thing.

Vinegar is made from wood, spermaceti from the flesh of horses, soap from that of fish, ammonia from the shreds of cloth, nitric acid from sugar, sugar from starch; an artificial horn is extracted from old bones which is extended and moulded at pleasure, or which is thinned into a drawing-paper as transparent as glass; a small quantity of sulphuric acid renders the most impure oil as free from disagreeable smell, and as clear as water; for several years past the lamps open to a current of air, light the smallest dwellings at ten times less expense than formerly; but chemistry saw that still more might be done; she has extracted inflammable gas from pit-coal, and illuminates manufactories, work-shops, entire houses with the same matter which served to warm them. The reservoir is in the cellar and the light is supplied by a cock to each apartment. This is, as well as many others, a French invention neglected among us and adopted by strangers. If the streets of London are not all lighted in this way, it is from the fear of injuring navigation by reducing the price of whale-oil too low.

It cannot but be permitted to speak of cyphers to the academy of sciences: it is almost your native language. Let it then be pondered, of what value to France during the last twenty years have been the practical inventions derived from the discoveries of Berthollet, Chaptal, Vauquelin, Thénard, &c.; in mineralogy alone, not a very extensive branch of the physical sciences: the extracting of soda, the manufacture of alum, of sal ammoniac, of the oxyds of lead, of the mineral acids, all of them substances which we draw from abroad; the smelting of iron, the cementation of steel, and, in fine, the development of the arts in which these primary materials are employed. It is evident that we must calculate by hundreds of millions.

Well then! these treasures, these enjoyments: not one of the inventions to which we are indebted for them would have been had but for science; they are but facile applications of truths of a high order, of truths which have not been sought for this purpose, which their authors have pursued only for themselves, and solely from the ardour for knowledge. Those who reduce them to practice would never have discovered the germs of them; those on the contrary who have found those germs could never have bestowed the labour necessary for turning them to account. Absorbed in the high regions to which their contemplations transport them, they scarcely perceive the creations springing from a few words uttered by them. The work-shops which rise on every side, the colonies which are peopled, those vessels which cover the ocean, the abundance, the lux-

ury, the bustle which we see,—all proceed from them, and yet remain as it were unknown to them. The moment that a doctrine becomes practical, they abandon it to the vulgar; it is no longer of importance to them.

That such a noble and prolific spring might not be dried up, that the sublime language of meditation might be always heard, the munificence of our monarchs called science into their palaces, and granted to such as cultivate it, favours very honourable, without doubt, and yet very inferior to those which in any other career, the most adverse fortune would not have denied to such arduous labours.

Although, to the honour of philosophy, this liberality might be by many considered as superfluous for its objects, it was certainly not a barren employment of the funds of the state, and we might wish that all its financial speculations were equally successful.

So far from this branch of public expense being injurious to the interest of proprietors, the labours which it has produced or cherished have doubled within fifty years the income of lands, either by creating new arts which have called into use an immense number of raw materials, or by spreading through the country that variety of cultivation which enables every soil to receive what suits it best, and prevents the inclemency of the seasons from being felt by all crops at once.

The renunciation of fallows which, imperfect as it is, has already brought into cultivation ten thousand square kilometers more than formerly, which means in other words that it is equivalent for France to the acquisition of a large province, is due to men who observed that land exhausted for one plant is not so for another, and that rotation of crops, founded on the different manner in which plants draw nourishment, is profitable in every soil and every climate. And yet it is not the cultivators who have discovered this: it is the botanists.

The poor inhabitants of the Landes saw for ages the downs of the Gulf of Gascony advancing without opposition into the interior of the country, burying their houses, their churches,—drowning their crops by the marshes which were pushed on before. They saw them and did not resist. *Daubenton* and *Brémontier* said to them, *stop;* and from that moment whenever the methods of those Savans have been followed, the Downs remained immoveable. We may have whenever we choose, hundreds of square leagues in full tillage amidst sands which seemed destined to remain always the sport of the winds.

It is probable that our landholders, far from having occasion to complain, would find themselves both richer and happier, if there had been employed in such conquests only the ten thousandth part of what was wrested from them to devastate the half of Europe, that we might lose it afterwards, and make ourselves abhorred.

And it is only by what little has been done that we can explain how the national wealth and industry have survived so many restraints and extortions. The more they were oppressed by government, the more did science seem to increase her efforts to succour them. In fact, as long as the impulse which science has received shall not decline, we need not despair of the fortunes of the state.

Allow a little tranquillity of mind for one class to meditate and discover, for the others to learn and reduce to practice, and soon new prodigies will have demonstrated what science can effect towards repairing our misfortunes.

Unfortunately it does not depend upon her to establish this condition of things, so necessary to her progress. She pursues the comets through the immensity of space, but the human heart escapes her; she laughs at the waves of the ocean, but she has no arcana to calm the restlessness of ambition!

Yet it would be a great mistake to imagine her entirely indifferent to the repose of nations.

In the midst of the universal opposition of the poor and the rich, that jealousy of individuals, the principal cause of the troubles of states, the jealousy of nations, almost the only source of their wars, industry, and science which produces it, are the natural mediators. They put all nations upon a footing, by surmounting the obstacles of climates; they equalize fortunes by rendering the enjoyments of life more easy of attainment; they form the only efficacious agrarian law, because it is the only just one, and because, with a facility unique, those whom it tends to lower find a real happiness in accelerating its execution.

How interesting would be the picture which an eloquent writer might trace, of the influence of science on civilization!

Going back to the first ages of the world, transporting himself to barbarous countries, he would show us the pretended man of nature, ruling his own family like a tyrant; treating his fellow-man, when he encounters him, as cruelly as the animals of the forests. By degrees the first observations of nascent philosophy soften this ferocious being, by suggesting to him the means of drawing advantage from a conquered enemy. The slave in his turn seeks in speculation a solace to his sorrows, and soon raises himself to the level of his master, by teaching him to admire the works of God, or the discoveries of genius. Force, the primitive magistracy of a rude people, disarms itself, when science, developing the arts, renders the tribute of peaceful labour more valuable than arbitrary extortion. Property becomes free; the industrious class rises; able monarchs avail themselves of it to overturn anarchical authorities; real magistracy—that which gives sway to the eternal laws of justice, constrains all ranks to submission: left then to its natural course, wealth is divided among families, according to the proportion in which each contributes to the welfare of the rest; and, become thus the measure of their services, as well as of their importance, it naturally gives that stability, towards which society gravitates.

Delightful and infallible perspective! happy period which the errors of governments and the imprudence of nations may retard, but cannot avert, in which science, wealth and industry having no longer but to assist each other, and thus mutually to gather strength, will carry the happiness of man to the point which it is privileged to reach on the earth! If it be at all permitted to invoke you, is it not on so memorable a day as this? When a prince whose knowledge renders his approbation more precious than his munificence, consecrates with the seal of his authority the ties recently contracted between all the branches of human knowledge; when by allowing us

to join to a name which had been borne not without glory, the titles which a century of successful labours had already rendered illustrious, he in a manner pledges his royal sceptre to protect every thing that has been done great and noble.

It became us, too, in respectful gratitude, to enter into new engagements. I have indicated them in the recital which I have just made. It is by the duties which science has fulfilled in times of misfortune, that she wishes those to be measured which she imposes on herself in times of protection and peace.

OF LIBRARIES;

From the European Magazine of March, 1816.

It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of mankind, that nothing has contributed more to carry a name down to posterity, than collecting a library, from the time of the Ptolomies down to John Duke of Roxburghe—and what is equally remarkable, the fame of the collector does not seem to depend upon the fate of the library. Whether it may have been burnt at Alexandria, or dispersed by public sale in London, it equally serves to record the possessor's name in the annals of Fame.

On the continent, we have had very extraordinary instances of this circumstance, in our own times. Who would have ever heard of Mons. Gaignat, or the Duke de Valiere, if it had not been for their curious libraries? both of which were sold by that intelligent bookseller, Mons. Debure, of Paris—They both, indeed, had the advantage of excellent catalogues made of their libraries, by that gentleman, which will continue to be consulted, and quoted, till literature shall cease to exist; while the name of the collectors and possessors will be recorded in the literary calendar. Even the name of the "Grand Colbert," as the French call him, will be longer remembered by his excellent library, than by his administration of the French finances, which he managed so well. His books were so well chosen, that his arms—a serpent—is till now a sure passport into the first libraries in Europe. Indeed, in our own country, we have had some singular instances of a similar nature. The Harley library, though dispersed during the last century, in the worst possible manner, will, in the records of literature, for ever commemorate the name of the collector. The library of Mr. Harley will be long remembered, when the administration of Lord Oxford is forgotten.

This strong predilection in favour of those who form libraries, when it is considered, may reasonably be accounted for. The trumpet of Fame, it is well known, is always in the hands of literary men; and they, in general, not being men of fortune, feel themselves much indebted to those who employ their affluence in providing a store of literary food, and who, at the same time, permit them to partake of it. Even when the circumstances of families occasion the dispersion of such collections, the original possessor is remembered by the literati with gratitude; insomuch, that it may be truly said, that there is no road so certain to future fame, as forming a large library—and assuredly, for the collector himself, there is no road to rational pleasure equal to possessing, under his own roof, all the knowledge that human talents have hitherto communicated to mankind; which at all times may be consulted with convenience; and that convenience possesses this superiority over the most communicative friend, however intelligent, that the oracle is never out of humour; whereas the friend is

liable to all the vicissitudes of health and temper "that flesh is heir to."

These circumstances taken into consideration, it is certainly remarkable, that in this country, distinguished as it is, among all the nations of the earth, both for its riches and knowledge, there should be so few fine libraries. It is true, we have some brilliant exceptions to this observation. The Earl Spencer undoubtedly stands first in the class of all collectors, in this and every other country. His lordship's library will be an everlasting monument of his taste, knowledge, and liberality. A very magnificent descriptive catalogue of the early printed books in this library has been lately published, by Mr. Dibdin, which is, itself, a fine example of typography; and so full, that it renders any further description of it unnecessary: indeed, for first editions of the classical authors, and beautiful early specimens of that most important of all human arts, the art of printing, this library is unequalled by any library in Europe, either public or private.

It is greatly to the credit of the Duke of Devonshire, to say, that, as a collector, his grace only stands second to his noble relation, Lord Spencer; but as his grace is very young, he may eventually be second to none, for his grace possesses at present the finest foundation for a capital library that exists in Europe.

There are, in this country, numerous collections of books, for the private use of the proprietors, but very few for the use of the learned, at the same time. There are some individuals of moderate fortune, but of great taste, who have made beautiful collections of books, and who have entered into the true spirit of the luxury of literature, by collecting matchless copies of the best books. Of this class of collectors, the hon. Mr. Thomas Grenville stands pre-eminent, as a gentleman who unites exquisite taste with profound knowledge. But the man of all others, in this country, who, with limited means, has made the most wonderful exertion to collect books of learning, is the Rev. Dr. Charles Burney: his collection of Greek literature, and early MSS. of classical authors, exceeds any private library. It is delightful to see such treasures in the possession of so eminent a scholar.*

Of smaller collections for private use it would be endless to speak: of public libraries in London we have none worth mentioning, except the British Museum; the library of which is undoubtedly a huge collection of books, brought together without plan or arrangement. This is indeed the very nature of heterogeneous contributions, where bad editions and waste paper books stand next to those of the greatest rarity, and of the first utility; and, of course, the tasteful collection of that eminent literary connoisseur, Mr. Cracherode, is lost in such a mass. But utility alone should be the great object of such a library. If the gentlemen who have the care of it are well acquainted with the chain of human knowledge, they will see, by consulting their catalogue, what links they still want; and these only ought to be looked for. It is

* There has lately appeared a gentleman and a scholar, Mr. Heber, who at all public sales has been the principal purchaser of books; and if he proceeds, he will soon possess one of the most extensive private libraries in the kingdom.

by that means alone that an *useful* library can be collected, which does not depend upon a number of volumes, but upon a judicious selection of the best books upon every subject.

This leads me to speak of a library, collected upon this principle, where selection has been the great object of pursuit. It will easily be conjectured I mean the king's library, where that principle seems to have been carried to the height of all possible perfection, insomuch that several professional men, who have consulted this library, have left it, persuaded that their single pursuit had been the principal object of the collection. But notwithstanding the universality of this library, it has certainly some points stronger than others, particularly on the subjects of geography and history. These, no doubt, ought to constitute the principal objects of a royal library. On the first of these subjects, this library surpasses every one in Europe, geography having been a favourite pursuit with his majesty. The happy consequence of that taste has been the wonderful voyages of discovery, undertaken during his majesty's reign, from that of captain Cook to captain Flinders. No doubt the circumstances of the times have favoured those great exertions, in forming this library. The dispersion of several large libraries, particularly those of that learned body the Jesuits, has brought into the market many rare books.

Soon after this, the gentleman who has presided over the library ever since it commencement, travelled all over Europe for a considerable time, by his majesty's command, purposely to collect curious books, and his search has not been in vain; of which this library will be a long and lasting proof. And it is said, that the gentlemen who have, at present, the care of the king's property, have, with a taste and liberality that do them the highest honour, ordered, that the pursuit his majesty took so much delight in shall not now be neglected—of course, the gentleman who has had the care of it for so long a period, will not neglect to add to that wonderful chain of knowledge such links as time alone can bring forth.

I forgot to mention, that there are in this library, not only all the best books on every useful branch of knowledge, but also a proper share of the *vertû* part of a great library: consisting of the books published in the infancy of printing, particularly the first editions of the classical authors, for the use and consultation of those learned men, who mean to do honour to their country, by publishing more correct editions of those authors. These early printed books also serve to illustrate the history of the most useful of all arts, the art of printing.

The other libraries of this kingdom are either in the country, or at the universities. At Cambridge, there is only one that deserves the name of a library, but here their funds does not seem to permit them to keep it up with any degree of spirit; which caused much regret in that eminent scholar, Dr. Richard Farmer, who once had the care of the public library. At Oxford, several of the colleges have collections of books, but none of them can be called libraries. Oxford, however, possesses one library, the fame of which reaches the utmost ends of the earth, and will for ever sanctify the name of the founder. Perhaps, in the annals of literature, there is not a name

that will go down to posterity with a greater share of fame, than that of Thomas Bodley, a private gentleman of Exeter. Pity it was, that the queen's meanness, and the rapacity of the Burleigh faction, prevented him from possessing more of what he so emphatically calls, *Purse Ability*. But by the liberality of several successive contributions, a noble collection has been formed; and it is to be hoped, that every man of fortune, who receives his education at Oxford, will continue to contribute towards the completion of this noble library; while the gentlemen who have the care of it should, by persevering study, enable themselves to point out to the new contributors, all such books as would make the library a complete system of intelligence.

In the neighbourhood of Oxford, it is impossible to overlook the Sunderland library at Blenheim. This library was formed in the beginning of the last century, and consists of many beautiful specimens of early typography. The successors of the Marlborough family have added but little to it since its first formation. The present heir, however, the marquis of Blandford, seems to be making the *amende honorable* for the neglect of his forefathers—we heartily wish him success in so laudable a pursuit.

In Scotland, there is but one library of any great extent—the Advocates' Library—of which a catalogue is printed in two volumes, folio. It is very full, as indeed it ought to be, on the civil law—the law of Scotland being founded on the Roman, or as it is called, the civil law—But a library calculated for the use, and supported by the contributions, of gentlemen of the long robe, should be complete in the laws of every country—even in all local and municipal laws, as the laws of this, and every country, however perfect, may be improved by comparison and analogy.

There are at Glasgow some very fine books, which were bequeathed to the university, with the other objects of his museum, by Dr. William Hunter. They were collected by that gentleman for their rarity, without any plan of utility, beyond the books on his profession —but they will be a lasting monument of his taste and liberality—and certainly they will form an excellent foundation for the additions of some succeeding members of that university; so that in time, it is to be hoped that Dr. Hunter's library may rival that of sir Thomas Bodley.

After saying so much, what the libraries of this country are, how much and how little they are calculated to *disseminate general knowledge*, perhaps it would be proper to say a few words upon the means of obtaining, in a more certain manner, that great end. It is conceived this may be done, in a great capital like London, at a small expense to the parties, by dividing knowledge into all its numberless ramifications.

Every public office, or body of men, ought to have all the books on the subject of their pursuit. For instance: the treasury should have every book that ever was written upon finance—the secretary of state's office every thing diplomatic—the admiralty every thing nautical—the board of trade every thing commercial—the India company every thing on the commerce and history of those countries they trade with, or govern—the bank every thing on bullion, paper credit, the course of ex-

change, &c.—the inns of court every thing on law, from Bracton to Blackstone—the college of physicians every thing from Galen and Hippocrates downwards—the surgeons' hall every publication on anatomy, surgery, &c. &c. &c.

There is, in London, a most eminent example of the success of confining the collection of a library to the pursuit of its proprietor. Sir Joseph Banks's library of voyages and natural history, with all their relative branches, will, of course, occur to every intelligent reader. This library, in those branches of knowledge it professes to possess, is unparalleled; and the catalogue of it so luminously arranged, that any person may, with perfect facility, see, at once, every thing, that has ever been written, on the subject he wishes to consult; and for such consultation, every man of science, both at home and abroad, knows the library is constantly open, with all that liberality and accommodation that so much distinguishes its proprietor.

It is in vain that the expense of libraries is urged against forming such a collection. We frequently see men of fortune giving many thousand pounds for a single picture, which, when viewed a few times, loses its charms, and ceases to amuse; whereas the knowledge to be acquired from books is inexhaustible.

The greatest libraries on the continent are, those of the Vatican at Rome, the Imperial Library at Vienna, and the Royal Library at Paris; of which mention will be made hereafter. The libraries for use are principally in Germany, and there they are where they ought to be—at the universities. That at Gottingen is among the first, for it has had the advantage of the great and liberal patronage of a prince, who, during a long reign, has wisely foreseen, that he could not improve the rising generation of his subjects in Hanover more, than by contributing to the library at Gottingen, and supplying it with all the knowledge that books convey.

The publications of this country, so celebrated for the sciences, formed a considerable part of his majesty's contributions. Indeed, the universities of Germany are greatly distinguished for teaching the sciences, and their libraries, of course, are well stored with books on such subjects; insomuch, that most of the university libraries possess a copy of that great code of scientific knowledge, *The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London at large;* which is undoubtedly the most extensive and valuable body of miscellaneous information, on the subject of the sciences, that the talents of mankind have hitherto produced.

In the public libraries of France, there is none of that sound sense in the selection as in those of Germany; and the private collections consist principally in pretty books, and books of prints. It is true, indeed, that Didot, and other eminent printers at Paris, have lately published some very magnificent books, that enter into all their libraries.

The royal library at Paris is, however, a wonderful collection of fine books; but then it has been the successive effort of every sovereign, for several centuries past:—indeed, under the direction of such men as William Budeus, James Amyot, J. A. de Thou, the Abbés Louvois, Sallier, Bignon, &c. &c. aided with the patronage of all the succeeding sovereigns, it could not

fail to become a fine library. It has been greatly improved and enriched of late, by the very superior intelligence of the present librarians, Mr. Van Pract, and Mr. De Bure; but it is apprehended, not always by the most justifiable means; but in that respect, no blame attaches to them; they have had the merit of pointing out the articles that were wanted;—how they were obtained was not their concern.

On that subject there was a very good story told by the auctioneer, at the sale of the duke of Roxburghe's library, immediately before Valdarfer's edition of the Decameron of Boccacio was sold. —It seems the gentleman who had the care of the Imperial Library, as it was then called, was asked, which of the two desiderata of the library he would prefer, the Psalter of 1457, or the Decameron of 1471? His answer was, "the Decameron, for that is in England, and can only be obtained by fair purchase. Of the Psalter, the king of Bavaria has got a copy: it is true, we are at present good friends with him, but it is very likely we may soon quarrel with him, and then we shall take the Psalter."

This library is not only very rich in printed books, but possesses a very large number of curious MSS. in all languages; insomuch, that it may perhaps be called the most valuable library in the world. A catalogue of it in folio was commenced many years ago, and several volumes printed; the first so early as 1739; but it is not, even now, finished. It is to be hoped, that when common sense shall again obtain its influence in that country, this library, and a catalogue of it, will be attended to, as a great national object. For what can be such a boast to any nation, as to possess a library which contains the whole circle of human knowledge.

* One of the most magnificent private libraries of Europe was possessed by a Count M'Carthy now deceased, but for forty years a resident of Thoulouse in France. The catalogue embraces two stout volumes in octavo. The count had a particular passion for works printed on vellum, and made the most numerous and precious collection of them ever formed by an amateur. There are 825 volumes of this description, the greater part exceedingly rare, ancient, and splendid. Of these the Bible of Jenson of 1476 is *unique;* unparalleled for the multitude and richness of the miniatures with which it is ornamented. The series belonging to M'Carthy's library, of the first books printed at Mayence at the commencement of the art of printing, is more complete than that of which any other library, private or public, can boast, except the Royal Library of Paris. The *manuscripts* on vellum are, likewise, very numerous and of the greatest possible beauty in the characters and miniatures. His first editions are abundant, and in a state of perfect preservation. They comprise the rarest description of books;—those engraved on plates of wood, and those in Gothic characters so eagerly sought after, and so very scarce. The classics, chronicles, histories, works on natural history, &c. are complete, and among the first specimens of art which Europe can furnish. M'Carthy was

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* What follows is from the Editor of this Register.

in the habit of buying, when he could procure them, several copies of the most costly works, and selecting their best leaves so as to form one more perfect. He induced an able binder of London to establish himself at Thoulouse, and employed him exclusively, for many years, on his library. The catalogue which he left in his own hand-writing proves him to have been a man of the most extensive acquirements, and furnishes excellent materials for the study of literary history. This collection, the last of the kind remaining in France, is offered for sale by the children of M'Carthy.

Several of the cities of the United States of America, although they cannot boast of collections of books equal in extent or value to those enumerated above, possess, however, very respectable public libraries. The university of Cambridge, near Boston, has a rich fund of the ancient classics and biblical works: the Athenæum of Boston is well supplied with general modern literature, particularly history. The library of the Historical Society of New-York contains much curious matter appropriate to the character of the society. But the most extensive of all our repositories of the kind is the Philadelphia Library, of which the number of volumes is not less than twenty thousand. It is a miscellany of all branches of knowledge, and abounds in curious tracts on the early history and revolutionary struggle of North America. Great care has been taken to procure for it the principal works in general literature that have been published of late years in England, and these comprise many very costly editions. The part of it which is called the Loganian library,—a donation from the celebrated William Logan of Pennsylvania—is chiefly composed of the most rare and valuable of the ancient classics, besides much of the European literature of the seventeenth century. There is wherewithal to form an accomplished scholar, and to satisfy the most recondite enquiry.

The library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia is destined to supply the great desideratum in the western hemisphere,—an ample store of works in science, and the techknical arts. It already possesses the best elementary treatises, and the transactions of most of the learned societies of Europe. This establishment will be very soon, in the department of physical science, what the Loganian collection is in erudition. There will not be wanting in Philadelphia abundant food of the choicest kind both for the savant and the scholar of Europe. Baltimore has a miscellaneous public library of several thousand volumes selected with judgment and knowledge. This city has a particular merit on this score, when we take into view the freshness of its date, and the rapidity of its growth, the fruit of commercial enterprise alone, allowing of course but little opportunity for attention to literary objects.

The regular library of the congress of the United States was burnt in the capitol at Washington, at the time of the barbarous conflagration of that edifice by the British. It consisted of the best English works in history, politics, and polite literature, and of the records of the federal administration. It is now replaced by a much more valuable collection—the library of the ex-president Jefferson, which the federal government purchased from him at the sum

of twenty-five thousand dollars. There would have been something more satisfactory in this transaction, had the legislature of Virginia been the purchaser and bestowed it as a gift on the federal government. However this may be, it was an inestimable acquisition. There are, in all, about six thousand two or three hundred volumes. Mr. Jefferson, while in Europe, at the commencement of the American war, spared no pains nor expense, in collecting from every quarter, whatever could serve to elucidate or complete American history. He was indefatigable, too, in accumulating the best materials, in the shape of memoirs, abridgments, &c.—of European history, particularly the diplomatic. Hence the catalogue which he furnished to congress presents a multitude of books equally curious and useful, which would have been unattainable for this body in any other way. The deficiencies—which are, no doubt, considerable—are, however, such that they may be readily supplied. There is but a slender provision of the historical and political literature of the last ten years. What the proprietor received as an homage to his character and taste, is, for the most part, of no value.

The collection is exuberant in the ancient classics; richly stocked with the best classical history ancient and modern, in the principal languages of Europe. The titles *History Ancient and Modern*, *Politics*, *Geography*, and *Criticism*, of the catalogue, are particularly full and select. The head of *Criticism* presents a number of precious works relating to the Anglo-Saxon and old British languages. When we advert to the *real* condition of the *Fine Arts* in the United States, —whatever may be the pretensions advanced,—we cannot attach too much importance to the contents of the chapters under that title in Mr. Jefferson's catalogue. There is in the most attractive and splendid form, all that could be desired,—especially in architecture, where we are most lame,—for the diffusion of techknical knowledge and the improvement of the public taste.

Most of the great works and celebrated elementary treatises, in the mathematical and physical sciences, are included in this collection. Three fourths, indeed, of the whole number of volumes are of the highest reputation and of acknowledged authority. A better nursery or substratum for a great national library could not be found, and it surely will be admitted that nothing less is to come within the aim of congress, both on the score of pride and patriotism. If it could be done by no other agency, it was a sort of duty with this body to transfer the literary treasures of Mr. Jefferson to a spot where they would be easily accessible to them and the nation, and stand out as a monument of the national taste and discrimination. There is an absolute obligation on the part of the federal government, to provide, in the federal metropolis, in the shape of a library, a great reservoir of instruction in all the departments of human knowledge for the use of the public as well as of its own members; and the library, certainly, may be so administered as to be open to the one, without at all interfering with the studies or researches of the other. The idea of an establishment of the kind set apart, and peculiar in the character of its materials, for the use of congress, could only spring either from great poverty of invention as to the discipline of such establish-

ments, or a very imperfect view of the qualifications of an accomplished legislator and statesman. It is not for congress to presume that there is any branch of human science for which a body so universal in its possible composition, will not hereafter furnish, in some or other of its members, a cultivated and active taste; or that there is any branch which may not fall within its immense scope of constitutional action, so as to make the possession of all the best means of judgment, that is the best treatises on it, highly desirable, if not indispensable.

The next generation will, we confidently predict, blush at the objections made in congress to the purchase of Mr. Jefferson's library. Party-spirit darkling and chafing spoke the language of an auctioneer or a chapman, and erred egregiously even in its huckstering calculations; for Mr. Jefferson's library was worth, and would, in all likelihood, have brought, *in the market*, at least double the sum allotted by congress to the purchase. We should be at a loss to fix a proportion between the price and the acquisition, if we took into the account the value of the latter in other points of view. This will be one day duly appreciated, without looking to the time when the Bibliomania may rage in the United States; a period which may be descried, although at the end of a long vista.

GENERAL REVIEW

OF THE

LITERATURE OF CONTINENTAL EUROPE.

OF MOREAU—*by Garat, member of the French Senate and of the Institute.* Paris, 1815. The author was an intimate acquaintance of Moreau, and aims at tracing his private character.

The Life, political, military, and private, of General Moreau—by Alphonse Beauchamp. Paris, 1815. A compilation hastily executed, as are most of the works of this animated writer, but bearing the stamp of his usual intelligence and honourable feeling. The history of the war of La Vendée and that of Brazil from the same pen, are highly respectable performances, displaying great powers of research, arrangement, and description; a nervous picturesque diction which would raise the possessor to the level of the first historians of his time, had he patience or leisure for the regular maturation of his literary enterprises. An implacable enemy of Bonaparte and his administration, he could not neglect the opportunity of following him through his adversity, and has, accordingly, published detailed accounts of the campaigns of 1814, and 1815—which, though not free from inaccuracies, are altogether the most satisfactory furnished by the Parisian press. His "Catastrophe of Murat" is another important history-piece.

We shall, however, leave the author to say a few words of his present subject—the most truly illustrious of the military characters of the French revolution. The public, European life of general Moreau, has been treated of in a great number of publications, and his pre-eminence as a general seems to be almost universally admitted. M. Garat has done justice to his private character as exhibited in Europe, but no one has adequately described it, as it appeared in the United States, during the period of his honourable exile. We pass over with the contempt it deserves, the feeble sketch of the Russian gentleman, M. Svinine, who accompanied him on his return to Europe, and whose principal object is not to paint Moreau, but to offer incense to the emperor Alexander.

It was here, in his modest retreat at the village of Trenton in New Jersey, in his familiar intercouse with our domestic life,—that his private virtues had their natural play, and shone with their clearest lustre. Easy, unaffected, homogeneous, as it were, in every society, free from all ostentation and pretension, incapable of dissimulation or design on any subject, Moreau made us forget the renowned military commander to think only, with familiar but warm attachment, of the amiable, and instructive companion. Few men

were ever more eloquent on any subject than Moreau when he spoke of his favourite art of war; of his own military history or that of others: it was impossible to be more patient of contradiction or dullness, and it will be confessed by those who had the good fortune to eat at the same board with him, that he was often exposed to lectures on war not even as reasonable as the harangue of the Greek Sophist to Hannibal, and which were very differently borne—that is, with the most benignant, exemplary complaisance. On all subjects he displayed strong, sound, sagacious sense; the manliest candor; and, in discoursing of his compeers or enemies abroad, an entire superiority to jealousies and resentments of any description. The simplicity of his tastes and habits, particularly while at home on his farm, the easy access to him, the communicative fellowship enjoyed by all who sought his acquaintance, were matter of unceasing surprise to those who could not well dissociate, in their mistaken prejudice, European greatness from a certain haughty reserve, and sententious austerity of demeanor. He often furnished us with an opportunity of repeating what Tacitus so beautifully says of Agricola, in allusion to similar merits.

Adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem estimari mos est, viso aspecto que Agricolâ, quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

If we were disposed to indulge in a parallel, the character and fate of Agricola as delineated by Tacitus would furnish some striking points of similitude. Moreau stood towards Bonaparte as Agricola with Domitian. The reception which the Roman tyrant gave to Agricola on the return of the latter from his career of glorious conquest in Britain, was precisely that which Moreau, as we have heard him relate—had from Bonaparte on their first meeting after the creation of the consular government. "Domitian," says Tacitus, "received Agricola with a cold salute, and without uttering a word, left the conqueror to mix with the servile creatures of the court."

The consciousness of obligation, as well as the jealousy of an equal military renown, awakened the implacable hate of Bonaparte. He knew that, on his arrival from Egypt he had been designated for the post of first consul by Moreau himself, whom the leaders of the conspiracy against the directorial government had primarily wished to fix in the station, and who, though he never prized the character of Bonaparte, by no means suspected that he would have either the inclination or ability to give to France her subsequent aspect. He courted the enjoyments of private life, and thought the dispositions and habits of the other, better fitted to the salutary task of crushing the factions by which France was distracted. He relied, with the credulity proper to a generous nature, upon the constant professions of all around him and of Bonaparte himself, for the establishment of a government of checks and balances.

"The ground of the hostile proceedings against Agricola," continues Tacitus, "was neither a crime against the state, nor even an injury done to any individual. His danger rose from a different source; from the heart of a chief who felt an inward antipathy to every virtue; from the *real* glory of the man; from the lustre of his

name." We have here the clue to the persecution of Moreau. There was, in addition, no other of the military leaders whose professional reputation was seconded, as in the case of Moreau, by a great personal popularity, by known moderation, benevolence, and singleness of character, so as to make him the natural refuge of the nation from the wild tyranny, which was about to be established.

We can pronounce with confidence, from direct observation, that there never existed a more ardent, thorough patriot than Moreau; all his aspirations were for the liberation and prosperity of France. While there, he was not, as Tacitus remarks of Agricola—"one of that class of patriots who conceive, that by a contumacious spirit, they show their zeal for liberty, and by rashness, without any real advantage, provoke danger or court death." But he would have died cheerfully, have made any effort, have braved any peril, could he have reasonably hoped to effect thereby any permanent national good. At no time, in the interval between the elevation of Bonaparte and his banishment, did circumstances allow him to entertain this expectation. During his exile, he was incessantly on the watch, though he did not *conspire*, for an opportunity of devoting himself to the rescue of France from military despotism. His martial career had not blunted in him the keen relish and discriminating judgment of liberty which had at first propelled him to the field. He estimated justly and detested cordially the empire of the sword. He understood and reprobated the spirit which animated most of his great colleagues in arms, and which they had infused into the French troops.

In the European league of 1813 against the universal dominion of those armies, he thought he saw the means of the emancipation of France All his earnest enquiries and meditations about her internal condition, conducted him irresistibly to the conclusion that neither she nor Europe could enjoy tranquillity but by the restoration of the Bourbons. He was far from entertaining a predilection for them or their cause on any other ground. When he consented to lend his aid to the re-establishment of that family, he made a sacrifice of personal feelings and inclinations;—when he consented to appear among the allies at all, in opposition to French troops, it was an act of the most magnanimous self-immolation. His heart was rent asunder at the bare possibility of the situation in which he found himself at Leipsic, as the antagonist of a French army. We have seen him shed tears over the fate of his country, but a little time previous to his embarkation for Europe; and witnessed, too plainly to doubt for a moment the sublime purity of his motives,—the agony which he suffered from the conviction, that nothing but the overthrow of the French armies could preserve France and Europe from permanent subjection to the worst of tyrannies.

He accepted the invitation of the allies to join their standard, and left the United States, under an impression that he would be able to form, out of the multitude of French prisoners confined in Russia, a *national* French army, which, with him at their head, would proclaim a constitutional monarch —a Bourbon, and by their example, produce a general defection among the followers of Bonaparte. He trusted that his appear-

ance with such a force on the borders of France would be sufficient to dissolve the imperial despotism, and preserve the soil which he may be said to have worshipped, from the foot of the foreign invader. Had it not pleased Providence to allow him to be cut off at the battle of Leipsic, such might, and probably would, have been the result. Had he survived, France would, in all likelihood, have been spared not only the first sanguinary struggle within her bosom, but the re-appearance of Bonaparte, the battle of Waterloo, and its fatal consequences. Moreau would have "lived down the judgments of ignorance and the calumnies of malice." France would have acknowledged him as her saviour and father; as the true hero of her military annals,—superior to Bonaparte in the science of war—infinitely so in genuine courage, that which faces undaunted every form of adversity, and for which even the most specious obloquy is but an incitement in the pursuit of a great patriotic end.

We cannot leave the subject of this great martyr in the cause of his country, without first quoting, in abridgment, from the writings of eminent Frenchmen, opinions concerning the French armies, precisely such as those we have heard him express, and which are sufficient,—if the previous tenor of his life be not enough to silence all reproach,—for the justification of a much stronger part than he proposed to act when he set sail from the United States.

"The army," says Pichon in his able pamphlet,* "has been industriously fashioned to become a tool of despotism and a stranger to national feeling. 'I am not a Frenchman,' said one day in a drawing-room a general of note, 'I am but the chief of a body of armed men, and I would burn Paris, if the emperor ordered me to do it.' The army was the only part of the nation which could, by means of a patriotic concert and energetic language on the part of its chiefs, arrest the course of those oppressions of which it was the blind instrument. From the moment that the nation lost all share in the formation, the levy, and the payment of the troops, there no longer existed a national army. The creation of an imperial guard, which alone constituted a chosen band of near sixty thousand men distinguished by the most invidious preferences, contributed to give the army a completely pretorian character. It is difficult to conceive to what a pitch *espionage*, delation, and favouritism were carried in the political government of the army:—every thing in its domestic management was arbitrary and violent, and calculated to infuse a violent and arbitrary temper. The spirit of the army, already vitiated by Bonaparte when general in chief in Italy, was gradually brought to the degree of corruption which we witnessed. There was a general sympathy and collusion in the system of spoliation and pillage officially announced as the real end of the war. After the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, the pillage of England was formally promised the troops. In the midst of the almost universal cupidity, and obsequiousness to Bonaparte's designs, Duroc might well sneer at the noble reply which Moreau made, when he received

* France under the domination of Bonaparte.

through him, the offer of a command in the expedition against England." "I see, said Moreau, with deep chagrin, that pains are taken to pervert daily more and more that noble spirit which animated the army in the outset of our revolution, and of which the springs were a passion for glory, love of country, and the enthusiasm of liberty. Is it expected to revive this spirit by proclamations which invite the army only to the abuse of victory?" The three wars of Germany and the war of Spain consummated that depravation which Moreau apprehended. The colossal fortunes, the *dotations* formed out of contributions levied on cities, and states, or the spoliation of churches and palaces, the habits of luxury and pomp, and absolute command, created an insatiable appetite for plunder, and extinguished all natural sentiment, and independence of character in the military."

"I cannot speak of the department of war and the army without being led to the most sorrowful reflexions. The French have for twenty years astonished all Europe by their courage. We have seen generals, now the glory of our armies, rise from the ranks; and yet, with so much bravery in the camp, did there exist in the cabinet a cowardice such as the slavery from which we have just emerged, necessarily implies. The French have shown that they can brave death, but not obscurity and poverty. They have acted, in the field, under a strong sentiment of honour and fidelity; in the cabinet, they have been cowards, dissemblers, traitors to conscience and duty. The general officers have never recollected, when returned to Paris, that they were citizens; that they had a right to participate in public discussions; to consult public opinion, to support it, if necessary, with the weight of their character and authority. They thought only of enjoying their empty honours and immense riches; they forgot, that they had, even with a view to their own security,—a country to defend, legal guarantees and constitutions to require. Let us confess, however reluctantly, that, since Pichegru and Moreau, the civil mind seems to have become extinct among them. They allowed themselves to be insulated, segregated from the nation, and set in array, as it were, against themselves, chained down, intimidated by the vilest espionage. What an enigma will not this seem to our descendants. I repeat that while we superabounded in the courage of the field, there was a total want of civil courage."

Thus far M. Pichon, than whom —and we speak again from a close personal acquaintance—there does not, we believe, exist a truer Frenchman; one more zealous for his country's honour, or less disposed to show her character to disadvantage in any the smallest particular.

Let us listen, however, to another authority as little to be suspected. M. *Michaud*, a member of the French institute and a zealous Frenchman, of the first order of intellect, holds the following language* on the subject of the French military. "It was, above all, in the army that the spirit of cupidity and domination, the avidity to follow the example and share the high fortune of Bonaparte, displayed themselves. From the common soldier up to the ge-

* See his eloquent pamphlet—*Histoire des Quinze Semaines*—twentieth edition. Paris, 1815.

neral, each had cravings which war alone could satisfy. To content all the desires cherished in the army the world must have been for a long time in convulsion. The soldiers were incessantly told that they were the saviours of France; they finished by believing that France had not treasures great enough to repay their services. They heard so much of their glory, had it so often repeated in every shape that the nation was nothing without them; they were saluted with such lofty encomiums, that their pride knew no bounds, and inspired them with sovereign contempt for all that was not military. The citizen was as nothing in the presence of the soldier. It was no longer the army that was to sacrifice itself for the preservation of the people; but the people for that of the army. In the first years of our political troubles, the French armies, under such leaders as Moreau and Pichegru, were satisfied with the glory of their exploits; they abstained, while they emulously defended our soil, from mingling in the factions which contended for power. At length when the leaders of the dominant factions could no longer reign by means of the populace, they called in the bayonet to their aid. The 13th Vendémaire —the convention was shielded by the bayonet from the vengeance of the people; the 18th Fructidor —the cause of the directory triumphed in opposition to the national will by means of the same auxiliary, commanded by Bonaparte. He effected the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, with his grenadiers, and in order to make the army completely his own, studiously fomented the vices which stifle the fire of patriotism in such bodies. His legions employed in distant conquests, looking to him alone for honours and wealth, lost sight of country, and identified all glory with his elevation. When on the accession of Louis XVIII. the French people hailed the new monarch with joy, the army sympathized in none of their hopes or emotions; scowled upon the national compact, and only thought of bringing back him who would restore to it the fatal prerogatives of war and victory. On the return of Bonaparte, the pride and pretensions of the military exceeded all measure; the people were summoned to rise in defence of what they the military called their glory; every spot over which the imperial eagles waved, seemed to belong to the army; France was, in fact, treated like a conquered country by those who boasted of protecting the independence of her territory!"

De la litterature du Midi de L'Europe, par Sismondi.
Of the Literature of the South of Europe by Sismondi. Paris, 1814, four vols. octavo.

The copious extracts which we have already made from this work, —on Arabian and Italian literature,—may enable the reader to form some judgment of the execution of the whole. It is, indeed, a delightful repast throughout. We do not know that we have ever experienced greater pleasure than in perusing these four volumes of M. Sismondi, expecially that part of them which treats of Spanish literature. They convey much curious information historical as well as bibliographical, and are regulated by the maxims of sound criticism. The literatures of the Provençale language, of the Italian, the Spanish, and the Por-

tuguese, their origin and progress, their discriminating principles and features, their best productions, are reviewed in succession, with a highly cultivated taste, an ample erudition, a most impartial liberality, and ingenious analysis. The fine fancy and elegant style of the author would carry you irresistibly along with him, even were his subject less attractive in itself and less important. He introduces those who have not already attended to the literature of the South of Europe, into a new world with which they must feel a little ashamed of not having been acquainted, if they aspire or pretend to a knowledge of the varieties and extent of human genius. Indeed, who is it that can be said to be well-informed as to the history or powers of his nature, and is yet ignorant of the progress and compass of the literature of the nations of the European Continent? Such a work as this of M. Sismondi and the *literary history of Italy of Guingené*,* make the reproach of this ignorance the heavier, in providing a means of removing it at once so easy and delightful. It renders the knowledge of foreign languages of the less consequence, although neither it nor any production can be considered as an equivalent under a general point of view. The acquisition of a cultivated language, is to the mind like the addition of a new sense. It opens a new creation of ideas; a new chapter in the history of man.

The work of M. Sismondi has an additional interest, with a view to the old controversy which has been warmly renewed in Europe, on the merits of the English, Spanish and German drama compared with that of France. The controversy extends, indeed, to the respective principles and taste of these nations in all branches of composition. The techknical distinction of the *styles* under discussion is the *romantic* and the *classical*, an exact explanation of which has been attempted, but not very satisfactorily given, in the 52d number of the Edinburgh Review. They will be best understood by a reference to the "Southern Literature" of M. Sismondi, the *Germany* of M. de Stael, and the *Dramatic Literature* of Schlegel. These are the three great champions of the *romantic* in contradistinction to the *classical*, or to the French *school*, for which exclusively the latter term is arrogated by the French critics.

The English in their warfare in defence of their own and the Spanish drama, had no allies on the Continent of any account, until M. de Stael, Schlegel, and Sismondi entered the lists on their side, and completed a coalition nearly as potent in its way as was that of Vienna against the emperor Napoleon. Sismondi has taken the Spanish drama especially under his protection, and as he promises to give the world, in continuation of his present work, a review of the literature of the North of Europe including the English, we may expect to find him still more earnest in the cause of Shakspeare than of Calderon and Lope de Vega.

In the celebrated German critic, William Schlegel, Shakspeare has found an enthusiastic and all powerful advocate. "His account of him," says the Edinburgh Review, "is admirably characteristic,

* Histoire littèraire D'Italie, par P. L. Ginguené. Paris. It has now reached the 6th vol. and is a work of great erudition and elegance.

and indeed by far the best which has been given of the plays of that great genius by any writer either English or foreign." Under our general head of elegant literature, the reader will find a considerable extract from Schlegel's investigation of the merits of Shakspeare, and will be struck with the force and beauty of the author's remarks. This part of his work, which is entitled—Lectures on dramatic literature—although the most interesting to us, is not the most useful or important. His history and analysis of the drama of the antients deserve particular attention, and may be studied with solid profit. As the work has been considered at large in the principal reviews of Great Britain, we need not dwell upon it. The *Germany* of M. de Stael has been reprinted and widely circulated in this country. Our public is generally acquainted with the admirable critique of it which sir James Mackintosh has published in the Edinburgh Review. We shall, therefore, only say of it that we think it worthy of her great reputation; but that she has gone too far in her encomiums on German genius, and the productions of the German school, and might with advantage to herself and her readers have left the mystical philosophy of that school to be exposed by some one of its own plodding adepts.

The German philosophy is little better than a relapse into the occult sciences, of which the eighteenth century was supposed to have for ever purged the list of human studies. When we find the powers of eloquence and imagination leagued in its support, we have reason to tremble, lest the progress of sound knowledge should be arrested, and its empire usurped by something worse in its tendency, and not less chimerical than the cabbala or judicial astrology. Our natural good sense requires to be kept constantly on its guard against the distempered fancies of credulity and superstition; the love of novelty, and distinction; the proneness to sectarism and system; the many strong passions which interfere to impede and turn back human reason in its career of *perfectibility;* and which employ against it most efficaciously the lights it has already acquired. Some of the universities of Germany (that of *Landshuth* in Bavaria for instance) profess, as academical bodies, a code of philosophy presenting altogether the most preposterous of all imaginable compounds of theology, physics, *Spinonism*, and rabbinical mysticism. The systemmongers do not restrict themselves to the domain of metaphysics, but carry their reveries into practical life, particularly into the healing art. We can never too strongly express our gratitude to the English critics for having so nicely scrutinized, and so resolutely withstood all the novelties of the German school. It is as useful to trace the wanderings and explode the follies, as it is to exhibit the progress, and confirm the real discoveries of the human mind.

The History of the Italian Republics of the Middle Age, by Sismonde de Sismondi. Vol. 9th, 10th, and 11th.—Paris, 1816.

The accomplished author of the literature of the South has raised, in this great history, a permanent monument to his fame. The ablest of the contributors to the Edin-

burgh Review has not hesitated to denominate him the first historian of his time. There are some, however, of his cotemporaries—for instance, Mitford the historian of Greece,—who might dispute the palm: but all must admit that this history of M. Sismondi is of the highest order of excellence, both in form and substance. The first eight volumes were published in 1809, and given as the result of fourteen years of indefatigable research. Besides these three additional volumes, three more are now in preparation, and will probably appear in the course of the year 1818. The undertaking of M. Sismondi will then be completed, and he will have conferred a lasting benefit upon the cause of political philosophy. His subject embraces an infinite variety of the most curious and instructive incident, and is of particular importance for the youth of a republic. The Italy of the middle age is, if we may be allowed the phrase, a microcosm of republican history, an encyclopedia of examples and lessons for republican institutions. The history of ancient Greece by Mitford, the immortal work of Livy and this history of M. Sismondi should have the preference in every collection of human annals for the use of an American citizen. A judicious and elegant abridgment of each of these works would be the most useful and ought to be the most acceptable literary service that could be rendered to these States. Our institutions may boast of sounder principles, a more regular organisation, a more auspicious concurrence of external circumstances, than can be ascribed to those of any other free state; but there are dangerous passions universal in our nature, passions attached to the principle of political liberty under whatever form or circumstances it may exist, of which it imports us to know perfectly the pathology and operation. This knowledge is only to be obtained in its proper extent by studying the history of *all* the governments of whatever time or locality, in any degree popular in their constitution. Greece, Rome, and the Italy of the middle age, are the most fruitful and the most entertaining sources of instruction.

The materials which M. Sismondi had to draw from a sort of chaos were immense in quantity. He would have deserved unbounded credit for arranging and digesting them alone, without, as he has done, investing them with all the radiance and charms which could be imparted by a profound moralist and a master of style. The three volumes, the 9th, 10th, and 11th now announced, may be read with profit as a whole, independently of those which precede and are to follow. The period over which they extend is from 1430 to 1492, that of the rule of the house of Medicis in Florence. It is the era of the greatest influence of Italy on the fate of all Europe. She was then the school of nations; their preceptor and fountain head in letters, the arts, and the taste of classical antiquity. The reformation had its birth at this period, and is to be traced in connexion with the reigns of popes Nicholas V. and Pius II. eminent for their zeal, their attainments and their great intellect, and of popes Eugene IV., Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII.—no less remarkable, for their imprudence and the scandal of their lives. Venice seconded the great Scanderbeg in Illyria, and shut out the Turks from the West. Lombardy sub-

mitted to the son of a peasant; and the greatness of Francis Flozza was a signal admonition to old dynasties as to what may be effected in the race of ambition by genius, intrepidity and firmness alone;—a splendid memento of the true origin of all hereditary power. Italy teemed in every part with illustrious examples: bold conspiracies, unexpected revolutions, the most profound political schemes crowd into the same canvas: nearly the whole philosophy of history is to be found in the annals of one country within a space of sixty years, from the rapid action of twenty several states dissimilar in their political constitutions and their social character.

We had intended to lay before our readers a version of the seventy-eight chapter of the 10th volume of M. Sismondi, in which he narrates the revolutions of Geneva in the middle of the 15th century, and the last years and death of Cosmo de Medicis in Florence. But our limits oblige us to postpone this instructive extract for another occasion. It may be well to remark that where M. Sismondi and M. Roscoe meet in their subject, the former is much more accurate as to facts, more liberal in his interpretation of motives, and generally much more impartial, without being less elegant or erudite. No reader of judgment will be long at a loss to decide which of the two writers is most amply endowed with the qualities that make a great historian. There is in the narrative of Sismondi an appearance of confusion, and he has been accused of this defect; but it is nothing more than the *appearance* arising inevitably from a multifarious subject. The same reproach was cast on the Decline and Fall of Gibbon, owing to the same cause. The arrangement of both has however all attainable, and, we might add, all desirable perspicuity.

Memoir of Don Miguel Joseph de Asanza and Don Gonzalo O'Farrill, containing an exposition of the circumstances which justify their political conduct since March 1808 *to April* 1814. Paris, 1815. 1 vol. octavo. 325 pp.

THE two authors of this Memoir were introduced into the Spanish ministry by Ferdinand VII. on the abdication of his father: Asanza was made minister of finance and O'Farrill minister of war. They have furnished, in a strain of moderation, good sense and seeming probity, a multitude of important facts concerning the origin, and political progress of the Revolution of Spain. Their testimony is of great authority owing to the stations which they occupied in the royal councils, and the excellent character they have retained. Several important public documents are annexed to the Memoir. The circumstances which induced and accompanied the sanguinary affray of the 2d of May in Madrid are minutely related, in a manner which leaves no doubt of the correctness of the whole statement. The atrocity of the massacre committed by Murat, under the abused forms of military judgment, after tranquillity had been restored, could only be equalled by its impolicy. "The blood of the victims," say these writers, who were indefatigable in their endeavours to propitiate mercy for them, "fructified the seeds of national hate and vengeance, sentiments well justified by so horrible an

enormity." The extent and full odiousness of the perfidy of the French government in the occupation of the territory, and insnarement of the royal family of Spain, are not to be understood from the mere proceedings at Bayonne. It is necessary for this purpose to follow the previous and simultaneous machinations of its agents, ambassadors and generals included, at Madrid, as they are unfolded in this Memoir of Messrs. Asanza and O'Farrill.

Historical Memoirs of the Revolution of Spain, by M. de PRADT, *author of the Congress of Vienna, &c.* Paris, 1816.

THE name of M. de Pradt is already familiar to every one who has given any attention to the political literature of the last eighteen months. His History of the Embassy at Warsaw was sought universally with an eagerness commensurate with the interest which the transactions to which it refers had excited. It gave us important facts, curious details, the best general delineation of Bonaparte ever, perhaps, made; but—to speak as to our own impressions at least—it inspired a thorough contempt for the moral character of the author. It displayed in him a ready instrument and a fawning parasite of the one whom he so powerfully represents as the worst enemy of the human race;—whose vices and views he unfolds at last after his downfall, not in order to benefit the world, but to exalt himself as the nonpareil of diplomatists and to win the favour of the allied sovereigns, whom he flatters when triumphant as slavishly as he flattered his "God Mars"—Napoleon—in the hour of his prosperity. The "Congress of Vienna" exhibits M. de Pradt himself in a more favourable light, as he is not here an actor in the scene; he investigates the new political interests and arrangements of Europe, with much sagacity, and knowledge, and something of resiliency from the crowned heads. Now and then his insufferable egotism obtrudes itself in the midst of his instructive speculations, and his tone is always the subdued, mincing one of habitual, instinctive servility. But "the Congress of Vienna" deserves to be considered and studied as in lineal succession to the *Politique de tous les Cabinets*, and the writings of Gentz; and we rejoice much that it has been reprinted in this country.

In the "History of the Restoration of the 31st March 1814," we have the *Abbé de Pradt* again in all his personal consequence; the spring of all the great political movements of this and the succeeding memorable year. Again, however, he throws new light on the transactions of which he speaks, and though from the caution of a wily accomplice, manœuvring to save a remnant of reputation, he does not do full justice to his great opportunities of knowledge, he yet communicates valuable facts of evident authenticity, and enriches the stock of materials for genuine history.

The remarks here made concerning his "History of the Restoration of 1814" may be extended to the "Memoirs of the Revolution of Spain," announced above. This the most recent book of the prolific archbishop is liable to the same objections, and possesses the same merits. It is, indeed, even more curious and precious than his other two histories. He was the companion of Napoleon at Bay-

onne, his diplomatic *Cecisbeo*, his interlocutor in the conferences with the ministers of Ferdinand, and, though *excessively indignant and shocked at the perfidy of his master*, always its obsequious agent and organ! It is worthy of remark that several of the names deemed the most respectable in France appear in the list of those who served at Madrid as the most zealous of co-adjutors in this dire scheme of fraud upon a whole dynasty and people, unprecedented in its kind, as well as in the elaborateness and blackness of the treachery. The archbishop who acted as the confidential negotiator of Napoleon at Bayonne, the ambassadors who assisted with all due alacrity and adroitness in laying the snare at Madrid, the generals who opened the first vein of the Spanish people to overawe them into submission by the sight of blood, now speak with the utmost composure of the atrocity of the case, and hold it a sufficient apology for themselves to declare, that they obeyed the commands of their emperor. The doctrine of passive obedience never took a more pernicious shape than this, and would go to make Dr. Faustus an innocent man in all the deeds he perpetrated during his league with the devil, after having, as the legend tells, bound himself to obey that great personage. It is inadmissible even for the military, and especially for the superior officers of Bonaparte, who almost always made part of his political council, and were initiated as political emissaries into every plan of usurpation in which they might have occasion to appear as the mere instruments of his power.

The portrait of the prince of peace in these Memoirs of the *Abbé de Pradt* is a master-piece, and even superior, if any thing, to that which he has drawn of Bonaparte in the "Embassy to Warsaw." He holds a vigorous and brilliant pencil, and abounds in strokes not unworthy of Tacitus. His talents were never exhibited to more advantage than in the view he has presented of the elevation and privileges of the Favourite and the relative condition of the Spanish people. The power and corruption and selfishness of Godoy, the grossness and effrontery of the queen's attachment, the stupid infatuation of the king, the abjection of the palace-crowd, the result, make up a picture which it would be difficult to match in the annals of court-favouritism. M. de Pradt is, however, far from being always equally happy in his efforts. He is at times exceedingly affected and neological in his style, and guilty of palpable inconsistencies in his statements. He is sometimes wholly mistaken where he has produced the most striking effect; for instance in the anecdote of the —*Superb No*—of the Portuguese Count de Lima, which has been quoted in the public journals in proof of Bonaparte's magnanimity. It is now well known, and, perhaps, was not unknown to M. de Pradt, that the whole scene to which he gives so fine a dramatic turn, was in fact merely theatrical; got up between the French cabinet and the *Count de Lima* whom they had bought, and who is now in disgrace with the Portuguese court for his venality on the occasion.

Together with several valuable documents, M. de Pradt has attached to his Memoirs the celebrated *conversation* held at Bayonne between Napoleon and M. Escoiquiz, the chief adviser and minister of Ferdinand. M. de Pradt speaks, in his 92d page, of this

conversation which M. Escoiquiz himself published, as the most precious monument of the history of the time; as wanting in nothing to render it of the first importance in itself; as perfectly in character, even to the small tokens of familiarity which Napoleon employed with those whom he wished to conciliate. It is, indeed, a pregnant document for the historian, and we cannot refrain from republishing it here in abridgment. We hope to see it printed entire among us, along with the Memoirs of M. de Pradt, the works of Asanza, of Nellerto, the letters of the Queen of Spain, and generally the correspondence of the royal family among themselves and with Bonaparte.

Conversation between Napoleon and Escoiquiz, as related by the latter.

"*Emperor.*—I have long been desirous, Monsieur l'Abbé, in consequence of the good character they have given me of you, both for honesty and learning, to speak with you upon the subject of your prince; and more so, that I cannot but take some part in his father's misfortunes: he has appealed to me for justice, and it must be done him. The eyes of Europe are upon me. Having made his abdication at Aranjuez, surrounded by a riotous mob, and in the middle of his mutinous guards, it is clear that he was forced to it; and as my armies were at that moment not only in Spain but near to the scene itself, it might be thought that I had a share in the plot, and was the abettor of an undutiful son who has conspired against, and dethroned his father.—On the other hand, the interests of my empire demand, that the house of Bourbon, whom I must look upon as the implacable enemies of my family, should cease to reign in Spain. This is also the interest of your own nation, since by the change of a dynasty, whose last members have brought those evils upon her, which are the cause of the present discontent, she will enjoy a better constitution, under the family which I shall offer her.—However, out of personal consideration for Prince Ferdinand, who has in this friendly way come to see me at Bayonne, I wish to negotiate with him, and hope that an arrangement I have in contemplation, will be found advantageous to him and his brothers.—You are to tell him in my name, that if he renounces all his rights to the crown of Spain, I will give him Etruria, with the title of kingdom, for him and his male heirs for ever, to hold it in complete independence.—I will, also, give him my niece in marriage, in order to strengthen our ties of friendship; and the marriage shall take place the moment he shall sign the treaty. If he should approve of my plan, the treaty will be drawn up and executed immediately: but if not, I will make another with his father, who is expected here every day; and, in that case, neither he nor his brothers will be considered as having a right to stipulate, or receive the least compensation. With respect to the Spanish nation, let Prince Ferdinand accept my proposal, and I will, in the same treaty, ensure her independence, the integrity of her territories, and the preservation of her religion, under the new dynasty. This is the whole of my plan; for as to myself, *I require nothing of Spain; no, not even a hamlet.*"—

"*Escoiquiz.*—I cannot but express my astonishment at a scheme which, considering the intimate alliance of the two countries, could not even cross the thoughts of my

king and nation. Spain, sir, has now been the friend of France for one hundred years, and this friendship has become more intimate under your majesty's government. Spain has supported France in all her wars, not excluding that which your imperial majesty has made for the dethronement of the Neapolitan branch of the Bourbons. In those wars, Spain hast lost her navy and her treasures, until at last she is utterly exhausted.—I therefore intreat your majesty to let me describe the true state of things in my country.—I shall begin by a simple and faithful narrative of the facts which preceded the abdication of King Charles IV. —I will take it from the very source; that is, the too well known conspiracy, as it is called, of the Escurial."—

"*Emperor.*—I am perfectly aware of every circumstance. I know that neither the prince nor any of you are to blame for what happened at that time. But this shocking business of Aranjuez—that act of abdication, performed in the middle of a furious mob; the desertion of the king's guards, who, instead of supporting him against the people, contributed with them to oppress him, and extort his renunciation; the eagerness of the prince to accept it, and his conduct, as well as that of his friends, on the occasion; all this, I repeat, must induce the whole world, as it does me, to believe, that the abdication was involuntary and extorted."—

"*Escoiquiz.*—Let me then, I beseech your majesty, set the events of Aranjuez in their true light.—The tumult of Aranjuez had no other cause but the public indignation, carried to its highest pitch, when it was found out that the king, and all the royal family, were going to set out for Andalusia; as the people suspected that it was preparatory to their departure for one of the colonies, in imitation of the court of Portugal. —The hatred against the Prince of the Peace which had been for years working in every breast, burst into a violent explosion, the moment it was known that he was the author of that disastrous project. The only object, however, of the multitude, was to punish the Favourite, and to prevent the flight of the king and royal family.—When the Prince of the Peace was found in a loft of his house, the day after the tumult, and the mob had fallen upon him, the guards, and some other troops, ran immediately to protect him, which they effectually did, until the Prince of Asturias repaired to the spot, and mixing in the mob, prevailed upon the people to spare him, under the promise of getting him legally tried. Thus the guards were enabled to convey him to their barracks, with a few slight wounds only. As soon as he was safe in the barracks, the tumult subsided, and the people having cheered the royal family, dispersed without delay.—I am aware, however, that in foreign courts and countries, it must have been said that delicacy, if not filial duty, demanded from Ferdinand a delay, or some degree of reluctance in the acceptance of an abdication which had been made in such extraordinary circumstances; but this objection can never occur to those who know how critical was the position of our affairs at that moment. Spain was utterly ruined, if Prince Ferdinand hesitated an instant. The queen, who, in a state of the utmost anxiety for the life of the Prince of the Peace, had agreed to the abdication, might

recover herself from her terror, and make her husband alter his resolution, as easily as she prevailed upon him to make his subsequent protest."—

"*Emperor.*—Under whatever colour the insurrection of Aranjuez and its consequences may be presented, you must acknowledge, Mons. l'Abbé, that appearances are against it. These are strongly supported by the protest of the king, made the very same day, and but a few hours after he signed the abdication."—

" *Escoiquiz.*—I confess, sir, that to those who know not the incredible weakness of the king's character, the sudden change which his protest evinces (though I verily think it was made two days after the supposed date) will be a matter of astonishment. But their surprise would cease if they knew how much the king was the slave of his wife, in whom he had put the most unbounded confidence; and how she might get him, without the least difficulty, to sign the most opposite things in the same breath. It was the queen, sir, who out of hatred to the prince her son, and for fear that the Prince of the Peace should be tried with all the rigour of the law, induced her husband to make the protest."—

" *Emperor.*—In spite of all that, Abbé, I will always adhere to my principle. An abdication which was made in a tumult, and recalled the very same day, can never be deemed valid. But now, setting all this aside, how can I forget that both the interests of my family and empire, loudly demand the expulsion of the Bourbons from the throne of Spain? (Here his imperial majesty with the best possible humour, caught me by the ear, and pulling it in joke, said,) Suppose that all you have stated were so; still, Abbé, I would say, *bad policy!*

" *Escoiquiz.*—I perceive, sir, the whole meaning of that word; but still, I imagine I could prove that good policy, and the interests of your empire, are quite against the plans which your majesty has in contemplation.—I know how vast and deep are the plans which your imperial majesty is apt to conceive; but still, sir, my perfect acquaintance with the character and dispositions of the Spanish nation, might enable me to make some observations, and state some facts, which may be of the greatest importance in your decision. Who knows but that I may succeed in bringing your majesty to my side of the question?

" *Emperor.*—(Smiling, in the same good humour, and giving me rather a hard pull by the ear,) I have heard a good deal of you, Abbé, and I really see that you are a deep fellow.

"*Escoiquiz.*—(Smiling also.) Sir, allow me to say, that I am but a shallow creature, comparatively. I appeal to what the world has seen. No, sir, no: the advantage is not on my side.

" *Emperor.*—It is impossible that while the Bourbons are on the throne of Spain, I should expect a sincere alliance from that country. They will, certainly, pretend it, while they may be weak and helpless: but they will fall upon me the moment a war shall be kindled in the North; a thing to which I am exposed every moment. Can there be a stronger proof of this, than the perfidious conduct of Charles IV.; who, as soon as he thought me quite embarrassed with the Prussian war, a few days be-

fore the battle of Jena, issued that famous proclamation, which you must well remember, calling all his subjects to arms against me? As long as the Bourbons shall sit upon that throne, I shall never be safe on that side. The forces of Spain, which are never to be overlooked, might dreadfully annoy me, one day or other, especially if there were a man of talents at their head."—

"*Escoiquiz.*—With regard to the proclamation issued soon before the battle of Jena, which seems to be, with your majesty, the strong ground of suspicion against the disposition of the Bourbons towards your person and family, though it was a most unprovoked offence, yet it never originated in a Bourbon. It was, as your majesty well knows, an act of the Prince of the Peace, who had to conquer the most steady opposition of which the infinite weakness of the king was capable.—And what shall I say of the friendly dispositions shown by his son Ferdinand, towards your majesty: of that love, esteem, and veneration, of which you, sir, have received the clearest proofs?—There can be no reason, sir, to suspect the least aversion to your family, in a prince, who besides giving these proofs of affection, knows very well that your majesty's friendship is of the first political interest to his country."—

"*Emperor.*—Come, come, Abbé, have done with your castles in the air, and answer me, if it be possible that Spain should be as faithful to me under a Bourbon, as under a prince of my own family."

"*Escoiquiz.*—The best pledge of the alliance of Spain during your majesty's life, is your transcendant genius,and the consequent strength which it gives to your empire. It matters not whether a Bourbon or a prince of your family be upon the Spanish throne during your majesty's life.—If your majesty should insist upon the change of dynasty, I most humbly beg leave to say, that it will excite the hatred and jealousy of the most passive and neutral to an incredible degree. England, sir, will have a powerful argument in your conduct towards your most faithful ally, with which to rouse their fears, and feed with them new wars and coalitions. As for the Spaniards, sir, I cannot dissemble my persuasion, that they will swear eternal hatred against you. France and your family will be the objects of their execration for centuries.—There is but one opinion, one universal wish in favour of a king, whom they adore. Nothing, sir, short of exterminating the Spaniards, can settle another king on their throne.

"*Emperor.*—Abbé, you exaggerate the difficulty. There is only one power which might give me some uneasiness, and I have already made sure of it. I communicated my plans concerning Spain to the Emperor of Russia, when I met him at Tilsit, (you see they are as old as that,) and he promised me not to oppose them. As for the other powers, they will not dare to stir, I am sure; and with regard to your Spaniards, they will make little or no resistance. The grandees, of course, and all the people of property, will be kept quiet by the fear of losing it, and will most likely employ their credit with the lower classes to preserve tranquillity. I will make the clergy and the monks responsible for every sort of disturbance that may happen, and so they will be obliged to exert their great in-

fluence to preserve subordination. The populace may here and there break out into some commotion, but a few exemplary punishments shall bring them back to their duty. Believe me, that countries where the monks are numerous may easily be brought to subjection; I know it by my own experience.

"*Escoiquiz.*—Those grandees, sir, those men of fortune, those priests and monks, on whom you trust, will be the first to set the example of loyalty to Ferdinand, even at the expense of all they possess; and the whole nation, in a mass, will rise up to oppose the establishment of any other person on their throne.

"*Emperor.*—Well, let it be so; I will do it, if I were to sacrifice two hundred thousand men, though I am far from thinking that the subjugation of Spain will require that number.

"*Escoiquiz.*—I will allow, against my own persuasion, that Spain may submit, and even become reconciled to her yoke. But of what use, let me ask, will she then be to France? When she shall be ruined, unpeopled, impoverished by the loss of her colonies, and thereby deprived of the means of having a navy, what can she be but a burden to France, an opening through which her enemies will be enabled to attack her?

"*Emperor.*—But here again, Abbé, your argument runs away with you; you take it for certain that Spain will lose her colonies, when I have very good reasons to hope that it will not be so. I have not gone hand over head about this business. I am in communication with the Spanish colonies, and several frigates have been sent there for that purpose. No, no, I am pretty sure there."

"*Escoiquiz.*—So strong is my persuasion that the colonies will withdraw their allegiance, in case of a change of dynasty, that I should not hesitate a moment to stake upon the event whatever is most dear to me in the world.—England, sir, will greet the day in which the change of dynasty shall take place in Spain, and reckon it as the happiest that has ever beamed on her."

"*Emperor.*—Besides, Abbé, that you are too much beforehand in your calculations, as we do not agree on the principles, I can say no more, at present, but that I will give this subject some further consideration, and let you know my irrevocable decision to-morrow."

"Such was, with very little difference, in the order of the words, the dialogue which took place in our first conference. The next day I was called again by the emperor, who began the conversation by telling me, that he had taken the invariable determination of carrying his plan, concerning Spain, into execution; and desired me, at the same time, to break the matter to Ferdinand.

"That and the following days, the emperor spoke upon the same subjects with the Dukes of Infantado and San Carlos, and with Don Pedro Ceballos the minister of the young king, severally, as well as in common, including me; but he always spoke in the same tone. They all urged similar arguments to those I had employed, every one taking a different view of the subject, and all using the same manly frankness; but it was all in vain: he had taken his resolution, and it was irrevocable, as he had told us."

La Langue Hébraique restituée et le veritable sens des mots Hébreux rétabli et prouvé par leur analyse radicale, par Fabre d'Olivet. 2 vols. large quarto.—The Hebrew language restored, and the true sense of the Hebrew words re-established, and proved by analysis—by *Fabre d'Olivet*, &c.

The author of this work is a scholar of great research, and has here accomplished an undertaking of immense labour. The extent and importance of it may be understood from a summary of the contents of his volumes. They embrace an introductory dissertation on the origin of speech and on the study of the languages which may serve to unfold it;—a Hebrew grammar founded on new principles, and calculated to be useful in the study of languages in general;—a series of Hebrew roots considered under new points of view and destined to facilitate the comprehension of languages and that of etymological science;—a preliminary discourse;—a translation in French of the first ten chapters of *Sepher*, or Genesis, containing the cosmology of Moses. This translation, intended to illustrate and confirm the principles adduced in the grammar and dictionary, is preceded by a literal version in French and English, done upon the original Hebrew text also given, with a transcription or modern characters, and accompanied by grammatical and critical notes in which the interpretation given to each word is regulated by radical analysis, and a collation with the analogous Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, or Greek word.

The principal motives which prompted M. *Fabre d'Olivet* to this enterprise deserve to be stated, as nearly as posssible in his own language.

All the learned who have applied themselves to the Hebrew and investigated the genius of this ancient and celebrated language, have concurred in this, that it had been for a long time lost, that is to say, from a very early period the true sense of its words was no longer known, that the grammars and dictionaries made from the only authentic version of the only book which contained it, were founded on erroneous principles. The judicious Richard Simon, to whom the world is indebted for an excellent critical history of the bible, has brought together on this subject all the researches that have been made, and the opinions promulgated; and has proved that the loss of the Hebrew language is from the testimony of the bible itself, to be traced as high as the captivity of Babylon: so that, even six centuries before our era, the Jews themselves did not understand the language of their ancestors, and spoke a sort of mixed jargon of Chaldaic, Persian and Syriac. In this jargon so improperly called Hebrew, and afterwards enriched with a few Latin and Greek words, the book of the law was but paraphrased for the Jews in the synagogues. Both *Thalmuds* are written in it, as well as most of the books which the modern Jews deem ancient, such as the Zohar and some cabalistical works known only to the Rabbins. Eminent men of all nations and sects have turned their attention laboriously to the loss of a language so intimately connected with the history of the earth, and events of unequalled importance. They have exerted them-

selves to ascertain its constituent principles, and thus to restore it and re-invest its words with their true meaning. Several of them have fruitlessly consumed their lives in this task; the theories which they built with immense pains have all fallen to the ground.

The author of the present work has been long since aware of the rocks on which they split; and has been insensibly drawn into the enterprise by particular circumstances. He had at first directed his studies towards another object and occupied himself with an archailogical work on the history of the earth. In the prosecution of this enterprise, he bestowed much of his attention upon the principal languages of Asia and Africa, such as the Chinese, the Sanscrit, the Arabic, the Coptic, &c. &c.—The Hebrew, which he had known in his youth, as it is usually known, that is, very imperfectly, fell within his researches. This language, so precious on many accounts, engaged him the more powerfully inasmuch as he did not reach it in the usual way, through the Greek or Latin, but by languages more analogous and nearer to its cradle. He was thus led to view it under new aspects, and to accomplish what had been so often vainly attempted. He flatters himself that he has seized the true principles of the Hebrew tongue, and succeeded in determining the true sense of its words, not by the knowledge of the Greek and Latin interpretations for the most part false, but by means of an intimate acquaintance with its genius. Fixing his attention upon the inestimable monument which the Hebrews have transmitted to us, the portion of the *Sepher* of Moses vulgarly called *Genesis*, he discovered there many things which, even in a moral and philosophical point of view, might be of much interest for mankind. He concluded that in this book, sprung altogether from the sanctuaries of Memphis and Thebes, we possessed, without suspecting it, all the sciences of the ancient Egyptians. This discovery was a strong incitement for the author to endeavour to resuscitate the Hebrew tongue which would serve as the key to this treasure: But this motive was not the only one; for, admitting with most of those who have studied the matter, that the Hebrew, as to the radical form, did not differ from the ancient Phœnician, how much light might not the possession of this language shed upon the History of Europe, and upon that of the idioms which have successively risen there. No one is ignorant that the Phœnicians did for this part of the earth, what we have done for America, colonised the whole extent of its coasts,—built cities, established regular commonwealths, and thus provided those harvests of glory which the Greeks and Romans afterwards reaped. It is upon the languages of these two illustrious people that those which we speak are modelled, and it is upon their literature that ours is built.

We shall proceed no further with M. d'Olivet, but conclude with observing that what has been said can furnish only a very inadequate notion of the variety and interest of the materials of his work.

England at the beginning of the nineteenth century—by the duke de Levis. 2 vols, 8vo. Paris, 1815.

The author of this work resided in England for many years

as an emigrant; acquired the language, and diligently studied the institutions, of that country. He has undertaken to lay before the world the result of his observations on all that he saw about him and on the English character and manners. His rank gave him access to the best society, and his early studies of the most liberal cast brought within his reach the objects of intellectual dignity which are of most importance in the investigation of the concerns of a great nation. He has furnished an ample account of England at once instructive and amusing. It evinces impartiality, sagacity and habits of close observation, and although there are scattered through it many opinions and statements open to contradiction, or evidently erroneous, it may on the whole be recommended strongly to the public attention and considered as a particularly useful present to his countrymen. M. de Levis is the author of another work entitled *Souvenirs et Portraits*—Recollections and Portraits.—He traces the portraits of a number of the most remarkable personages of the last twenty-five years, with whom he was personally acquainted. There is much point in his manner and shrewdness in his observation of characters. Neckar, Franklin, Gustavus III. of Sweden, Mirabeau, George III. of England, are in the list of his portraits.

Of all the books written on England by foreigners we consider this as decidedly the best,—The Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain in 1810 and 1811, by a French traveller, &c. printed in London in 1815, and simultaneously at New York. The author is known to be a Mr. Simon, a French gentleman who had resided for twenty years in or near the city of New York, previous to his visit to England. He had here made himself master of our language, so far as to be able to write his work in English with a purity and elegance of style which would do credit to any native English scholar of the most refined and cultivated taste. It is, indeed, with the authority and judgment of one of this description, that he touches upon English literature in the course of his work. There is scarcely a topic connected with the government, political economy, science, literature, fine and mechanical arts of Great Britain, which he does not treat and in a manner which presupposes a great fund of well digested general knowledge, and a carefully improved taste.

The fine arts especially attract his attention, and he generalizes, as those of England, or the specimens which she possesses, fall under his notice, so as to give to the memoranda of his journal, the value of an abstract disquisition. He goes into all the great questions of finance, politics, domestic government, &c. which occupied the British nation when he wrote, deeply enough to instruct, and yet not so much so as to oppress the reader. We could cite his exposition of the paper currency controversy, of that concerning geology which divided the learned world of Edinburgh, as a model of what we would call itinerant dissertation. Though any kind of dissertation may, in strictness, appear misplaced, in a book of travels, or in what is here modestly called a journal, we are far from viewing in this light, those which M. Simon has introduced. The reader finds himself, as the author seems, insensibly engaged in them, and is carried easily through

with the strong, sound, natural sense of the latter as his guide.

We are not disposed to condemn the discussion of general topics in books of travels, provided they do not occupy a space disproportionate to the descriptive and narrative parts, and be treated in a popular form. A judicious employment of this privilege blends the useful with the agreeable more efficaciously than can be done in any other department of literature. Narrative description constitutes, however, the essence of *travels*, and remarks or general enquiries should be but accessary and incidental. It must be confessed that this order of things has been sadly reversed in several recent instances, which, instead of travels, in the old sense, present us with a series of essays of the most elaborate and complicated texture. Dr. Clarke may be accused of this license on the score of archaelogical enquiries; Eustace as to his classical disquisitions and antiquarian history, and above all Humboldt in his personal narrative so admirably translated by Miss Williams, which is, in fact, only a learned treatise.

The digressions or dissertations of M. Simon admit of an easy transition to the liveliest or most familiar scenes of common life. You find yourself at once seated within doors, and the domestic economy, manners, virtues and vices of the English characteristically before you in the minutest detail. The author describes external objects and movements of every kind as particularly, and graphically as is requisite to make his reader his travelling companion, and this primary end is promoted by the excellent drawings from his own pencil with which he has enriched his volumes. He mixes with the best literary society of London and Edinburgh, frequents the theatres and fashionable rendezvous, visits the galleries of pictures, the libraries, and all the great public monuments; surveys the natural beauties of Wales, and Scotland and the English lakes: and if we find him tedious any where it is in his delineations of a scenery his fondness for which, however, furnishes a proof of excellent feeling no less than of intellectual refinement.

This Journal has been translated by the author himself and published in Paris, where, as in England, it has received the loftiest encomiums from the critics of the highest reputation, and has been sought with great avidity. A book distinguished by more moderation, impartiality, good sense, appropriate intelligence, and unpresuming independence of mind we have never read, nor one which we would more gladly see in the hands of all Americans, because we are assured that it faithfully represents England, and that it must make upon every ingenuous mind the impression which truth and taste demand. We view it with the more satisfaction as it may be considered to belong to American literature. Twenty years of uninterrupted residence among us has made the author our own. He travelled as an American citizen, and caused his work to be printed from the manuscript at New York. We fear that it has not had a circulation at home commensurate with that which it enjoys abroad. There should be no time lost, by the booksellers at least, in giving it the due chance for success, by enabling us to procure it in all our cities.

This Journal of M. Simon is the proper antidote to the crude

speculations of *Say*, to the rhapsodical work of M. Rubichon on England, and to the still more absurd account of the same country by the French general *Pillet*, entitled "England seen at London and in her Provinces."—L'Angleterre vue à Londres et dans ses Provinces." It is meant, we understand, to publish in this country a translation of the work of Pillet, and it is to be regretted that we can be supposed capable of bearing such a mass of extravagant falsehoods, destitute of any leven but malignity. Parkinson, Janson, and Ashe, whose wretched libels on the United States were but too well received in England, are models of truth and justice when compared with this general *Pillet*. What reception should we give to a book which contains such statements as the following, and is written throughout in the same strain?

"Shop-lifting in England is very much in fashion, but more particularly among ladies of rank!"

"Every one may remark, that in an English drawing-room, about tea time, the ladies are tipsy (*entre deux vins*) though they are seldom seen to drink more than one little glass of wine at dinner. The opportunity for those ladies is when they retire from the gentlemen. A mysterious temple is destined to the same bacchanal uses as the gentlemen's dining-room, and the only difference is the liquor drank—the gentlemen drink Port, Madeira, Claret, and Champaigne—the ladies drink only the best French brandy."

"Young ladies are only admitted to this circle of sobriety after a sort of trial and a certain age namely, about forty; after which period every English woman of rank or fashion gets drunk every night of her life, under the pretence of keeping the wind out of her stomach."

"All the young women of England live in a state of incontinence, and neither the peasant, the squire, nor the lord, has ever the least scruple in the choice of a wife from what may have occurred previously to marriage."

"The least dissolute class of women in England are, undoubtedly, waiting women in great families, who speculate on marrying the young lord, or some old rich and gouty voluptuary, if they keep a kind of character."

No Frenchman or foreigner had before so fully and accurately described England, as M. Simon, but there are several French works of a prior date concerning that country, which deserve to be cited. These are the works of *Grosley*, *Lacoste*, *Ferry de St. Constant*, *Fievée* and the valuable sketch of *Pictet* of Geneva. The letters of the Abbé Le Blanc on the same subject, of which the fifth edition in 3 vols. was published in 1758, are to be read over even now with great profit and satisfaction. They are replete with just views of the English national character, with sagacious remarks in morals and politics, with acute, unprejudiced criticism, of the institutions, morals and tastes, of both England and France. We should be happy to find in the French and English who describe each other now a days, the same liberal, courteous spirit which animated *Le Blanc*, together with the same patient earnestness of investigation. It would be an injustice not to mention another work on the same subject, which we hoard as a treasure. We allude to the *Letters upon the English and the French*, written in French

and published by a Swiss gentleman in the year 1727. All the great national traits on both sides are seized with unerring sagacity in this work, and described in the details with admirable exactness and *naiveté*. The picture furnishes a striking likeness for the present and indeed, for all times, since, as all the writings of the sort which develope the internal, fundamental character show, the genius, temper, general moral physiognomy of the two nations have always been the same.

History of Christina, queen of Sweden, by Catteau Calleville, 2 vols. octavo.—Not long after the revival of letters, several princes of the North endeavoured to familiarize the Muses with the Northern regions. In Poland, Sigismond Augustus welcomed the learned at his court, and enabled them to devote themselves to useful researches. In Denmark, Frederick II. and after him, Christian IV. assisted and stimulated talents by the most flattering distinctions, and by their bounties to the university of Copenhagen. In Sweden, Gustavus Vasa, and at a later period, Gustavus Adolphus, opened colleges, drew from abroad eminent savans to diffuse knowledge, and lent material aid to the university of Upsal. But there had not been seen in the North, a court where the arts and sciences were so munificently patronized as in that of Christina;—a court which might be compared to that of Leo X. and Francis I. Although the efforts of the Northern monarchs who preceded Christina were not fruitless, those of the daughter of Gustavus produced much more striking and valuable effects, embraced a larger sphere, and established a more intimate communion between the learning of the North and the South.

Six colleges owed their birth to Christina, and were amply endowed for the most valuable professorships. New chairs were founded by her in the universities of Upsal in Sweden, of Abo in Finland, and of Dorpat in Livonia, and able professors brought to them from Germany. She often visited Upsal to attend the lectures, and it was in her presence that the celebrated Olaus Rudbeck, made, in one of his anatomical dissections, the discovery of the lymphatic vessels. There had existed for a long time in the palace of Stockholm, the beginnings of a library, which Gustavus Adolphus considerably enlarged. Christina made this one of the richest and most important collections of Europe. She bought the books and manuscripts taken by the Swedish generals at Prague, Olmutz, and other cities. She bought, also, the libraries of Grotius, Vossius, cardinal Mazarin, and employed a number of the most erudite men of Germany to travel throughout Europe in search of rare books and manuscripts. Her library acquired the greatest celebrity, and the most illustrious writers of the day sought her notice by letters, panegyrics, and dedications. Among these were Pascal, Gassendi, Balzac, Octavio Ferrario of Padua, Ménage, Benserade, Scuderi, Scarron, Gronovius, &c. None had reason to complain of her generosity. Her correspondence with them indicates great intelligence and liberality of sentiment.

Scholars of every description were admitted familiarly, and flatteringly distinguished at her court.

Freinshemius the Latinist, was her librarian, and Saumasius her guest: the celebrated Descartes fixed himself at Stockholm at her request, and died there, in the enjoyment of the highest favour. In the list of those who formed her society, were Huet of Avranches, Heinsius, Scheffer, &c. She encouraged, also, artists of every description, sent the most promising youths to study at Rome, made valuable collections in the fine arts, and by her example generally, gave a new character to the taste and ambition of the Swedes. The history of her abdication, of her travels, and her residence at Rome, is familiar to most general readers. Whatever relates to the life of this extraordinary woman, to the learning which flourished under her auspices, and to the influence of her spirit, will be found conveyed and discussed in a manner equally agreeable and instructive, in the work of Mr. Calleville. He has prefixed to her life a compendium of the history of Sweden.

Description of the Hypogea or Grottoes of the city of Thebes, by M. *Jomard*, one of the French Institute of Cairo, and director of its great work on Egypt, Paris, 1814. —The works which the Egyptians executed under ground, can only be compared to those which they have left above. Rooms, wells, &c. condemned to eternal shade, have been adorned with as much care as the monuments illuminated by the sun. All of them have been covered with paintings in *fresco*. These grottoes were family repositories for the dead, and the paintings represent the customs of civil life. Each family caused a vault to be excavated for itself in particular; the plans and decorations are therefore exceedingly various. The Hypogea are reached by winding passages, and now serve as an asylum to the robber Arabs. They have been before inhabited by rigid Cenobites. The images of Christian worship often cover the Egyptian, and upon figures of Isis, Osiris, and Harpocrates, sculptured with the greatest delicacy, you find coarse delineations of the Virgin, of Christ, and the Apostles. The number of these burial places and their contents, evince the vast population of the country. The mummies are shaken from their cases, and prostrate; you walk with difficulty through the remains of bones and swaddling clothes, the odour of which is not, however, offensive. The wells and vaults of the Hypogea are filled with bats, incessantly flying about and uttering piercing cries. The heat is at the same time excessive. Yet the Arabs brave the noise of the bats, the stench of their excrements, the unwholesomeness of the air, the difficulty of walking through the ruins, and the danger of fire amidst these bituminous masses; the object of most of them is, to search for small images and antiquities to sell at Cairo. The Hypogea are divided into several apartments supported by square pillars, have wells and cisterns, and most of them are from 400 to 600 feet long. The paintings which cover them display the domestic and social life of the Egyptians, in all its details. The work of M. *Jomard* treats largely of them, of the construction of the Hypogea, of the manuscripts which they contain, of the manner and art of preserving the mummies, of their varieties, &c. —It is replete with entertain-

ment and the most curious information.

A Picture of the United States of America at the commencement of the nineteenth century, by M. *Bonnet*, Professor of the Law of Nature and Nations, &c. Paris, 1816.—About twenty years ago, the same writer published a work under the title of "The United States of America towards the close of the eighteenth century." His avowed object at that period was, to encourage emigration to this land of promise, and he professes to have the same end in view at present. The professor is, therefore, throughout, an ardent encomiast. Bating, however, some little exaggeration in both, his statistical statements are authentic, and his general views justified by facts. That this is the most prosperous and thriving of all countries, that it is the best refuge of the unfortunate or proscribed of the old world, cannot admit of a doubt. The tendency of M. Bonnet's work, is, to produce these impressions, especially on such of his countrymen as wish to better their condition. He recommends the state of New York to them, and so far exalts the advantages which it holds out, above those of the other members of the union, as to induce the suspicion that he is himself a proprietor of lands in that state, or subsidized by those who are. Although the learned professor has not produced such a volume on this country as we could wish to see from some foreign pen, and as it deserves, yet it is infinitely to be preferred to the crude, purblind speculations of Beaujour and Turreau, on the same subjects. Neither of these writers had an opportunity of becoming well acquainted with the American character, manners, or institutions in their real spirit. They lived among us as recluse and mutes; the first, insulated by his inability to speak our language, and his affected contempt of American society! the other, by the turpitude of his habits, and the general grossness of his character. What Beaujour has furnished of statistics, was unskilfully gleaned from our daily papers; he has done little more than repeat Volney, as to the climate and face of the country, without having the candour or the judgment to remark the changes wrought since the period of Volney's observation. The circumstances which he cites as illustrative of American character and manners, are fictitious for the most part, or greatly overcharged; and the obloquy which he lavishes upon the profession of the law in the United States, is manifestly the offspring of private pique, or of prejudice contracted amidst village-litigation at home. The chevalier Beaujour may be placed on the same shelf with such observers as general Pillet. The pamphlet of Turreau, ostensibly concerning the United States, is, in fact, a laboured denunciation of republicanism, of the maxim of the sovereignty of the people, of the influence of commerce upon the character of society, and of our commercial connexions with England. He has obviously mistaken altogether the spirit and effect of our institutions, but has thrown out several observations which furnish matter for wholesome reflection. There is more in his pamphlet worthy of attention, than in the ostentatious volume of Beaujour.

A work of particular importance and utility to youth, is now proposed to be published at Paris by subscription. It is an *Abridgment of Ancient and Modern History*, for the use of the rising generation, by the *Count de Ségur*, the well known ambassador to the court of Catharine II. and editor of the *Politique de tous les Cabinets*. He is a member of the French Institute. The work will comprise 37 vols. in 18mo. and the price of subscription for the whole is only 60 francs, somewhat more than 12 dollars. Nine of the volumes containing the part of *Antient History*, were to have appeared in November, 1816. The Count de Ségur has always been considered as one of the most elegant writers and accomplished statesmen of Europe. The task which he has imposed upon himself for the improvement of youth, may be expected therefore, to prove superior in the execution to any of the kind ever before accomplished. We do not, indeed, know of any very good course of history destined to to the same purpose. The Ancient History of Rollin, so common in the hands of youth, is liable to many objections; the "Course of History" of the Abbé Condillac is, indeed, excellent, but rather fitted for the more mature age. Of this, there is, we believe, no English version. The Universal History of Bossuet, although a chef d'œuvre of generalization, is too much of a mere outline as to facts, and of too lofty a pitch for any other than minds of much elevation. The English Universal History, a voluminous and irregular, though learned and accurate compilation, deserves a place in every library as a work of reference, and in no other respect. Such abridgments of history as those of Russel, Bigland, &c. may have a temporary success from the absence of something of the sort more tolerable, but are in themselves even below mediocrity.

Linguarum totius orbis Index Alphabeticus, quarum Grammaticæ, lexica, collectiones verborum recensentur, patria significatur, historia adumbratur, by Dr. Vater, Librarian of the King of Prussia.—This is a work of the same nature as the well known *Mithridates* of Adelung, or General Science of the Languages of the Earth, in German, the first volume of which appeared at Berlin, in 1805, and the two last in 1812, and 1813. Something of the same kind has been attempted in English, in the "Catalogue of Dictionaries, Grammars," &c. of William Marsden, London, 1796. The work of Dr. Vater will be found the most methodical, convenient, and complete. Every such polyglot lexicon is of great importance in tracing the origin of nations, and elucidating the general history of mankind.

Lexicon universale librorum sive plenus index omnium ab anno 1700 ad finem 1810, in lucem editorum librorum, in Germania et lingua et litteris cum ea conjunctis terris impressorum, cum notatione locorum quibus impressi sunt hi libri; bibliopolarum et pretiorum, primum a G. Heinsio institutum. Editio nova. 4 vols. in 4to. Leipsic, 1815.

The two works here mentioned, may furnish an idea of the kind of labour to which the German scholars devote themselves. It is incredible what a multitude of universal histories, abridgments of

universal histories, &c. they have produced within the three last years. Every branch of science, letters, and the arts, has had its historian, who has traced it with unwearied patience, and the utmost attainable accuracy, from its seminal principle, through all stages of growth, and in all its branches. German literature is, therefore, by far the most copious and ready index to human knowledge, although it has not made a positive addition to the stock, in any way commensurate with the industry and bibliomania of the school.

How the *Dutch* are disposed to employ themselves, may be seen from the following prize-question, proposed in 1816, by the university of Leyden. "Cum subinde officia officiis repugnare videantur, num incidere possint causæ, cum aut plané pugnent, aut incerta sit agendi ratio; et quæ in omnibus hujusmodi causis sit norma, cur parere et quam sequi oporteat?" A question worthy of the days of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Three hundred florins were offered at the same time for the dissertation which should best establish *the divine authority of the Catholic epistle of St. James*. Besides her universities, Holland possesses several academies of sciences and letters, of which the chief is the *Institute of Sciences, Belles-lettres, and Arts, of Amsterdam*. Its *Memoirs* are respectable, and its annual reports indicate much activity in the culture of all the branches of knowledge within its province. Ancient literature has a multitude of votaries, some of whom deserve to be ranked with the German professors in point of erudition. *Vander Palm* is a profound philologist and orientalist, as well as an eloquent preacher. His translation into Dutch of the prophet Isaiah, with notes, is a work of great learning and ingenuity, and his last volume of sermons, *Derde Zestal*, &c. cannot be too highly commended. Poetry is by no means neglected among the Dutch. They publish annually a quantity of verse, some of which deserves no inconsiderable credit. The odes, and other compositions of *Feith*, are read with pleasure every where.

The attention paid to the fine arts in Holland, may be estimated from this circumstance, that, at the last biennial exhibition of native pictures at Amsterdam, there were one hundred and forty-two of the large size, besides miniatures, drawings, engravings, &c. Of the painters who contributed, thirty-two belonged to the city of Amsterdam alone.

The History of Poetry and Eloquence from the end of the thirteenth century down to the present times, by *Bouterweck*. Gottingen. 10 vols. 8vo.—It is by works of this character that the Germans entitle themselves to be described as the most useful labourers in the field of literature. To *Bouterweck* the world is indebted, besides, for an invaluable History of the Literature of the Southern Nations. The *History of the Commerce of the Ancients*, by M. Heeren, and *the General History of Literature*, of which M. *Eichorn* is the principal editor, are treasures of the most serviceable erudition. The works of *Sterder*, and *Jean de Muller*, geniuses of the first order as philosophers,

historians, and prose writers, the *Life of Charlemagne*, by *Hegewisch*, the History of Gustavus III. King of Sweden, by *Posselt*, the *History of the Germans*, by Schmidt, deserve particularly the attention of the students of history and of the German language.

The German school of literature, and particularly Mad. de Staël, have been attacked with great powers of erudite criticism and sportive wit in a work recently published in Paris, under the title of the *Anti-Romantic*, or, an Examination of some new works, by the *Viscomte de S——*. The author is a most able advocate of the French principles of composition, and had already given, incognito, to the public, an ingenious treatise *on the True Causes of National Felicity and National Misery*.

A History of the Establishment of the Greek Colonies, by M. Raoul-Rochette. Paris. 1814.— This important work carried off the prize offered, in 1813, by the French Institute, for the best investigation of the subject. It fully merits this high distinction. It contains a complete and luminous account of all the Greek colonies, the history of which fills an interval of nearly sixteen centuries, and is closely connected with that of the mother country, and of the cotemporaneous nations of antiquity. A great many important points of geography and chronology are involved in this subject. Greece, in establishing numerous, important colonies in different parts of her territory, in the islands which she inclosed, in Italy, Gaul, Iberia, Epirus, and Illyria; in the islands of the Mediterranean, in Upper and Lower Asia, in Egypt and Lybia, originally bound them to herself only by the ties of gratitude and affection, and by a long continued conformity of religious worship, and of laws. This colonial policy, which underwent a change through the ambition of Athens and Sparta, only in the latter days of independent Greece, was quite the reverse of that of our modern nations. These have established and maintained their colonies in a state of almost absolute dependence on the mother country. So striking a difference called for an investigation into the effects of the Grecian policy; effects, from which important conclusions might be drawn as to the wisdom of the modern. The enquiry, no less useful than interesting, has been pursued, for the first time, in the most satisfactory manner by M. Raoul-Rochette. The lights to be drawn from Spanheim, Bougainville, St. Croix, and Heyne, are far from being sufficient. Brougham, in his able work on Colonial Policy, has but slightly touched on the colonization of the ancients. The conduct of the federal government of the United States towards its territories or colonies, even surpasses in liberality and in sound wisdom, that of Greece. The colonial policy of the British government was, and is, in its general tenour, much more sagacious and generous than the systems of the other European powers.

History of France during the Wars of Religion, by Lacretelle

the younger. Paris. 3 vols.—This may be ranked among the best of the historical works which have appeared in France of late years. The author had already acquired some reputation in the department of history, and is professor of this branch of knowledge in the college of France.

An Essay upon the Life of T. Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, Prime Minister of Charles I. and upon the general History of England, Scotland, and Ireland, at that period, by Count *Lally Tolendal*. Second edition. Paris.—This work has attracted much attention in France, both on account of the general reputation of the author, and the affinity of the subject to the French revolutionary history.

A History of all the Religious Sects which sprung up during the eighteenth century, by *Gregoire*, Member of the Institute. Paris.—The Author enumerates sixty-two of these sects. Accuracy as to details of worship and doctrine, was scarcely attainable in a work of the kind; but whatever could be had by diligent research, is here presented in an agreeable and instructive manner. The history of religious sects is a necessary part of that of human nature, and the mere accumulation of materials for the former, is, therefore, an important service rendered to the cause of knowledge in its most useful branch.

Travels in Austria, by *Marcel de Serres*, 4 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1815.—A full account, particularly geographical and statistical, of that country. The materials of this writer are authentic and abundant, but his style is diffuse and heavy. Nothing but a sturdy resolution of being informed, can carry a reader through the work; yet it is a compilation that should be within reach. It is the best on the subject out of the German language.

History of the French Expedition to Egypt, by *P. Martin*, Engineer of the corps of roads and bridges, Member of the Committee of Sciences and Arts of Egypt, and one of the Editors of the Description of that Country; published by order of the French Government, 2 vols. 8vo. 1815.—The author of this history was present in Egypt during the whole course of the expedition, and always in a situation to be fully and correctly informed. He has divided his history into three parts: the first, treats of the conquest and administration of Egypt under Bonaparte; the second, of the government of Kleber; the third, of that of Menou. The account of M. Martin, is the only complete one extant. The Memoirs of General Reynier, though valuable in what they convey, are far from embracing the whole subject. The Narrative of the same expedition, by *Miot*, Commissary of War, is full of important details, but is more limited in its scope than the History of Martin, and terminates with the embarkation of General Desaix for Europe, whom Miot accompanied on his return. These works, together with the volumes of Sir Robert Wilson, and the late Colonel Walsh, concerning the English expedition to Egypt,

leave little more to be desired towards the history of the interesting struggle in that quarter. The publications of Martin and Miot, will be of consequence in the illustration of the character of Bonaparte, who, if exhibited in full light, must serve as the most efficacious of all beacons to the latest posterity.

De l'Education Physique de l'homme, par M. Friedlander.—Of the Physical Education of Man, by M. Friedlander, Member of the Academy of Sciences in Munich, and of the School of Medicine of Paris. Paris. 1 vol. in 8vo.—The European critics bestow the warmest commendations on this work. The subject is treated with profound knowledge, and great perspicuity, and embraced in all its bearings. No one hitherto, had been so minute and satisfactory as M. Friedlander, in a matter which interests the whole human species in an eminent degree. Locke, in his Treatise on Education, has thrown out some useful hints on the management of the health of the pupil: Rousseau has been more particular in his Emilius, but his suggestions are only occasional, and have not principally in view the physical well-being of his hero. The Dissertation on the Physical Education of Children from their birth to the period of puberty, by M. Ballexserd, a German, is full and methodical. It does not, however, furnish the preliminary notions in physiology necessary as the basis of a good system of physical education. M. Friedlander leaves nothing to be desired on this head. He investigates every circumstance which can influence the physical constitution of the human being, both previous to, and after conception. We cannot omit this opportunity of recommending, together with this valuable work of M. Friedlander, the Treatise on Longevity of Dr. Hufeland of Gottingen, of which there is an English translation.

Principles of Strategy illustrated by a history of the campaign of 1796, in Germany; with maps and plans, 3 vols. Vienna: published by order of H. I. Highness Archduke Charles.—The first volume is devoted to the principles of strategy, and their application to a given theatre of war: the two last furnish the history of the campaign of 1796. This history is preceded by a sketch of the campaigns from 1792 to 1795, in France, the Low Countries, and upon the Rhine; of the conquest of Italy by Bonaparte, in 1796; the operations of the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, the retreat of General Jourdan, the passage of the Rhine by Moreau, the operations of the Army of Prince Charles, the engagements between the hostile armies down to the siege of Kehl. The work concludes with a brief review of the campaign of 1797. The auspices under which it was written, and the talent employed in its execution, make it an object of curiosity, and a valuable book of reference.

Collection of Official Documents, intended to undeceive the French with respect to the occurrences of the few years past, by Frederick Schœll, Counsellor of

the Prussian Legation at Paris. In French. Paris. 9 vols. 8vo.—It is a long time since so valuable a compilation of State papers has made its appearance. The highest authorities have emulously furnished the contents of these volumes, of most of which, though public for the rest of Europe, the French nation was kept in entire ignorance. They may be said to be indispensable for a thorough acquaintance with the history of Europe, since the commencement of the reign of Bonaparte. Such tables accompany the work as give immediate access to any particular document, and enable the enquirer to trace the whole in chronological order. We meant to make a selection for our present volume, of some of the most curious of the papers hitherto unpublished among us: but want of space obliges us to defer this for another occasion. The collection of M. Schœll should be in every public library, and we should be heartily glad to see it entire in English, with a better arrangement as to dates and countries, than was practicable under the circumstances of its publication in France.

The Royal Parisian Pastry Cook. An Elementary and Practical Treatise on the Art of the Pastry Cook, ancient and modern, by A. Careme, Pastry Cook in chief to the Great, &c. 2 vols. 8vo. with 70 Engravings. Paris. 1815. —This work is proclaimed to be without a rival in the gastronomic department of literature.

The French vindicated from the reproach of Levity, by J. J. Lemoine. Paris. 1815.—An elaborate and erudite work, in which the author, *bona fide*, undertakes to prove that his countrymen do not yield, in consistency and solidity of character, to any other people of the world.

An Historical and Critical Essay on the French Revolution, by M. P. P. Ex-secretary General of the Department of Foreign Affairs. Paris. 1815.—A new contribution of some considerable value, to the stock of materials for the history of this portentous event. The following Summary making only a small part of *the Inventory of the Revolution*, and founded on unquestionable data, is, in itself, a whole volume of instruction.

Inventory of the Revolution of France.

About two thousand five hundred individuals have divided among them more than six hundred millions of dollars of the revenues of the State, and have cooperated in the dilapidation of seven milliards of francs, (about forty-two hundred millions of dollars,) of national domains or emigrants' property, without having paid any thing to the creditors of the last. Our legislators have given us twenty-five thousand four hundred and twenty-eight laws, and eight constitutions. France has lost seven millions of her sons; five millions five hundred, under the sway of Bonaparte. During the fifteen years of his government, his salary, and that of his principal functionaries—exclusive of military and administrative expenses—amounted to nine hundred and forty-four millions, seven

hundred and sixty thousand, four hundred and sixty-seven francs.

The first cause of all this was an annual deficit of fifty-five millions of francs in the national expenditure!!

An Essay on the History of Nature, by Messrs. Gavoty and Toulouzan. 3 vols. in 8vo. large.—A work of very rare merit in the execution, and embracing an immense variety of knowledge.

A Treatise of Experimental and Mathematical Physics, by *J. B. Biot*, of the first class of the French Institute.—M. Biot is already well known by several valuable scientific memoirs, and particularly by his Elementary Treatise of Physical Astronomy, the most useful work extant in this department. The Treatise now announced is every way worthy of the high reputation of the author. He exposes, with greater fulness, depth, and connexion, than any of his predecessors, all that mathematical calculation and a long series of experiments have accomplished towards the improvement of natural philosophy. Besides stating and explaining in the most luminous manner, all the great discoveries in the science, M. Biot has furnished many new researches and discoveries hitherto unpublished. The copious and learned Introduction, addressed to M. Berthollet, contains important information concerning the unity of weights and measures.

Materials for the History of France under the Government of Napoleon Bonaparte, by *J. B. Salgues*. Paris.—The writer is already advantageously known in the republic of letters. His *Materials* are well chosen and arranged, and presented in a very attractive form.

Secret Memoirs and unpublished Correspondence of Cardinal Dubois, Prime Minister under the Regency of the Duke of Orleans, during the minority of Louis XV. in France. 2 vols. 8vo.—A work which throws new light upon a most interesting and eventful period of the modern history of Europe. The life of Cardinal Dubois furnishes more curious particulars and instructive lessons than that even of Cardinal Alberoni, his great cotemporary. The elevation of both was extraordinary and romantic, their influence unbounded over the courts of France and Spain respectively, and their immorality about equal, although it wore different aspects. Dubois is renowned for his adroitness, his gross debaucheries, his phrenetic temper, and an incredible application to business, although the prince of voluptuaries.

Précis des Evenemens militaires de l'Europe.—Compendium of the military events of Europe, from 1800 to 1814 included, with maps and plates, by Count Mathieu Dumas, Lieutenant General in the French Armies. Paris. 1816.—The author was an actor in most of the campaigns of which he undertakes to be the historian. He enjoys a high reputation for sagacity, skill, and general know-

ledge, and with his talents and opportunities, may be expected to furnish a most valuable accession to military history.

Critical History of the Inquisition of Spain, from the original Archives, by *J. A. Llorente*, former Secretary of that Inquisition, and Member of most of the learned Academies of Spain. Paris. 1815.—An authentic, copious, and memorable work. There is a full prospectus of it, which our limits will not allow us to copy, in the sixth volume of Millin's Encyclopædical Magazine for 1815.

Travels in Norway and Lapland, by *Leopold de Buch*, Member of the Academy of Berlin, with an Introduction by M. de Humboldt.

Of the origin and progress of French Legislation, or, a History of the Public and Private Law of France, from the foundation of the French Monarchy to the present time, the Revolution included, by M. *Bernardi*, of the French Academy.

The entire Works of Zenophon, translated by M. Gail, Member of the Institute, and Professor of Greek; with the Greek text and a Latin version along with the French. Paris. 1814. 2 vols. 8vo.

The History of Sculpture, from the period of its revival in Italy down to the present time, by the Chevalier Cicognara. Venice. In folio.—An extensive and very useful work.

Description of the Catacombs—preceded by an Historical Account of the Catacombs of the old and the new continent, by De Thury, Chief Engineer of the Royal corps of the mines, and Inspector General of the subterraneous labours of the Department of the Seine. With coloured plates. Paris. 1815.

History of the Austrian Monarchy from its origin down to the termination of the Congress of Vienna, by J. Genersich, 7 vols. 8vo. Vienna. 1815.—One of the best works which has appeared on the history of Germany.

Literary History of France,—begun by the Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur, and continued by a committee, consisting of Messrs. Pastoret, Brial, Gingueni, and Daunou, taken from the class of History and Literature of the Institute, vol. 14th. 1815. Paris.

Letters of Martin Luther, printed from the originals preserved in the Archives of Konigsberg, 1 vol. 8vo. Konigsberg. 1812.

Litterarisches Arch. &c.—Literary Archives of the Academy of Berne. Berne.—The state of literature and education in Switzerland, may be found fully explained in this work.

Der krieg der Tyroler, &c.—History of the War of the Peasants in the Tyrol in 1809, by Barthoddy. Berlin.

History of Polish Literature, by Bentkowsky. 3 vols. 8vo. Warsaw.

Darstellung der Russichen Monarchie, &c.—Picture of the Russian Monarchy, by Wichmann Weimar. 1814.

Memoirs of the Academy of Munich, for the year 1814.

Die Schoene Litteratur, &c. The Belles-lettres literature of Germany, during the 18th century, by Horn. Berlin.

Historical Compendium of the Military Events of Spain, from the Invasion of the Peninsula to the period of its evacuation, by Bory de Saint Vincent, aid-de-camp of Soult, Duke of Dalmatia. Paris. 2 vols. 8vo. with maps.

L'Art du Cuisinier.—The Art of Cooking, by Beauvilliers the celebrated Restaurateur. Paris, 1814.

Historical, Chorographical and Philosophical Travels through the principal cities of Italy, in the years 1811 and 1812, by *Petit Radel*. Paris. 3 vols. 8vo.

The Theory of Political Economy, founded upon the Statistics of France and England, and the nations most renowned for their wealth and wisdom, by Char. Ganilh. Paris. 2 vols. 8vo.

On the present State of Europe, and of the agreement between Legitimacy and the Representative System, by Charles Theremin. Paris.—A pamphlet full of sound sense and practical wisdom.

Elements of Ideology, by Count *Destutt de Tracy*, Peer of France, Member of the Institute, &c. Paris. 1816.

Travels of Humboldt and Bonpland, sixth part. Botany. *Nova genera et species plantarum.* In folio, with 44 plates. 1816.

Elementary and General Course of the Physical Sciences, by *S. Beudant*. Paris: for the use of the Royal Colleges. 1816.

A Comparative Analysis of the chief Organic and Physiological Features of Intelligence and Instinct, by L. Chiaverini, of the College of Naples, Professor of Medicine. Paris.

Histoire Philosophique des progrès de la Physique, par A. Libes; 4 vols. in 8vo.—Philosophical History of the progress of Natural Philosophy, by A. Libes.—A work of great research, accuracy, and variety; embracing, in fact, a history of all the branches of physical science. Paris, 1814.

Treatise of Elementary Chemistry, by *Thenard*. Paris. 1814. 3d volume.

Theoretical and practical Astronomy, by Delambre, Perpetual Secretary of the Institute for the Mathematics. 3 vols. in quarto. 1814.

General Essay on Fortifications, by M. Rousmard; 4 vols. in 8vo. Dedicated to the King of Prussia, with an Atlas of plates.—A complete and able work on the subject,—pronounced superior to all antecedent ones.

Description des Atômes, par le Baron de Morville. Paris. 1815. A reproduction of the *Atoms* of Epicurus, with many ingenious modifications and illustrations of the system. The author is visionary, but learned in the physical sciences, clear and connected in his theory, and profound in his habits of thought.

Geschichte der Medizin, &c.—History of Medicine, in Russia, by Dr. G. M. Richten, Moscow, in 3 vols.

Commentarii sopra la Storia e le Teorie, &c.—Commentaries on the History and the Theories of Optics, by the Chevalier Venturi, Member of all the learned societies of Italy, 4to. with plates.—A very curious and valuable work.

An Edition of the Fragments of the Iliad of Homer, drawn from a splendid manuscript of the highest antiquity, lately discovered in the Ambrosian Library of Milan, by Angelo Majo, Professor of Oriental Languages in that Library. Milan. 1814.

Pausanias' Description of Greece, a new translation, with the Greek Text collated on the Manuscripts of the Royal Library of Paris, by M. Clavier, Member of the Institute, and Professor of the Royal College of France.

Chinese Dictionary, French and Latin, made by order, and under the auspices of Government, by M. De Guignes. Paris. 1814.

A New Edition of the Dictionary of Natural History applied to the Arts, to Agriculture, and to Rural and Domestic Economy, by a Society of Naturalists and Agriculturists, Chaptal, Olivier, Thouin, &c.—This work is the most complete of its kind, and in the highest repute as one of general utility.

A History of the Cortes of Spain, by *M. Sempere*, of the Royal Academy of Madrid.

History of Modern Philosophy, from the revival of letters to the era of Kant, by Theophilus *Buhle*, Professor of Philosophy at Gottingen, 6 vols. in 8vo.

History of Literature, in a Course of Lectures, by F. Schlegel. Vienna.

Geneva and the Genevese in 1814, in French, by George *Mallet*.—A compendious history and description of that interesting community.

A History of the Administration of Cardinal Richelieu, by M. Jay. A work of great merit.

The History of Egypt under the Government of the Romans, by *Prevost d'Iray*.—This work obtained the prize from the French Institute in 1807, and has just appeared in print.

British Parliamentary Report on the State of Mendicity in London, 11th July, 1815.—A document of the greatest importance in the history of human nature.

The Art and History of Sculpture among the Ancients, with a Demonstration of their Mechanical Processes, by M. Quatremere de Quincy, of the French Institute.—A splendid and valuable work; grand in folio, with plates. Paris. 1815.

Savigni on Animals without Vertebræ.—A work of considerable interest.

Natural History of Animals without Vertebræ, by the Chevalier Delamarck, Member of the Royal Institute of France. 2 vols. large 8vo.

History of the Cossacks, by M. Le Sur. Paris. 2 vols. 8vo.—A complete authentic account of this extraordinary people, written with considerable force and elegance of style. The kind of republic which they form in the bosom of a great despotic empire, is a curious anomaly, like that of the political institutions of the Affghans in the wide waste of Eastern slavery.

Letters on Russia, by Christian Muller. Mayence. 1814.

Description of Egypt, made by the body of Savans who accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt, and published by his orders, in numbers; price 1800 francs, about 400 dollars, the number. 1814.

History of the Crusades, by Michaud; in 4 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1814. —The most complete work on the subject, with an additional volume, forming a bibliography of the Crusades.

Aviceptologie Francaise, or, a General Treatise of all the Devices which can be employed for catching Birds. 6th edition, with plates. Paris. 1814.

Works on Medicine and Surgery.

The Works of Tissot complete, edited by his son; with a Life of him prefixed by M. *Hallé*, of the French Institute, 11 vols. 8vo.

Baron Boyer's Treatise of Chirurgical Diseases, and of the Operations which suit them; 4 vols. 8vo. 4th edition. Paris. 1816.

Considerations sur la Nature et le Traitement des Maladies de Famille, et des Maladies Hereditaires, par M. Portal, Member of the Institute; 3d edition. 1 vol. 8vo.

Ouvres Chirurgicales de Desault, par Bichat; 3d edition. 1815.

L'Art des Accouchemens, par Baudelocque; 5th edition by M. Le Roux, Senior Fellow of the Parisian Faculty of Medicine. 1815.

Researches and Observations on the extraordinary effects of Phosphorus as a Remedy in various Internal Maladies, by D. Lobstein, a Member of the Parisian Faculty of Physic. 1815.

Odontology, or, Observations on the Human Teeth, by Delabarre, Dentist of the Court. Paris. 1815.

Histoire de L'Anatomie, par T. Lauth, Professor of Anatomy at Strasburg. 1 vol. in 4to.—For an account of this work see Monthly Review, for 1816.

One of the most remarkable and valuable of the works which the Spanish press has afforded for some years past, is, " The Spanish Epidemiology, or, a Chronological History of all the Epidemics, Contagions, and Epizooties which have prevailed in Spain, from the period of the arrival of the Carthaginians, down to the year 1801, by Dr. Joachin de Villalba." 2 vols. 4to.—The author is a physician of great eminence and erudition. He takes pains to show that medicine has been at all times cultivated by his countrymen with signal success.

Unité de l'art de Guérir.—Unity of the Healing Art, by the Che-

valier *Pelletin*, Member of the first class of the French Institute, and first Surgeon of the Hotel-Dieu Hospital. Paris. 1815.—The high rank of the author in his profession, is a still less powerful recommendation of his book than its intrinsic merit. No physician can read it without receiving instruction, although he may not be willing to adopt the ingenious theory of M. Pelletin.

Veterinary Pharmacy, by M. *Lebas*.

Elementary Treatise of Physiology, by M. *Magendie*, Professor of Anatomy, Physiology, &c. of the Faculty of Paris. 2 vols. 8vo. A work especially sanctioned by the French Institute.

A Treatise of Descriptive Anatomy, by *J. N. Cloquet*, M. D. Paris.

Dictionary of Medical Sciences, vol. 14th, by the most eminent of the Parisian Faculty.

History of Medicine, from its origin down to the 19th century: translated into French from the German of *Kurt Sprengel*. 7 vols. in 8vo.—This work is an invaluable gift to the profession of medicine. It is the only complete history of the kind, and comprises a vast body of information on medicine, both as a science and an art. In erudition, the author could have no superior, and very few of his countrymen have ever, in any of their encyclopædical works, equalled him in arrangement and perspicuity. His history is the labour of 14 years.

Narrative of a Journey to London in 1814, or, a Parallel between English and French Surgery; to which are prefixed Considerations on the Hospitals of London, by *Roux*, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in the Hospital of Charity at Paris.

Description des Maladies de la peau et exposition des meilleures méthodes suivies pour leur traitement, par J. L. Alibert, a most eminent and scientific Physician of Paris; coloured vellum plates in folio, one of the most splendid works of the century.

A Treatise on Poisons, or General Toxicology, by M. Orfila, a Native of South America. Paris.—This work has attracted the particular attention of the French Institute, and is the only complete Toxicology extant.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC INTELLIGENCE.

The last volume for the year 1814 of the *Parisian Magazin Encyclopédique* of Millin, contains a curious letter of a Scottish savant, M. Robertson, on the means of rendering sounds perceptible to the deaf and dumb.

M. Robertson was led, from a recollection of his own experience when a boy, to try whether, by means of a metal rod, or wooden lath held in contact with the teeth, the deaf and dumb from birth, could not be made to hear. He first employed the hammer used for tuning instruments, and in

putting it into contact with the teeth of the deaf and dumb, his pupils found that they were as sensible as himself, to the vibration produced by a stroke upon it. Hence he concluded that an instrument could be made of the same materials, which they might fully enjoy. He also ascertained that it was not necessary for the teeth to be in contact with the instrument giving the sound, but that iron, wood, glass, &c. would answer as conductors. His experiments were entirely successful. The deaf and dumb, by holding one end of a wooden lath, iron-rod, brass wire, or glass tube between the teeth, and applying the other, for instance, to the sounding-board of a piano, could hear and enjoy the music of the instrument, distinguishing between slow and lively airs. A single lath of wood would serve for as many as could apply their teeth to it at a time, and several of the pupils placed in file, the first holding his conductor between his teeth in contact with the musical instrument, the second resting his on the head of the first and so in succession, were found to be all equally sensible to the vibration.

The case was the same, whatever might be the age of the deaf and dumb. Nothing can be more touching than the account which M. Robertson gives, of the joy and surprise manifested by these unfortunate beings on finding a new sense, and experiencing for the first time the effect of melody. One of them, a youth of much intelligence, after making the first attempt, wrote down this question for the instructor—"Sir—This is a new language for me. Pray will the fiddling on the harpsichord teach me to understand what the tunes say?" Mistaking thus, very naturally, the musical sounds, for the words of a discourse.

M. Robertson repeated his experiments with the greatest success, in London, Genoa, Paris. In some instances the objects of his benevolence were thrown into a perfect delirium of joy, the children particularly displayed their satisfaction by bursts of laughter, the most animated gesticulation, leaping, &c. when a lively air was played for them.

It had long before been known that the deaf could be made to hear by the means in question, but M. Robertson asserts that these means have never been employed by any modern teacher. He draws the following inference from his experiments:—1. That there are instruments which enable the deaf, or the majority of them, to hear the tones of melody:—2. That they may be taught music, particularly on wind instruments:—3. That a musical and instrumental language may be formed for them:—4. That they may be made to hear and understand the human voice, and learn to speak, by imitation, as we learn.

Among the Lectures delivered at Paris during the winter of 1815, were the following:—1. A Course of Persian, by M. Langlès:—2. Of Arabic, by Baron Silvestre de Sacy:—3. Arabic pronunciation and dialogue, by D. Raphael:—4. Of Turkish, by *Amedeus Jaubert:*—5. Of Armenian, by M .Cirbred:—6. Of Antiquities, by M. Millin:—7. Of Modern Greek, by M. *Hase.* All these belong to the "Royal and Special School for the oriental living languages of known utility in politics and trade." In the royal college, the following

gratuitous courses:—1. Astronomy, by M. *Delambre*, perpetual secretary of the first class of the Institute:—2. Mathematics, by M. *Lacroix*, Member of the Institute:—3. General and Mathematical Physics, by M. *Biot*, Member of the Institute:—4. General and Experimental Physics, by M. Lefebvre Gineau:—5. Medicine, by M. *Hallé*, Professor of the School of Medicine:—6. Anatomy, by M. *Portal*, Member of the Institute:—7. Chemistry, by M. *Thenard*, M. I.:—8. Natural History, by *Cuvier:*—9. Mineralogy and Geology, by *Delamétherie*:—10. Law of Nature and Nations:—11. History, by M. *Clavier*, Member of the Institute:—12. Hebrew, Chaldaic and Syriac Languages, by M. *Audran:*—13. Arabic, by M. *Caussin*, Member of the Institute:—14. Turkish, by M. *Ruffin:*—15. Persian, by De Lacy:—16. Chinese Language and Literature, by M. *Abel Remusat*:—17. Sancrit Language and Literature, by M. *Chezy:*—18. Greek Language and Literature, by M. *Gail*, Member of the Institute:—19. Greek Language and Philosophy, by M. *Thurot:*—20. Latin Eloquence, by M. *Gueroult:*—21. Latin Poetry, by M. *Tissot:*—22. French Literature, by M. *Andrieux.*

Turkish Literature.

After the death of Selim III. the press of Scutari was wholly inactive, until at the expiration of three years from that catastrophe it was again set in motion under the direction of *Ali* and of *Mahommed Emin Imam Sede.* In the space of four years, from 1809 to 1813, only four works were published, two of them reprints. The following are their titles from the Arabian.

1. Solution of the Mystery of the Grammatical Analysis of the book of *Isherol Esrer*, printed in 1809.

2. The Sacred book upon the Marginal Notes of *Dschani*—757 p. in 4to. (1811.)

3. Glossary called Elselkuti for *Almotarval;* printed in Constantinople under the direction of *Mahommed Emin*, (1812.)

4. Precious pearls to serve for the elucidation of the Mahometan faith. Printed at Constantinople under the direction of *Mahommed Emin*, (1810.)

With respect to Turkish literature, see the very curious "Catalogue of Manuscripts on daily sale in the cities of the East" which Dr. Clarke has appended to the second part of his Travels, but which the American publisher of these Travels has thought proper to omit as being "of not the least interest to any body whatever"!!

A Committee of the Institute of Sciences of Warsaw which has published nine volumes of Memoirs on all subjects, has been for some years engaged without intermission on a great national work—a History of Poland.

The Class of Fine Arts is occupied with a body of *National Airs* founded on the History of Poland. The first artists of Dresden were engaged to execute the plates.—Poland is making important efforts in the arts and sciences, and the labours of her institute are quite respectable. The native works presented to it embrace almost all branches of the sciences and arts.

Swedish literature seems to

have been productive for some years past. In 1814, the royal academy of sciences of Stockholm published two new volumes of its Memoirs. Several new poems have made their appearance, and are highly praised; among them, a dramatic composition entitled Blofogel, or the Blue Bird, which is extolled as a chef d'œuvre of Swedish poetry. Adlerbeth the translator of Virgil has published a good version of the epistles and satires of Horace. A complete translation of the 'Theatre' of Schiller is about to appear.—Madame de Stael's work on Germany produced a lively sensation in Sweden. Four editions of the original, besides a Swedish translation, were announced at once.

A Lexicon of the Dalecarlian tongue is also announced.

Professor Goldberg of Copenhagen has published, (in Danish,) a translation of Plautus; printed at the expense of the government. The medical society of Copenhagen has been exceedingly active in researches and memoirs. Three of its most distinguished professors publish annually two volumes of "a New Medical Library." The Royal Society of Science of Copenhagen has also, been prolific of Memoirs and Tracts, in the Physical Sciences and Political Philosophy. Among the memoirs read to it in 1814, we observe one by the minister of state, *Count de Reventlow*, entitled '*Observations on the influence of the reciprocal distance of trees on the greater or less abundance of their vegetation.*'

There has been discovered in the vast territories of the government of Koliwah and Tobolsk a multitude of antient Tartar monuments drawn from tombs of from 400 to 1100 years duration. These monuments consist of vases of metal, arms, coin, ornaments of dress—many are embellished with human figures and hieroglyphics. The ruins of ancient cities and fortresses have also been traced.

The celebrated mineralogist Werner has disposed of his precious collection of minerals to the academy of Mines of Freiberg. It was at first valued at the sum of 56,000 rix dollars—but, in consideration of the state of the times the proprietor has himself lowered the estimate to 40,000 rix dollars; —on the following conditions, that the sum of 7000 be paid to him in in hand; that 33,000 remain secured to him for life, with an interest of 5 per cent., the 33,000 however to fall to the academy of Mines after his death. The academy means to publish a systematic catalogue of the collection.

All the institutions for public instruction at Rome, which enjoyed much credit before the revolution, are re-established. The college of the Sapienza; that of the *Propaganda*, &c.

There is a very valuable collection of Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the royal library of Copenhagen.

The University of Kasan, in Russia, has published a new edition of the Koran and the Elements of the Tartar language. The Danish society of Scandinavian literature has already published 20 volumes of Memoirs relating to the history and antiquities of the North. The founder of this society, professor *Jens Krage Hoest*, delivered, in the winter of

1814, a Course of Lectures *on the Government of the Emperor Napoleon*, which were much crowded.

The Learned Societies of Copenhagen are busied with Icelandic literature, and have published several grammars and dictionaries of that language.

The Society of Science of Warsaw has offered 100 ducats in gold for the best tragedy, the subject of which shall be drawn from the history of Poland, together with a number of large prizes for dissertations on various subjects of national interest.

The Institution for the Blind at Vienna flourishes, and as usual possesses many pupils distinguished for their skill in music. They are taught almost every branch of education.

The Academy of Copenhagen is publishing " An Universal Dictionary of the Danish language."

In 1815, the number of students in the university of Upsala was 1200—of whom 93 were of the nobility—300 sons of clergymen —175 of peasants—262 of public functionaries, &c.—269 were students of theology—150 of law—123 of medicine, &c.

M. Dinochowsky has published a Polish translation of the Aeneid of Virgil.

Professor *Metternich* of Mayence announces that he has found an exact geometrical demonstration of the eleventh principle of the elements of Euclid, which has remained for 2000 years a desideratum in science. He is publishing this discovery under the title of " A Complete Theory of Parallel Lines," &c. *Vollstaendige Theorie*, &c.

The number of students of the Hungarian university of Pesth was in 1815, 805. The number of those of the Gymnasium of the same city, 596—the college of Debreesen 550—the Reformed college 636—and the college of Unitarians 206. The countess Feleki who died at Pesth in 1813, left 100,000 florins to the university as a foundation for 60 poor students of the Lutheran church.

The Italian Society of the Sciences has published its 17th volume of Memoirs of Mathematical and Physical Sciences.

Count Schwerin has published in the Swedish Language a Compendium of the History of the European States.

The masonic lodge of Mittau possesses a library of 16,000 volumes in all branches of knowledge, and many important manuscripts concerning the History of Courland.

The library of Zalusky, which belonged formerly to the Republic of Poland, has been, at length, placed in one of the finest edifices of Petersburg, with the inscription " Imperial Library." It is one of the richest of Europe; contains 300,000 volumes, and a multitude of precious manuscripts and rare editions.

By Storch's Systematic View of Russian Literature, it appears that in 1805 the works in Russia amounted to 1304, including Pamphlets, and of which 756 were Original and 548 Translations.

The works in Theology 218, of which 195 original. There were eight Critical Journals. Thirty-seven foreigners had written in Russia, and there were five female authors.

The Emperor Alexander has purchased the Cabinet of Natural History of Professor Pallas, and placed it in the palace of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, which has also, a Library of 60,000 volumes.

There has been established in St. Petersburg, a *Medical Philanthropic Society*, under the immediate protection of the Emperor. It has placed a physician, with a salary of 600 rubles, in each ward of the city, to watch gratuitously over the sick.

Irkutsk, the capital of Siberia, has 16,000 inhabitants, an Archbishoprick, an Ecclesiastical Seminary, many Academies, a public library, and a school of navigation, in which the Chinese, Japanese, and Tartar Languages are taught for the trade of China and the Islands of the South Sea. Tobolsk has about the same number of inhabitants and the same establishments.

The two Swedish professors of the university of Upsala, *Knoes* and *Traner*, have published Translations in Swedish of Demosthenes and Homer.

Three "*Methodologies*" for the sciences were published at Vienna in 1815.

The Hungarian Count *Leopold D'Andrassi*, has given his splendid Library, Cabinet of Medals and Minerals, &c. to the Protestant Library of Gomer.

The opulent Russian Demidow has founded, with 200,000 rubles, an Athenæum, with five professors attached, &c.

Some tea plants have been imported, and Chinese gardeners introduced into the Brazils, by the first minister, M. D'Araujo, and and gave an abundant harvest. The decoction of the Brazils leaf was found to bear comparison with the Chinese.

The family of Solomon Gessner, the Swiss Poet, Author of the Death of Abel, &c. being obliged to dispose of his cabinet of paintings and drawings, it has been purchased by his townsmen by subscription. The object of the subscription was, not only to secure these valuable productions to his place of nativity, but to put his family at ease in their circumstances.

A work is now issuing from the the Italian press of Milan, entitled "Lives and Portraits of Illustrious Italians." The literary execution is excellent. There existed at Venice an Academy *dei Peregrini*, whose chief purpose it was to write the lives of the worthies of Italy.

M. Londoni, a Milanese, has published in three volumes in Italian, "A History of the English Colonies in America down to the period of their Independence." "Storia delle Colonie Inglesi in America." The work is highly extolled by the Italian critics.

The press of Rome has given a new and much improved edition of the Poetical Translation of the Paradise Lost of Felice Mariottini, first published in London, in 1796, and then highly applauded.

M. Baggessen, the celebrated Danish poet, is about to publish a Poem entitled *the Fall of Adam.* He has in hands another in twenty cantos drawn from the travels of captain Cooke.

Armenia is, without doubt, the country of Asia, of which the annals include most directly those of the whole Continent. It was, indeed, of old, to the whole world, what Colchis was to the Greek princes. Its history, therefore, is that, under the most interesting points of view, of the ancient oriental nations. It has been so considered and treated in a most elaborate and methodical work lately published in Paris, and entitled "A General Picture of Armenia," by M. Chahande Cirbried, professor of Armenian in the royal special school of oriental living languages. The author is an Armenian, and has communicated much curious information new to Europe.

An Academy of Agriculture has been founded in Stockholm, with an endowment from the Swedish government of 200,000 rix dollars. The prince royal is the president of the institution. It has already published memoirs and proposed prizes on subjects affecting the prosperity of agriculture.

One of the prize subjects proposed by the First Class of the French Institute, for the year 1817, is to determine the chemical changes which take place in fruits during their maturation, and after that term. Premium—a gold medal of 3000 francs.

The annual prize of Astromony founded by M. la Lande for the most useful Memoir on that Science, was assigned by the French Institute, in 1815, to M. Piazzi, Astronomer Royal of Palermo, for his Catalogue of 7500 Stars.

Preparing for publication in England, a work to be entitled State Papers illustrating the relations of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland with the United States of America, from the peace of Paris of 1783, to the peace of Ghent:—by E. A. Kendall, F.S.

A native of the Island of Chios —*Neophytos Bambas*—-pursuing his studies at Paris, has published there in modern Greek, a complete system of Rhetoric, illustrated by passages from the most eloquent of ancient and modern authors. The expenses of the work were without solicitation, assumed by the Greeks of Chios. It is highly praised by the Parisian critics, and cited as a refutation of the aspersions cast upon the intellect of the modern Greeks.

The literature of Hungary though but very little known, is by no means poor or uninteresting. Hungary can boast of many men of the first order in science and literature; poetry is cultivated there with great success; the Hungarian language is rich and harmonious, and alone of all the European tongues, enjoys a prosody resembling that of the Greek and Latin. If the Hungarians are not quite so far advanced in the culture of language and the sciences as their German neighbours, it is owing to their con-

tinual early wars against the Turks. The native idiom was particularly neglected, and until 1780 even the gazettes were published in Latin. Since, however, the former has become in every respect national, and the vehicle of public instruction as well as of every form of public communication. Virgil, Corneille, Milton, Voltaire, Fenelon, Marmontel, Ossian, &c. and the best German authors, have been translated into the Hungarian, in verse and prose. Hungary boasts of a great number of early poets, and during the eighteenth century produced a multitude of elegant scholars in all branches of literature. There are many striking affinities between the Hungarian and Persian languages, especially in the conjugation of the verbs, the application of the personal pronouns, &c.

M. Lindé, a professor of Warsaw, one of the most profound linguists of Europe, has been employed for many years on a Polish dictionary, which is singular in its kind. Each word is explained in the ancient Russian, in modern Russian, in Bohemian, and in the other Slavonian languages to the number of thirteen. Every one of these has examples to each word taken from its own literature. The emperor Alexander gave five hundred ducats to defray the first expenses of the undertaking; to which the Czartorinskis, the Asolinskis, the Radzivils, the Zamoyskis, and the Potockis have constantly contributed, with a liberality worthy of the affection which these great families manifest towards literature and its cultivators.

A French scholar of eminence is engaged, in conjunction with the committee appointed by the academy of Warsaw, upon a General History of Poland.

The brothers Kapétanaki—Greeks of Smyrna, have published a *Universal Geography*. That part which treats of the Ottoman empire furnishes particulars entirely new and of much interest. Vienna abounds with Greeks of vast erudition, and indefatigable activity in authorship. The professor of philology in the gymnasium of Smyrna, *Oiknosomos*, has published a Treatise on Oratory, which is, in itself, sufficient to prove that the modern Greek even in its present state is one of the finest languages of Europe. The gymnasium of Smyrna is an excellent establishment, and can boast of several learned professors both in the sciences and letters.

A modern Greek poet, Michael Perdicaris, is employed upon an epic poem in his native language, entitled the *Diomediad*.

Among the late productions of the Spanish press, the following work deserves particularly to be noted, as furnishing much valuable information. "Of the Commerce of the Romans from the first Punic War down to the reign of Constantine the Great." By Anthony de Malcorra y Azana, secretary of the royal society of Valladolid. 1 vol. 4to.

The poem of Carlo Botta, entitled *La Camilleide*, or the Destruction of Veii, in 12 cantos, is described by the critics as of the highest order of excellence. A copy of this work has lately been presented by the author to

the American Philosophical Society.

The most remarkable offspring of the Italian muse of the present day is the Translation of the Iliad of the Chevalier Monti. It is much superior in fidelity, variety, and elegant simplicity to that of Cesarotti, the admirable translator of Ossian. The best edition of Monti is the one in 2 vols. octavo, published at Milan in 1812. Nothing can be more lofty than the panegyric pronounced upon it by the Italian Institute.

M. Lefebure is publishing at Paris, in parts, a new system of Botany, which he calls *Systeme Signalementaire*. He has taken for the principal bases or elements of his system, the leaves of plants. The leaves attached one to one, two to two, three to three, form the first, second and third *classes*. These leaves placed either on a herbaceous stem, or on a woody stem, or at the foot of a herbaceous stem, form the three *orders;* twelve families borrowed from the twenty-two classes of Tournefort, complete the subdivisions of the general arrangement; in which each genus takes its place according to an analogy which distinguishes the author's system from any heretofore projected. Whether this work deserves the encomiums lavished upon it, as possessing principles eminently proper to dissipate the difficulties of Botany, we cannot determine. It may certainly contribute to arrange those vegetables to which nature has given leaves, stems and flowers: these are an important and extensive part of the vegetable kingdom, and we concur in recommending the thought to the learned and ingenious. M. Lefebure entitles his work "Concordance of the three Systems of Tournefort, Linnæus and Jussieu."

Considerable attention is given to literature in Servia. A Universal Geography, a translation of Plutarch, and of many German works, odes and other poetry, have recently been published in the Servian language.

In the Sitting of the First Class of the French Institute held the 26th December, 1815, the first prize was adjudged, a circumstance unexampled in France on mathematical subjects, to a young lady called Miss Sophia *Germanes*. The prize question was one of the most difficult and important of the mathematics and of natural philosophy,—the resolution of the problem of *the vibration of elastic surfaces*. This problem had been proposed six years before, and three several times without a satisfactory result.

Ausburg, Nov. 2.—The indefatigable Abbot Angelo Majo, one of the keepers of the Ambrosian library at Milan, who had the merit of discovering and publishing three unknown orations of Cicero, has now had the happiness to enrich us by a more brilliant discovery, that of the works of an ancient author of whom we knew nothing but his name and a small grammatical work. They are the works of Cornelius Fronto, with unpublished letters of the emperors Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, L. Verus, and also of Appian. The publication consists of two volumes large octavo, with several copper plates and fac-similes of the MSS. No *Editio Princeps* of any classic can be compared with it in splendor.

Fifteen copies are printed in large 4to.

M. Nathanson, a rich citizen of Copenhagen, is causing to be executed at his own expense, a gallery of Holberg the Danish dramatist, similar to the Shakspeare gallery in London. Two subjects are treated from each comedy of Holberg, and the pictures are to be engraved by the first artists of Copenhagen.

A young nobleman of Hungary has proposed a prize of 700 florins for the best tragedy in the Hungarian language drawn from the history of Hungary.

Vienna has a society of amateurs of music, who have established a *conservatory* for pupils in the art, print the classical works of the great masters, distribute prizes for the best compositions, and publish a journal entitled Annals of the Society of Amateurs, &c. The society possesses an extensive library suitable to its character.

The gazette of Florence ascribes the discovery of steam boats to *Séraphim Scratti*, a monk of Mount Cassin, and supports the opinion by a letter extracted from a work of this monk entitled "Letters on several points of experimental Philosophy," printed at Florence in 1787.

There has been discovered in the Ambrosian library of Milan, a work entitled *Epitome Dionysii Halycarnassensis*, which fills up the *hiatus* of Livy.

PRINCIPAL LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC JOURNALS OF PARIS.

Journal of Natural Philosophy, of Chemistry, of Natural History and the Arts, by *J. C. de la Metherie*.

Journal of Mines.

Journal of the Sittings of the Court of Cassation.

Encyclopedical Magazine, or Journal of the Sciences, Letters, and the Arts, by *Millin*.

Journal of Medicine.

Journal of Commerce, Politics, and Literature.

General Journal of the Theatres.

Bulletin of the Society of encouragement for the National Industry.

Gazette of Health, by *Gardane*, *Pinel*, *Poulet*, &c.

Mercure de France, a weekly Journal.

Archives of discoveries and inventions in the Sciences, the Arts and Manufactures: published annually.—Eight volumes have appeared.

Annals of French Agriculture, by Messrs. Tessier and Bosc. 64th volume.

Annals of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, by M. M. Arago, Bertholet, &c. Paris.

Annals of the Museum of Natural History of Paris.

Medical Library—a periodical compilation in Medicine, under the direction of M. *Royer Collard*, physician to the king, &c.

Journal General de la Literature de France, by *Treuttel* and *Wurtz*.

Journal General de Literature Etrangere, by Treuttel and Wurtz.

GERMAN JOURNALS IN THE GREATEST REPUTE.

Annalen der Physik, &c.—Annals of Natural Philosophy, by L. G. Gilbert. Published at Leipsic.

Schweigger—Journal of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy. Nuremberg.

Hermbstaedt's Museum des Neuester, &c. Museum of Discoveries and Inventions, in all branches of knowledge and industry. Berlin.

Geschichte von Schweden. History of Sweden, by *Ruhs Halle*. 6 vols. in 8vo.

Algemeine Medizinische Annalen, &c. General Annals of Medicine—monthly—at Altenbourg.

Journal der Praktischen Heilkunde, &c. Journal of Practical Medicine, by Hufeland. Berlin.

Allgemeine geographische Ephemeriden, &c. Geographical Ephemerides, by Bertuch, monthly—Weimar.

Magazin der Berliner Gesellschaft, &c. Magazine of the Society of National History of Berlin. Quarterly. Berlin, 1815.

Anekdoten Almanach, &c. Almanac of Anecdotes, by *Muchler*, 1815, Berlin. A work of much amusement and ingenuity.

Medizinische Jahrbücher, &c. Medical Annals of the Empire of Austria. Published by the directors and professors of the Faculty of the University of Vienna. Quarterly at Vienna. This work treats fully of the Austrian Medical and Chirurgical History, Education, Literature and Practice. The hospital results of Vienna in 1810, were as follows:—13,330 patients entered—10,380 cured—2239 dead—711 remaining on hands—17,505 children vaccinated.—Foundling hospital, 4255 admitted—2535 dead.

Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Deutsche, &c. General Journal of Germany. Nuremberg.

Deutches Museum, &c. German Museum, by Frederick Schlegel—monthly at Vienna.

Archiv der Gerichtlichen Arzney Wissenschafft, &c. Archives of Legal Medicine. Published by Fielez. Leipsic.

Militarishe Zeitschrift, &c. Military Journal—monthly—Vienna; a very popular work.

FINANCE.

REPORT TO THE KING ON THE SITUATION OF HIS FINANCES,

BY THE FRENCH MINISTER OF FINANCE.

PARIS, 1816.

SIRE,

IN in the month of July 1814, my predecessor submitted to your majesty the situation of your finances, and presented to your approbation the probable amount of the budgets of receipts and expenditures of 1814 and 1815.

The law of the 23d September following sanctioned, with some amendments, the provisional adjustment of those budgets and the arrangements proposed for the payment of the debt in arrears.

The treaty of Paris, the first favour conferred on your people by your majesty, had restored peace to France. After twenty-five years of wars and misfortunes, France was at rest, and preserved her glory. Our relations with foreign powers were re-established; our internal commerce was reviving; agriculture was repairing its losses; all the seeds of public prosperity were beginning to germinate; and full of confidence in the future, we did not recollect past evils but to bless the return of your majesty which had so happily terminated them.

An event for ever to be deplored has again plunged France into new calamities. I shall not lay before your majesty the sad picture. The results which I am going to submit to you, the comparisons which the results will suggest, will prove but too clearly the fatal influence of this event on our finances, and the necessity of the sacrifices which it has entailed. Your majesty has taken the noble lead in making those sacrifices. This example will not be lost upon your people. In making yourself a sharer in misfortunes which it was not in your power to prevent, but which you are anxious to repair, you have traced to all Frenchmen a line of duty which they will not hesitate to follow.

The law of the 23d of September 1814 has provided for every thing which is anterior to that year. It has judiciously connected with its receipts all the collections remaining to be made from the preceding years. For, if it belong to a wise foresight to insert in a report at the opening of a financial term (*exercice*) the probable amount of the wants of the public service, and the means of providing for the same, the pursuit of a chimerical perfection would prove the complete abortion of this useful plan, if it should lead to keeping the fiscal terms indefinitely open for the sake of establishing in each one an apparent but unattainable equilibrium of receipts and expenditures.

In the results and propositions which I am going to submit to your majesty, I will then only take into consideration the years 1814, 1815, and 1816.

The receipts and expenditures

of 1814 are now positively ascertained. I offer first the budget for that year.

Passing then to the still imperfect estimation of the receipts and expenditures of 1815, not so imperfect, however, as it had been in the first instance, I will propose a new settlement of the budget of that year.

The probable insignificance of the collections which remain to be made for the year 1814, and the manifest inadequacy of those which may be expected on account of the year 1815, leave, for those two years, a considerable surplus of expenditures which must be provided for.

I will indicate the means of paying the new arrears.

The estimate of the resources and of the wants of 1816, the exposition of the financial provisions necessary to the public service, and of the means of sinking the inscribed debt, will complete the account which I am going to render to your majesty.

Term of 1814.

The law of the 23d of September, which I shall often have occasion to quote, because it is the basis of all my calculations, had fixed provisionally the receipts of this year at	*fr.* 520,000,000	
And the expenses, a part of which was to be paid out of the arrears, at		827,415,000
But, in the first of these estimates were included 77,072,000 francs, the supposed amount of the receipts made during the three first months of 1814,	77,072,000	
And in the second 152,881,000 francs, the probable estimate of the expenses paid during the same three months - -		152,881,000
So that the receipts were reduced to - - -	442,928,000	
And the expenditures amount to - - -		674,534,000
Whence resulted ultimately a surplus of expense of - - -	231,606,000	
Total,	674,534,000	

More accurate results have since rectified those first calculations.

The receipts of the first three months of 1814 are definitively fixed at - -	89,060,421
And the expenditures at - -	119,958,821
There was then paid during these three months, over and above the receipts, a sum of - - - -	60,898,400

I ought, on this occasion, to repeat the observations made by my predecessor, that this surplus of expense was provided for out of the receipts of the anterior terms from the special funds, and deposits, and other anticipations; that it is necessarily a part of the debt in arrears prior to the first of April 1814, and that, accordingly, it can have no influence on the situation of the nine last months of 1814.

This account of the receipts and expenditures of the first three months was inserted *pour memoire* (or as a memorandum or nota bene) in the provisional budget agreed to for this term. For the same reason I present its results in the budget now offered.

RECEIPTS.

The law of the 23d September had estimated the receipts to be made for the first nine months at 442,928,000 francs.

The ordinary receipts have exceeded this estimate, and amounted to 460,941,020, including therein a sum of 13,236,412, the proceeds of receipts made posterior to the 1st of April, from the term 1813 and the preceding, and which, in compliance with the law of September, was to be added to the recourses of 1814.

Nevertheless several heads of reserve did not reach the estimates of the budget. But the deficits which result from this, have been nearly balanced by a surplus of amount in the receipts arising from other items.

I shall indicate both briefly.

The proceeds from the sale of the wood cut in the national forests was valued at	10,000,000
There was received	26,698,500
The receipts then have exceeded the estimate	16,698,500

At the epoch at which the budget of 1814 was proposed, all the purchasers of timber had filed claims against the treasury. Their accounts were then under examination, and regulations were in progress to adjust the indemnities, and discharges to which they might have a right in consequence of the losses which they had experienced, owing to the invasion of our territory. It was then impossible to furnish any but a very imperfect estimate of the amount to be expected from this source of revenue. It has exceeded all hope, notwithstanding the reductions, the discharges, and the indemnities justly granted to the purchasers whose claims were found to be well grounded.

I ought to add, however, that this sum of 26,698,500 francs is the gross amount of the sale of timber, and that in order to reduce it to the net proceeds, it is necessary to deduct from it about six millions for the expenses of the administration of our forests, and which have been supplied out of the revenue of the stamp and domainal administrations.

The proceeds of the custom-houses, and salt-marshes, was valued at	25,000,000
There were collected	48,351,369
Surplus of receipt	27,351,369

This surplus is ascribable to the improvements introduced by your majesty in the custom-house system, to the wise modifications of the tariff; but principally to the moderation of the duties on colonial produce, owing to which, the consumption of them has increased, and temptation to fraud been diminished.

The price of the farm of the salt-works has been ultimately fixed for 1814 at two millions. The proceeds from this item had been valued provisionally at 1,500,000. There is then a surplus of 500,000. The several receipts have exceeded by 557,447 francs the first estimate. The uncertainty of those receipts sufficiently excuses the inaccuracy of the first estimate. But on the other hand several branches of the revenue have not come up to the first estimate.

The direct taxes valued at 291,266,000 francs, deducting the contingent of the departments severed from France, leave a deficit of 26,000,000.

Nearly the whole of these 26 millions is to be obtained from departments which have been twice occupied by foreign armies, and will be absorbed by the remissions granted to those departments. I do not believe that more than from 5 to 600 thousand francs can be obtained from this portion of the arrears.

The proceeds of the stamps, and those of the lottery and of the post office, exhibit likewise a deficit; but I repeat that this deficit is more than compensated by the surplus obtained from other branches of revenue, and that of course they leave no deficit in the budget.

Certain extraordinary receipts have been made by the treasury in 1814. I submit the account of them to your majesty: they amount to 60,690,230 francs. This sum includes a payment of 9,515,500 francs made to the royal treasury by the extraordinary domains in 1814, and the additional cents imposed in 1813 and 1814, which remained to be collected on the 1st of April 1814: An order in coun-

cil of the 13th June following has authorised the commutation of these cents for *requisition-notes*. This commutation has taken place, and will be speedily terminated in the eastern, western, and southern departments. It was more slow in its operation but draws now to a close in the central and western departments. The sums which have not been absorbed by this mode of liquidation, have been paid into the treasury, and there has resulted from them an increase in the receipts of 51,174,730.

In adding the amount of these extraordinary receipts of 1814 - -	60,690,230
To the ordinary receipts - -	460,941,020
And superadding likewise a sum of 12,084,689 francs, the surplus of the collections made out of the proceeds of the debt in arrears beyond the payments made on the same account -	12,084,690
There results a total of - - -	533,715,940

The sum at which I propose to fix ultimately the budget of the receipts of the last nine months of 1814.

EXPENDITURES.

I have said that the budget regulated by the law of the 23d September had fixed the expenses of the last nine months of 1814 at 674,534,000.

To wit:

From the proceeds of the last nine months (a sum equal to the amount of the anticipated receipts) - -	442,928,000
From the credit of the arrears -	231,606,000
Total,	674,534,000

This credit of 231,606,000 francs from the proceeds of the arrears, was intended to cover the deficit foreseen in the expenditures of the year, a deficit the cause of which is to be found in the excess of the expenses of the first quarter of 1814.* And, indeed, according to the system of this law, all the payments remaining to be made for a period anterior to the first of April were to be made in that mode. But as these provisions could not be executed before the end of 1814, the result has been that ministers have sanctioned and the treasury has actually paid in specie, in the same mode as for the expenses of the last nine months, a great portion of the expenses belonging to the three first months.

We must then give up entirely those first calculations which are at variance with facts, and rest upon a new basis, the budget of the expenses of the last nine months.

Since the first of April 1814 there has been paid in specie on account of the first three months, 59,423,592 francs, which belong to the arrears and which ought to have been paid out of the resources set apart for its extinction, if this payment had not been called for prior to the epoch at which the law of the 23d of September could be put in execution -	57,423,592	
On account of the last nine months - -	498,859,844	556,283,436
In order to complete the payment of the expenditures of this period there is wanting a sum of - - - - -		81,149,126
Total,		637,432,562
I propose, then, to fix ultimately the budget of the last three quarters of 1814 at this sum of -		637,432,562
The budget of the ordinary and extraordinary receipts is of - -		533,715,940
There results accordingly, for this term, a surplus of expense amounting to - -		103,716,622

To wit:

For payments remaining to be made for the last nine months of 1814,	81,149,126	
For the surplus of the expenses, over the receipts of the treasury, and which expenses were an advance of the treasury,	22,567,496	103,716,622

* The reign of the Bourbons commenced only at the end of this quarter.

This sum of 103 millions evidently belongs to the arrears. It is chargeable upon the credit of 231 millions, which, according to the first calculations, was to cover the surplus of the expenses of the first quarter, and which is now in the application necessarily reduced to a much less sum, because the receipts which originally were estimated only at 442 millions have given 533 millions; because the expenses rated at first at 674 millions amounted only to 637 millions; and moreover because in the interval of time from the 1st of April to the time when the law of the 23d September could be executed, about 57 millions were paid out of the funds of the current service for the expenses of the three first months.

Thus every principle of order conspires to induce us to class ultimately with the arrears this surplus of expense of 103 millions, and, to apply to its extinction the forms and values appropriated to the payment of the debts anterior to the first of April. I except from this, however, a sum of about 23 millions which remains due for the public debt, and which is to be paid in specie out of the proceeds set apart for the arrears, an exception which has been already sanctioned by the law of the 23d September.

By means of these arrangements, the *term*—1814, will be finally closed both as to receipts and expenditures. This *term* will no longer appear in the accounts of the treasury, and what collections may still be made from it shall be added to those of the *term* 1815, and will increase its resources.

Term of 1815.

On the 1st of March 1815 the situation of the finances was such as to inspire the greatest degree of confidence. The collection of the taxes had been brought to a close. The liquidation of the arrears was advancing rapidly; the stock intended to extinguish it was at par; all the departments of the public service were solvent, and there was in the treasury a reserve of fifty millions.

Four months after, all our resources were swallowed up, all our calculations blasted; order, confidence, credit, all had disappeared; twelve hundred thousand foreigners occupied France; and all the calamities of war desolated our territory.

This retrospect is sufficient to explain why the budget of 1815, which, in the month of September 1814, offered, in the equipoise of its receipts and expenditures, the well founded hope of a clear surplus of 70 millions applicable to the payment of the arrears, now exhibits a surplus of expense of about 286 millions.

Your majesty will find annexed a detailed statement of the situation of the budget of receipts of 1815 on the first of October. At that epoch no more than about 369 millions had yet been collected on account of this budget, fixed by the law of the 23d of September at 618 millions. But considerable receipts have been made since, and from the progress making in the collections, I still hope that ultimately and notwithstanding the events which might very reasonably be supposed likely to occasion a deficit, we may still obtain this sum of 618 millions. This result is explained by the excessive moderation of the original estimate.

To the ordinary receipts valued at 618 millions, ought to be added,

1st. The proceeds (35,510,000) of a sale made in May and June 1815, of annuities belonging to the

sinking fund, a deplorable operation, for which the administrators of that fund have no apology but the disposition of the authority which regulated the conditions of that sale.

2d. The loan of one hundred millions authorised by an ordinance of your majesty of the 16th of August.

This ordinance was made under the most difficult, the most imperious circumstances. The treasury had engagements to fulfil towards the allied powers. It was necessary at the same time to provide for the wants of the daily service. It was then indispensable to provide for the obtaining of these hundred millions, without impeding the collection of the ordinary taxes.

To this end an appeal for money in the nature of a requisition was made to the principal capitalists, farmers and freeholders. It remains to sanction this provisional measure, and ensure their reimbursement,—the object of the 3d section of the law which I submit to your majesty.

One half of the total amount of the schedules of the four direct taxes shall be collected in the shape of an extraordinary supply.

The receipts of the sums given in payment of the requisition of one hundred millions shall be taken as cash in payment of this supply.

The one tenth of the sum which it may yield is placed at the disposal of the prefects to cover the releases, reductions, and alleviations which it may be found proper to grant.

The surplus shall be deposited in the treasury, but under the condition—

Of reimbursing the capitalists, farmers and freeholders, the portion of the advances which they have made, beyond their proportion of the new tax;

Of exonerating the departments which have suffered most from the late events;

Of placing to their credit the local taxes which they were compelled to raise for the payment, equipment, and mounting of the foreign troops, and the amount of which has been deducted out of the sums to be paid to the allied powers agreeably to the respective conventions made with them.

A sum of 61,057,000 is provisionally set apart under the head of *fund previously appropriated* for the discharge of those debts.

At the next session an account shall be laid before both houses, of the employment of this sum. If it be not sufficient, additional appropriation shall be made; if a portion of this fund remains unemployed, it will be applied to the general expenses of the treasury.

A particular provision of the law regulates, with respect to the payment of the supply, the respective duties of the farmers and freeholders in conformity with the 6th article of the law of the 23d September.

It is proper to repeat, that the supply in question is an extraordinary supply, and it is strictly just, that the farmers should divide this burden with the freeholders who have had so many others to support, so many sacrifices to make.

This regulation was called for by several prefects. They wished the law to be explicit and positive in this respect, in order to prevent the difficulties which might otherwise be raised in their departments. I deemed it a duty to comply with a wish which is the result of an enlightened examination, and the execution of which is besides authorised by anterior regulations.

The ordinary and extraordinary receipts of 1815 will then produce a sum of - - - - -		814,467,000
The expenses measured by the demands of the several ministers, amount to	703,943,000	
To which we must add the payment, clothing and equipment of foreign troops - - - -	180,000,000	
The *fund previously appropriated* which is to be deducted from the Supply and cover the reimbursement, and alleviations due to several departments -	61,057,000	
Total,	945,000,000	945,000,000
Deficit - - -		130,433,000

This deficit is indubitably the result of the fatal events of the month of March 1815.

It represents, in great part, the payments which remain to be made for the months of April, May, and June following.

Your majesty without ceasing to be just, might have been severe to the creditors of an illegal government. You have authorised the liquidation and the payment of their claims; but since the ordinary resources of 1815 are exhausted, since the 70 millions which were destined to the extinction of the arrears were employed by that government, to satisfy the new exigencies of the moment, it is just, it is necessary, that the payments which remain to be made and which form a deficit for 1815, be added to the debt in arrears.

It is thus that the expenses of 1815, which belonged to your majesty's government of the three first months, are to be paid; the creditors of the three following months of 1815 cannot be dealt with in a different manner.

I therefore propose to your majesty to open a credit of 130 millions in stock of the arrears. This sum, together with the 347 millions which remained to be collected on the first of October last, will complete the payment of the expenses of 1815, and shall be exhibited in the account of the resources and wants of the arrears of which I am now going to speak in detail.

Situation and payment of the Arrears.

On the 1st of April 1814, the arrears of the several departments of government, of the treasury, and of the sinking fund, were valued from the very imperfect documents which had been collected, at - - - - -			759,165,000
The new statements delivered in by the ministers and resting upon positive information reduce those arrears to - - - - - - - - -			593,217,979
To be divided as follows:			
Arrears of the first three months of 1814	119,861,896		
And from 1813 to 1810 (inclusive) - -	381,616,240	*f.* *c.*	593,217,979 00
And from 1809 to 1801 - - - -	91,739,843		
The payments made on account of these arrears since the 1st of April 1814, to the 1st October 1815, including the application of 54,813,782f. 91c. taken from the proceeds specially assigned to the arrears, have amounted to - - - - -			145,161,949 76
There remains due -			448,056,029 24
We must add to this the amount of the exchequer-bonds which are still in circulation, and the future discharge of which constitutes a real debt -			14,023,300 00
Thus, on the 1st of October 1815, the epoch at which I deemed it proper to stop in order to obtain a complete view of all their elements, the arrears anterior to the 1st of April 1814 were still equal to - - -			462,079,329 24

These arrears are to be divided into two parts:

The first includes the claims for the year 1809 and anterior to that date.

The second what remains to be paid on the claims belonging to the years 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814.

The fate of the creditors of 1809

and anterior to that year, has been irrevocably fixed by the law of the 20th of March 1813, according to the provisions of article 7 to the 2d of that law. All that remains due for those fiscal terms is to be inscribed in the great book of the public debt. This principle has been uniformly adhered to in the measures devised for the execution of the law respecting the finances of 1814. And the law of the 20th March 1813 having opened for the payment of those claims, a credit in annuities which is not exhausted, it is enough for me here to refer to the rules which are applicable to them.

Deducting the payments which remain to be made for the years 1809 and preceding, the arrears amount to no more than - - - - -	390,878,309
It will be increased by the payments which remain to be made for the last nine months of 1814 - -	103,716,622
By the deficit of 1815 - - -	130,433,009
And will ultimately amount to -	625,027,931
Superadding to this sum the payments made for the arrears from the 1st April 1814 to the 1st October 1815	145,162,000
The whole amount paid and to be paid will be - - - - -	770,189,931
The arrears prior to the first of April had been valued at - - -	759,165,000
The new adjustment, therefore, notwithstanding the union of the surplus of expense of 1814 and 1815 to the original arrears, exhibits an increase of no more than - - - - -	11,024,931

The question of the mode of payment of the arrears was long discussed. It has been decided by the law of the 23d September. I might abstain from a new examination. But opinions supported by the authority of experience and by the weight of talent are in opposition to the principles of this law. I deem it useful to bestow some attention on them. There is one principle not to be contested:—The state owes to its creditors the full payment of their claims; and this principle is dictated not only by the conscience, but likewise by the interest of every government; for fidelity in keeping engagements produces confidence, and confidence is the basis of public credit.

Doubtless, nothing would be more easy than to postpone indefinitely the extinction of the arrears, and to add their capital to that of the inscribed debt. But it is not to be concealed, that this compulsive consolidation does not release the treasury, since the treasury, in such case, only makes a nominal payment, exerts its authority to commute the debt already due and demandable, of its creditor, for an indeterminate engagement, and thus but too often places him under the alternative either to sell with loss, or to keep, without hope of reimbursement, a depreciated stock. In adding new annuities to those which already exist, the compulsory consolidation attacks not only the interests of the man who, in the expectation of a fair profit, has lent to the state his time, his industry, and his capital; but, contrary to the faith of contracts, it reduces ancient debts; it envelops in one common empoverishment, the holder of the demandable, and the owner of the inscribed debt, it violates, with respect to them both, the sacred rights of property.

And what is the result of this operation?

The honest contractor, the capitalist, shuns a government upon whose good faith he cannot depend; the public service falls into bad hands; ruinous contracts swell the public expenses; the burdens of the people increase, and the state becomes a prey to all the disorders inseparable from the dishonesty of which it has given the first example.

In other times ministers who were precluded by absolute orders

from a choice of means, creditors who were placed under the necessity either to suffer a total loss, or to subscribe to a reduction of their claims, may have agreed to such an operation. But it belongs to the religious loyalty of your majesty to pursue a different course.

No, sire; at a time when the deficit in the receipts of 1814 and 1815 compels us to add to the arrears, 235 millions of payments which remain to be made for those two years; at a time when new treaties will increase the inscribed debt, and as an effect of these same treaties, we shall have a foreign competition in our market, fitted to exert a dangerous influence on our credit, I will not propose to your majesty a mode of relieving the treasury so contrary to justice and to the public interests. The law of the 23d September has laid down the principles: we must remain faithful to them.

The events which have taken place, since that law was enacted, might, no doubt, afford pretences to circumscribe its concessions, to postpone the epoch of reimbursement, perhaps to reduce the interests. But those events, in altering the situation of the debtor, have not diminished the rights of the creditors.

These rights remain the same: They have lost nothing of their validity; they rest on the public faith, on the word of your majesty, and what minister could dare to propose to you to violate such guarantees?

However, in order to accomplish the object of the law of the 23d September, it is indispensable to replace the 70 millions which were to have been deducted from the receipts of 1815, and devoted to the payment of the arrears. I ask authority to carry as far as four hundred thousand *hectares* the sale of national forests; and in order to facilitate the operation, I propose that the bonds of the treasury shall be admissible in payment of the price of those forests, and of the estates of the *communes*, with the condition of paying one fifth in cash.

This measure will deprive the creditors of none of the advantages which were secured to them. On the contrary it will extend, it will complete their security. They will have the option to wait for the reimbursement of their bonds at the time at which they become due, to cause them, if they prefer it, to be inscribed on the *grand livre*, the great book of the public debt. They will have, moreover, the advantage of investing them either directly, in personal acquisitions, or indirectly, by selling them to the purchaser who may be in need of them, in order to pay the value of the portion of the national forests he may wish to buy.

It is very essential not to confound the operations which have taken place under the last government with that which we now propose. When, in countries wrested by the force of arms from their legitimate sovereigns, the conquered domains were offered for sale, the rescriptions, *delegations*, and other stock received in payment of those domains, of necessity depreciated, because the investment of the stock was compulsory, because remote estates, the value of which was not known, could suit but a small number of individuals, and because the mode of the original acquisition,—the violence of conquest—diminished still more, in their estimation, the value of those estates.

Such is the character of our operation that, by means of the

condition imposed upon the purchasers to pay one fifth in specie, it will be in the power of the treasury to keep up the credit of the present stock, since every bond admitted will carry with it a provision for the redemption of the others.

The service of the two years 1814 and 1815 being thus settled, I now pass to an examination of the resources and wants of 1816.

Term 1816.

I propose to your majesty to set down the ordinary receipts of 1816 at - - - - - - - -	727,000,000
The extraordinary receipts at -	73,000,000
Total,	800,000,000

The direct taxes are included in this total for 320 millions, that is for the amount at which they were rated for 1815.

I believe it indispensable to maintain, for 1816, the provisions of the sections 2, 3, 4, and 5 of the law of the 23d September 1814. The execution of those sections ought to be so immediate, and the necessities of the state are so great that any change would inevitably commit the interests of the treasury.

In less difficult times, I will have the honour to lay before your majesty the new regulations which circumstances may warrant with respect to the additional cents. I can go no farther, for the present, than propose to your majesty, in favour of the departments, the imposition of five centimes in proportion to the wealth of each one, the produce of which, with the approbation of the minister of the interior, shall be employed in expenses of local utility.

The last government had granted likewise to the general councils of the departments the right of voting these centimes; but the proceeds were deposited in the treasury and were, for the most part, diverted entirely from their ostensible and proper destination.

This malversation will not reappear under the healing government of your majesty. The produce of the centimes shall be deposited in the sinking fund. This deposit shall be voluntary and sacred. The funds will be held at the disposal of the prefects, will be employed immediately according to their directions, and the interest on the same will be paid up to the very moment when the sinking fund shall have reimbursed the capital. The departments will thus enjoy an advantage which they could not have obtained, had the sums thus raised, remained inactive in the local treasury of each.

This arrangement may be extended to the ordinary and extraordinary centimes which the several communes are authorised to levy, for their own particular expenses, when those expenses are not to take place immediately, or do not require the whole of the sums appropriated to them. The profits which the communes will receive from the salutary deposit of this capital in the sinking fund, will increase their resources, and reduce by so much the sums which they might be obliged to raise.

Experience has proved that some provisions of the law of the year 7, in stamps and registration, are susceptible of amendment. The principal object is to remedy with respect to certain acts the inequality of the proportional duty, and thus to re-establish the unity of principle which ought to regulate the collection of taxes.

The custom-house duties were valued at a clear revenue of 25 millions in the budget of 1815. It

would have exceeded this sum, had it not been for the events of the month of March. The invasion of the territory has broken, on several points, the line of the custom-houses, disorganized the service, interrupted the collections, and favoured smuggling. Order begins to be re-established; the provisions of the last treaties will contribute to maintain it; but the causes which have diminished the proceeds of 1815 will not be altogether without influence in the proceeds of 1816.

The tariff of the custom-house has been revised. Several articles not before included in it have been taxed. The new duties are moderate and ought to be so, because it is chiefly with respect to custom-house duties, that taxation ought to stop at that very point, beyond which it would be an inducement to fraud, would prevent consumption, and discourage industry. I believe, that owing to these new duties, and some addition to the former, this branch of revenue may give, for 1816, a net sum of 40 millions.

I value at 35 millions the proceeds of the duty on salt. This duty fixed at first by the law of the 24th April 1806 at 2 *décimes* per *kilogramme*, raised afterwards to 4 décimes by a decree of the 11th of November 1813, was reduced to 3 by the law of the 17th December 1814.

Your majesty could have wished to re-establish the first of these rates in 1816. You had cherished this hope. You have been disappointed. In more fortunate times your majesty may realize it. The people may safely rest on your paternal solicitude for their relief, and on your anxiety to accelerate the epoch of that relief.

The other indirect taxes are valued at 147 millions. They had been valued in 1815 at only 90 millions. This difference of 57 millions arises principally from the new duties which are to be established. The indirect tax by the variety of its combinations, and above all owing to this peculiar property which it has of merging itself in the price of the article, and of identifying itself with the enjoyments or the wants of the consumer, has, over every other tax, an advantage, which is no longer to be contested. Besides, we have not the choice of resources. Direct taxes are carried to the maximum, and the receipts and expenses cannot be equalized but by indirect taxes.

The law of finance which I submit to the approbation of your majesty, includes several provisions which regulate these new duties, and which will improve the collection of the duties already laid.

The improvement will be, I hope, particularly manifest in the mode of collecting the duty on liquors. It had been valued at 60 millions in the budget of 1815, and probably will produce no more than 50. This difference between the anticipated and the real receipt does not impeach the accuracy of the calculations which served as a basis to the estimate. It has been the unavoidable consequence of circumstances.

The law of the 8th of December, 1814, had wisely regulated all the provisions intended to secure the entire collection of the sum carried in the budget. It was not unreasonable to suppose that the proceeds would exceed our hopes. The old mode of presentation was maintained, but the law had carefully removed all that could recall arbitrary forms.

A bill has been prepared to modify some provisions of our legislation, concerning tobacco. Experience has pointed out the utility of the amendments suggested. They afford more freedom to the cultivation of tobacco. They facilitate for the planters, the means of getting it off to advantage, either by a sale to the royal farm of tobacco, or by exportation to a foreign country, and in this twofold respect, reconcile, I believe, upon principles of justice, the convenience of the consumer, the encouragements due to agriculture, and the interests of the treasury.

The produce of the post office, of the lottery, of the salt works in the East, and of the several other branches, is valued at 29 millions. It is about the sum at which it was valued in 1815.

The extraordinary receipts consist :—

Of an advance on the deposits in the way of security made by notaries, &c. which will produce 50 millions.

Of a deduction of 13 millions from the salaries paid by the treasury; and

Of the 10 millions which your Majesty has deigned to relinquish out of the civil list.

It was not enough for your Majesty to impose upon yourself this sacrifice. You have regulated yourself the application of the funds which are to result from it. You have expressed a wish that these funds be particularly employed in repairing the calamities of war in those departments which have been its theatre.

I propose to fix the budget of the expenses of 1816, at a sum equal to the amount of the public receipts, - 800,000,000

Including therein:

140 millions of payments to be made this year for the contribution of 700 millions to the allies.

130 millions for the pay and maintenance of the one hundred and fifty thousand men left in France by them; and—

A fund of 4,500,000 francs, for contingent expenses, and particularly, for the reimbursements to be made in compliance with the 19th article of the convention of the 20th November.

The expenditure of the several departments of government amounted, in 1814, to 565 millions. The budget of 1815, carries it to 564 millions. It is reduced in the budget of 1816, to 338,500,000 francs. Not being able to increase the receipts, we have been compelled to diminish the expenses. The payments to be made for the inscribed debt, for the war contribution, the stipend and maintenance of foreign troops, the interest of the notarial securities, and other expenses which are susceptible neither of reduction nor of adjournment, have been placed, on the first line, in the presumed revenue of 1816. Those branches being secured, the sum which remained to be disposed of, has been divided between the several departments of government in a proportion conformable to the importance of their demands. From this state of things it may possibly result that some expenses which ought to have been incurred in 1816, will be adjourned to 1817, and this observation applies more particularly, to the department of war.

The army has been disbanded; and, I may, perhaps, be allowed to observe, that, notwithstanding the embarrassments of the treasury, and the extreme pressure of circumstances, the arrears of pay

of the troops, regularly liquidated, have been discharged every where, with the punctuality which belongs to times of prosperity. We have now to re-organize the army in men and apparatus; to provide for all the expenses of the first organization. By the wise plan of the minister of war, this organization will unfold itself by degrees, and in a progression corresponding with the resources of the treasury. It is in this sense that we must understand the possible postponement of a portion of the expenses of 1816 to 1817. But a recurrence of the extraordinary circumstances which have created the deficit of 1814 and 1815, is not to be apprehended. I trust that the receipts of 1816 will not fall short of the valuation. The improvements which time may induce in the situation of our finances, will readily cover the debt which the coming year might leave to be paid by the following year.

This debt will be the less, chiefly by reason of the retrenchment of all the expenses which are not of absolute necessity. The ministers of your majesty know that one of their first duties is to carry economy into all the branches of administration entrusted to their care, that no recourse ought to be had to new taxes but after having exhausted the resources of reformation. They will fulfil this duty. It is in the exercise of a constant and wise economy that we must now look for the alleviation of the enormous burthens which are imposed upon us. It is in a strict equilibrium of possible receipts, and of necessary expenses, that we shall find the means of supporting the present and of providing for the future. These views have nothing brilliant, but their results are certain; and your majesty will not commit to the chances of theory the relief of your people. A time will come nevertheless, and perhaps it is not far distant, when the blessings of peace, the strength of union, and the advantages arising from exactness and good faith, may give us the resources of a credit which will be extensive, because it will be legitimate. Credit so often invoked, and sometimes badly understood, is the simple result of confidence. We will deserve it, and may then give it a direction in conformity with the interests of the state.

Your majesty may observe in the budget of expenses an item which, till now, had never been inserted in the budget. It is the fund for the invalids of the sea service.

The inscribed debt is put at 115 millions, including in it the new inscriptions which are to be made in execution of the last treaties.

This evaluation of 115 millions is justified by the detailed statement annexed to this report (No. 15) and the principal results, which are as follows:

The 5 p. 0 | 0. *consolidés* inscribed on the 1st of April, 1814, amounted to a sum of 63,300,000. But owing to the new inscriptions which have taken place since that time, they amounted on the 1st of October, 1815, to - - - - - - -	65,393,318
The debt to be inscribed in 1816, is valued at - - - - -	12,385,690
The credit necessary for the payment of the perpetual debt in 1816, amounts then to - - - -	77,779,003
To this we must add:—	
The life annuities, - - -	13,584,000
The pensions, - - - -	24,423,384
Total,	115,786,368

The increase of the debt calls imperiously for the creation of a sinking fund which may limit its duration, moderate its effects, and by a gradual extinction bring it back to the point where it ought to stop. This is the object of the last propositions which I am going to offer to your majesty.

Sinking Fund.

The sinking fund according to its former organization, had three principal and several characters.

It was,

A fund of deposit,

A fund of warranty,

And a sinking fund.

As a fund of deposit it received, or it ought to have received, the judiciary securities and other deposits of the same kind.

As a fund of warranty it reimbursed the protested bonds of the receivers general, to the full amount of the security of the persons who had subscribed the same.

As a sinking fund it was to extinguish gradually the floating debt.

Accordingly, several laws had assigned to the sinking fund a considerable capital, of which it was by degrees deprived.

Of this capital, an annual revenue of 3,600,000 francs had escaped spoliation.

This annual revenue was sold in the interval between the 20th of March and the 7th of July last.

It is now more necessary than ever to create anew the sinking fund upon a new basis, to restore it to its first and true function, that of diminishing the debt, and to give it at the same time all the moral force which it wants to fulfil freely and with proper independence this important duty.

In order to obtain this result, it was necessary to ascertain and to certify its true situation, to clear it of all imaginary resources, all credits worse than doubtful, which swell its apparent capital, of all obsolete or lapsed debts.

By the liquidation adopted, the sinking fund conveys its capital to the treasury; the treasury assumes the payment of its debts. A new career now opens for the sinking fund.

The revenue of the post office, a certain revenue and the legitimacy of the origin of which is the best security for its duration, since it is less a tax than a compensation for services rendered the public; this revenue, I say, is exclusively appropriated to the sinking fund to the amount of 14 millions. This sum shall be deposited monthly by twelfths. If the proceeds of the post office exceed 14 millions, the surplus will belong to the treasury; if it be less, the treasury shall make up the deficiency.

This endowment shall form the capital specially devoted to the reduction of the public debt. Independent of this capital, the sinking fund is authorised to receive the produce of judiciary securities, and of voluntary deposits, and the centimes which the departments and communes (districts) are empowered to levy. It will pay the interest on those deposits, in the proportion fixed by law, and the profits of this fund on the interest it may derive from the employment of its means compared with that which it may have to pay, will augment its resources for the gradual extinction of the debt.

But in order that the sinking fund may fulfil the end of its institution, in order that it may reap the contemplated advantages in all their extent, it is necessary that its operations be independent; that the deposit which it is intrusted with be inviolable; that its administration be guarded by all the securities that can ensure its fidelity, and that the administrator who is to have the honour of directing it do himself offer by an indefeasible responsibility, the first of those securities.

Such is the basis upon which I propose to your majesty to create anew the sinking fund. Then, this institution, a truly national institution, will realize the sanguine hopes which are attached to its destinies. The tables annexed of the effects of the sinking fund calculated during an interval of twenty years, and with means inferior to those which are now to be placed at its disposal, may give an idea of the degree of prosperity which it may reach, when it shall have full scope and ample resources.

Thus, sire, have I fulfilled the duty which devolved upon me, by placing under the eyes of your majesty the situation of your finances. I have concealed none of the afflicting features which it wears.

The resources of 1814, and of 1815, are exhausted, and there remains to be paid arrears amounting to 625 millions.

The budget of 1816 cannot cover its expenses but by a considerable addition to taxes already so heavy.

Corroded by regrets for the past, bent under the weight of the present, we must look to futurity for consolation. Let us hope that peace, which has cost us so dear, that the restoration of order and of domestic tranquillity, that the union of all Frenchmen in one sentiment, will accelerate the term of our sacrifices. This hope is in the heart of your majesty. Heaven owes it to your virtues to realize it.

The Minister Secretary of State for the Department of Finance.

COUNT CORVETTO.

BRITISH FINANCES,

For 1815 and 1816.

THE *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in rising to submit to the committee the terms on which he had contracted a loan that morning, could not but regret that circumstances had made it necessary for him to propose that a provision should be made for the prosecution of a war on the most extensive scale, while the country was yet labouring under the burthens thrown upon it by a former contest. It would be in the recollection of the committee, that but a few months had elapsed since that house was employed in debating what provision would be necessary for the peace establishment of the country, and by what means the nation should be gradually released from the charge of the expenditure imposed upon it by the events of the late struggle in the cause of Europe. Scarcely, however, had the ratification of the treaty of of peace with America arrived, before circumstances occurred which had led to a renewal of the war with France. The circumstances which had attended the landing of Bonaparte in France were of a nature so extraordinary and unprecedented, that they could neither be by possibility foreseen, nor prevented by any act of the British government; and they were felt throughout Europe as an electric shock, which in a moment rouzed all its nations into arms. The declaration of the allies of the 13th of March, issued at a time when it was not possible for them to have had any communication with this country, proved that the impulse had not been given by England, but that it was the opinion of all the great sovereigns on the Continent, that with a government like the present government of France, whose authority rested in no right—which was founded on oppression at home, and insatiable ambition abroad—there was no safety for them but in war; satisfied as they were, that such a power would labour to effect the subjugation of Europe, if it were not overpowered itself. This country had at that time made some progress in the reduction of its expenditure. The American war was at an end; but at the same time large demands were existing against the nation. Though this war was closed, it was still necessary to provide for the return of our army from America, and also for the paying off of the large arrears which remained in consequence of that contest in Europe which had preceded it. These circumstances being taken into the consideration of the committee, they would not wonder that a loan, in its amount beyond all example, should be called for; and he trusted that it would not be thought too great, when it was remembered that it was intended to meet not only the charges of a new war in which we were engaged, but also to extinguish the arrears of an old one. Though he regretted the necessity for it, still he could not but derive some consolation from the reflection, that the manner in which it had been raised would prove to the world how large were our resources, and how prosperous

the state of the country. Undoubtly it was satisfactory to him, that great as the sums called for were, and extensive as were the charges which the country had to bear, he had no reason to comment in detail upon the different articles which caused this expenditure, as they had already undergone the consideration, and for the most part received the sanction of Parliament. He had only to recapitulate the supplies which had been granted; and what were the means by which it was proposed that they should be met. There might be some further expenses to be provided for, which in the course of his statement he would take an opportunity to point out. The total amount of the charge for the service of the navy for the present year was 14,897,000*l.*, and for transports 3,747,000*l.* making together the sum of 18,644,000*l.* Here, however, it was to be observed, two millions were to be included for the repayment of the navy debt, and which, therefore formed no part of the service of the current year. The different expenses on account of the army amounted to 13,876,000*l.* The arrears of the extraordinaries unprovided for, were 11,983,000*l.* For the extraordinaries of the current year, including Ireland, a sum of no less than 12,000,000*l.* had been voted. The charge for the barrack service was 99,000*l.*, which had not yet been voted, but which would be proposed in the committee of supply the same evening. This sum would appear uncommonly small; but he would shortly assign the reasons which might be expected to render it sufficient, and any further circumstances requiring notice would be fully explained by his right honourable friend in proposing the vote. The total amount of the sums called for on account of the barrack service was 250,000*l.* The difference between the sum last mentioned and the 99,000*l.* proposed to be voted, was occasioned by a saving arising from the sale of the old stores, and of barracks no longer necessary for the public service. The commissariat caused a charge of 1,100,000*l.*: the store-keeper general one of 91,000*l.*; giving a total on account of the military service, of 39,150,000*l.* For the ordnance service, the supply was 4,431,000*l.* For the expense of subsidies this year to the allies, the house had voted 5,000,000*l.* They had also voted 1,653,000*l.* for the repayment of the bills of credit created under act of 1813; but there remained other expenses to be provided for, arising out of the deficiency of the force which we were bound to maintain on the Continent by the additional treaty of Chaumont, and out of some other subsidiary engagements. On account of the supplementary convention of Chaumont, (he was not sure the sum he was about to name was quite correct, as the accounts were not finally made up, but he was satisfied it would prove nearly accurate), there was a charge of 370,000*l.* To complete the subsidies granted to Austria under former treaties, a sum of 400,000*l.* was necessary. This arose partly from the circumstance of some stores which were intended to be delivered for the Austrian service, having been otherwise employed; and of some other stores having been charged in the subsidiary account which it had been agreed to omit, and the value of which in both cases was consequently to be made up in money. The greater part of this

sum had already been paid, and the account had been laid before the house. He had stated the bills of credit voted by parliament, to amount to 1,650,000*l.* There remained the sum of about 200,000*l.* to be made good to complete the two millions and a half, which we were bound to provide by the treaty, together with the interest due; but for this sum he should not propose any vote in the present session, as its amount could not exactly be ascertained, depending on the course of exchange. There was also due to Russia on engagements contracted during the former war, the sum of about 530,000*l.*; 100,000*l.* had been paid to Spain, and 200,000*l.* to Portugal, on a similar account; and a sum was also due to Hanover. He considered himself as justified in stating the supplies for these services, the accounts of which were under the examination of the house, to amount to about 3,500,000*l.*; which, with 1,000,000*l.* voted as a compensation to Sweden for the cession of Guadaloupe, made a charge of 4,500,000*l.* for foreign expenditure; of which, about 4,000,000*l.* would be payable within the year, in addition to the 5,000,000*l.* voted as subsidies to the three great powers, Austria, Russia and Prussia. The total amount therefore of the charge for foreign payments, including bills of credit, was 9,000,000*l.* He should have besides to propose to parliament a vote, to make good to the army which had fought under lord Wellington the amount of the value of stores captured by them in different fortresses. This charge, not being altogether of an ordinary nature, would require some explanation; but he trusted that, though considerable in its amount, it would be received with favour, in consideration of what that army had achieved for the glory and advantage of their country. On the reduction of a fortress an estimate was commonly made of the value of the stores captured, which were applied to the public service, and afterwards accounted for to the captors. During the war in the Peninsula, the account had been kept in the usual manner, but no payment had yet been made; and from the extent of the service performed in the course of a war which had continued for seven years, this charge formed a considerable item; it was estimated at eight hundred thousand pounds: to this the sum of 142,000*l.* was to be added, for the stores and artillery taken at the capture of the island of Java. It was proper here to observe, that in the operations against that island, no part of the royal artillery was employed. The artillery which was used there was directed by the officers of the East India company's establishment; and therefore the usual certificates, signed by the officers of the royal artillery, could not be obtained. In all other respects the ordinary forms had been observed, and the captors appeared to be entitled to the same remuneration as had been made in other cases when fortified places had been captured; but though the service performed was thought to come within the ordinary principles, and though the honour and accuracy of the company's officers were as unquestionable as their skill and gallantry, the ordnance department had thought proper to issue an order for the payment of the sum which appeared due, without first having the special authority of parliament to do so. He now came to the miscellaneous services. Of

these a great part had been already voted, but a part still remained for the future consideration of the house. The amount of the whole he took at 3,000,000*l*. The supplies, then, which he would now shortly recapitulate, stood as follows:

1814.	SUPPLIES.		1815.
	Navy - - - -	14,897,255	
	Transports - -	3,746,945	
			18,644,200
	Army - - - - - - - - -		39,150,736
3,955,658	Ordnance - - - - - -		4,431,643
	Foreign Payments, including Bills of Credit - - -		9,000,000
3,000,000	Vote of Credit - - - - -		6,000,000
200,000	Ditto for Ireland - - - -		200,000
	Army Prize Money - - -		942,347
2,500,000	Miscellaneous - - - - -		3,000,000
			*L.*81,368,926

To these were to be added those items to be borne by England, which come under the head of

SEPARATE CHARGES.

These were as follow:

1,900,000	Interest on Exchequer Bills		2,000,000
290,000	Sinking Fund on ditto - -		270,000
121,000	Debentures & Loyalty Loan		90,000
6,000,000	Vote of Credit Bills 1814, and Reduction of Exchequer Bills - - -		6,000,000
			*L.*89,728,926
8,107,094	Deduct Irish Proportion of Joint Charge - - -	9,572,814	
	Ditto Civil List and Consolidated Fund - -	188,000	
			9,760,814
	And there remained to be borne by England - - - - - - - - - -		*L.*79,968,112

The vote of credit intended to be proposed this year was to the extent of 6,000,000*l*., and would be made good in the usual way, by an issue of exchequer bills to the same amount. Anxious, however, that there should not be too great a pressure on these securities, he should propose a reduction of three million from those voted last year, besides the repayment of 5,000,000*l*. issued on the last vote of credit; by these means the sum paid off would be equal to that which it might be necessary to issue in the course of the present year. When it was foreseen that an expenditure to the immense amount which had now become necessary, must be provided for in the course of the present session, an important consideration arose, whether it would be better that an extraordinary exertion should be made to raise an unusually large proportion of the supplies within the year, or whether it would be preferable to call on the public only for what they had been accustomed to pay in former years, and raise what remained wanting by means of a loan. Much might be said in favour of either course. For his own part, he had no hesitation in declaring that if he had considered it probable that a similar expenditure would be necessary in future years, he would at once, whatever the hazard might be, have made an appeal to the spirit and magnanimity of the country; and from such an appeal he was sure the country would not have shrunk. From the feeling which had been manifested in consequence of the recent events, he was satisfied that those measures, which the wisdom of parliament might think necessary to the honour and security of the country, would be cheerfully submitted to. But thinking as he did, that an expenditure to the amount of that of the present year, was not likely again to recur, even if the war should continue on the present scale, which was what he could not anticipate, he had thought it wiser to have recourse to no other means than those which it had been usual for Parliament to adopt on former occasions. However large the demand which had in consequence been made on the credit of the country, he saw no reason to regret this resolution. The right honourable gentleman now proceeded to state the ways and means which would be, in the

opinion of his majesty's ministers, the fittest to meet the supplies which had been voted. He took the annual duties at 3,000,000*l.*; the surplus of the consolidated fund he also took at 3,000,000*l.* It would be satisfactory to the house to learn the grounds on which he estimated the surplus of the consolidated fund, at that amount; and they would view with pleasure the increased resources of the country. It might also be proper that he should show the grounds on which he intended to propose on a future day a grant of 22,000,000*l.* out of the growing produce of the war taxes. He should not call upon them to come to this vote that night, as it was more consistent with the forms of Parliament, that some portion of the ways and means of the year should be reserved for a time to meet any future grants which might yet be made in the course of the session. He, however, considered himself justified in taking the war taxes at 22,000,000*l.*; the lottery he took at 250,000.; old naval stores at 508,000*l.*; the vote of credit he had stated at 6,000,000*l.*; the exchequer bills funded, and the loan in the five per cent. would give 18,185,000*l.* The second loan 27,000,000*l.* These were the ways and means by which he proposed to meet the charge of the year, immense as it was. The total amount of them was 79,893,500*l.* This sum fell a little short of the supplies; but upon the whole he expected the ways and means which he had enumerated would prove sufficient. It was his peculiar duty this day to state the terms on which the loan had been contracted for the service of the public. It had been the object of the treasury to diffuse the loans called for, over different species of stock, in order to divide the burthen, to remove all inconveniencies to the public creditor, and to provide for the exigency on the easiest terms. This would be seen by adverting to their former proceedings in the course of the session. It had been proposed to fund 18,000,000*l.* of exchequer-bills. This, in the first instance, they had not been able to effect; but subsequently on a loan in the 5 per cents. subscribers had gone beyond the 18,000,000*l.* by a sum of 135,000*l.* The sum, therefore, of 18,135,000*l.* was thus placed in the ways and means. The committee were aware, that by the loan that day, no less a sum than 27,000,000*l.* for England was to be raised; and as the five per cents. were sufficiently burthened, it became necessary that this should principally fall on the three and the four per cent. stocks. It was originally proposed that a larger sum should be taken in the four per cents.; but on the subscribers objecting to this, 10*l.* per cent. only had been given out of that stock; 130*l.* had been taken from the three per cent. reduced, and the remaining part of the 100*l.* was to be by a bidding in the three per cent. consols. It had happened singularly enough, as it had once on a former occasion, about eighteen months ago, "that the sum offered by the subscribers, was exactly the minimum of what the treasury had resolved to accept. This was a circumstance so far satisfactory, as it went to show that both parties met on fair and honourable terms, and arrived at the same point from reasoning in different ways. What further proved the correctness of the view which had been taken of the case, was that four different calculations had been made by four different persons, and all had concurred in naming 44*l.* in the three per cent. consols, as that which

ought to be the bidding. The bonus which the subscribers had was to be estimated in this manner:

The 130*l.* given in the 3 per cent. reduced, at 54⅛, were worth	*L.*71	0	3
The 10*l.* in the 4 per cent. at 69⅞ - - -	6	19	9
The 44*l.* in the 3 per cent. consols, at 54	23	15	2½
Total - - -	*L.*101	15	2½

The consols, being shut, there was no money price to them, and the times price was something more than the money price of that stock. The times price was 55½; but from this one and a half per cent. was to be deducted, on account of the dividend to arise from the half-year which was about to expire; as no dividend would be paid to the subscribers to the loan on that stock till January next. This, therefore, reduced the value of the 3 per cent. consols. to 54*l.* which made the total sum given to the subscribers what he had before stated—101*l.* 15*s.* 2½*d.*; to which, adding the sum which would be allowed them in case of prompt payment, made an addition of 2*l.* 13*s.* 7¾*d.*. and the total 104*l.* 8*s.* 10¼*d.*, including the whole of the discount allowed to any who might pay the entire amount of their subscriptions at once. But it was obvious, the loan being on so large a scale, it would not be fair to expect that so many could do this as had so come forward on former occasions, and that when the monthly instalments were so considerable, there was less probability of payments in advance than when a smaller loan was called for. On this account he thought that not more than half the discount, at the utmost, could be estimated as a bonus to the contractors, which would reduce their advantage to no more than 3*l.* 2*s.* per cent. The bargain therefore was not unreasonably favourable to them, and there was reason to rejoice that such a loan could be obtained at a period like the present on such terms. He would now proceed to explain the grounds on which he took the surplus of the Consolidated Fund at three millions. The actual surplus of that fund in the year ending 5th of April 1815, after deducting all charges, had been 3,647,000*l.*, and would therefore have justified an estimate to the same extent for the current year, supposing the revenue to remain equally productive, and the additional charges to be covered by the provision made by Parliament for meeting them. As however there remained the sum of 284,000*l.* granted for the service of the former year still due on the 5th of April, the sum which would remain for the service of the current year would be no more than 3,363,000*l.* In another mode of estimate the result would be still more favourable. The amount of taxes applicable to the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain in the year ending 5th of April, 1815, was,

	*L.*38,702,000
Adding the War Taxes appropriated to the Consolidated Fund - - - - -	2,706,000
There would be a total income of - -	41,408,000
From which, deducting the permanent charges of Great Britain existing on 5th April 1815, amounting to - - -	37,588,000
There would remain - - - - - -	3,820,000
From which again deducting the sum due on the former grant of - - -	284,000
There would remain applicable to the service of the year - - - - - -	3,536,000

He should therefore have thought himself justified in proposing a grant on account of this surplus to the extent of 3,500,000*l.* But as no inconvenience would arise from its being estimated too low, and some had been experienced from

an error of an opposite nature, he thought the safer course was to take it at 3,000,000*l.* With respect to the War-taxes, he should at a future day propose a vote highly satisfactory, from the view which it gave of the increasing means of the country. The amount of the War-taxes, taking them at what they were last year, and adding the arrears of the Property-tax remaining to be collected, would furnish

	*L.*32,925,454
From this deducting the sum remaining to complete the Grant of War Taxes for 1814 - - - - - - - -	8,005,887
And the War Taxes pledged for Interest of the Debt - - - - - - -	2,706,000
	*L.*10,711,887
There would remain to be granted for the service of the year - - - -	*L.*22,213,567

On the credit of this he should consider himself fully justified in moving on a future day a grant of 22,000,000*l.* It was worth while to look back to the increase which had taken place in the produce of the permanent war taxes since the last considerable addition was made to them. The committee were aware that no new taxes had been proposed since the year 1813. In the year ending April 5, 1813, their total produce was somewhat less than 60,000,000*l.* In the year ending April 5, 1815, they amounted to 65,804,000*l.* thus giving an increase of five millions and a half. Undoubtedly it must be admitted, that the year ending April 5, 1813, had been less productive than some which had preceded it; but making every reasonable allowance for this circumstance, the increase had been great beyond all former example. He now came to state the amount of the charge on the country, by the loans for the present year, and the way in which it was proposed to meet them. The total amount of the capital created by the Exchequer-bills funded, and the loan in the 5 per cents. amounted to 21,208,000*l.* 5 per cent. stock; the interest of this to 1,060,000*l.*; the Sinking Fund to 331,000*l.*, with the usual charge for management. The loan obtained that day created a capital of 49,680,000*l.* the interest of which would be 1,517,000*l.*; the Sinking Fund would amount to 758,700*l*, to which would be added the charge for management. The total amount of the capital created in the present year by funding, was 70,888,000*l.* The interest on this was 2,577,000*l.*; the Sinking Fund 1,090,000*l.*; the total annual charge to the country 3,689,000*l.* The rate per cent. at which the whole of the sum raised in the present year had been obtained was, to the subscribers (including the Sinking Fund), 5*l.* 14*s.* 2½*d.* The total charge to the country was, every thing included, 8*l.* 3*s.* 5¾*d* He wished to show what had been the impression made on the stocks by the financial operations of the present year, and to compare them with that which had formerly been produced by those measures rendered necessary to prosecute the late war. In 1795, a loan was obtained at 4*l.* 14*s.* per cent. In that and the following year 137 millions were added to the national debt, and the effect of this on the stocks was such, that for a loan borrowed at the beginning of 1797, the public were compelled to pay 6*l.* 7*s.* per cent. being an increase of interest, and consequently a depression of public credit of 33*s.* per cent. on the amount of the loan, and of 35 per cent. on the interest paid in the former year. Now, since the year 1813 the public debt had been increased one hundred and eighty-seven millions, and the effect was this:—in that year we paid 5*l.* 8*s.*

to the subscribers: we this year paid 5*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* on the whole amount borrowed. So that with this immense addition to our debt, no greater depression on public credit was observable that 6*s.* 2*d.* per cent. on the loan, and about 5½ per cent. on the former interest. This might be considered to result from an astonishing increase of public credit since the period to which he had referred, or to the improved situation of the country. And which ever way it was viewed, the effect was equally gratifying. To provide for the annual charge of 3,689,000*l.*, the House had already supplied by taxes of Customs and Excise on tobacco, and on Excise licenses, about 600,000*l.* and there were now under the consideration of the House additions to the Stamps and Postage to the amount of about 1,200,000*l.* more, making in the whole a provision by new taxes of about 1,800,000*l.* Thus it would be seen about half the necessary supplies were provided by taxes now agreed to, or in progress through the House. For the remainder, he proposed to take a sum of from 1,800,000*l.* to 1,900,000*l.* out of the sums in the hands of the commissioners for liquidating the national debt, as he was authorised to do by the Act of 1813. The sum in their hands was at present about 70,000,000*l.*, and he proposed to cancel so much of that as would suffice to meet the remainder of the charge created by the loan. He wished it to be borne in mind, as a consideration of no small importance, that a large proportion of the immense sum called for must have been supported by the country as arrears of the late war, had not the recent events again placed us in a state of hostility to France. On the most moderate calculation, no less than 21,000,000*l.* would have been sufficient. Of this 12,000,000*l.* were for the arrears of the Army Extraordinaries: for the payment of the Naval Debt, 2,000,000*l.* more; for Bills of Credit and arrears of Subsidies, 3,000,000*l.*; for the Commissariat department in Portugal, not less than 2,500,000*l.* These sums together made 19,500,000*l.* The 2,000,000*l.* for the Army Extraordinaries, which he had mentioned, were for the former year, though included in the grant for the present. The payment of the sum which continued due on account of the Commissariat in Portugal beyond what had been already discharged, had been suspended during the war. The parties interested had acquiesced cheerfully in the arrangement made, and consented to receive the interest, without complaining that the principal would not be paid. This was satisfactory, as it showed that the monied men of the country (for the greater number of the creditors were British merchants) had the interest of the nation more at heart than their own private profit. They had made a considerable sacrifice, as the state of the exchange would have given them a great advantage, which must be wholly lost to them by this arrangement; which however would prove beneficial to the public service, and from its effect upon the exchange greatly promote economy in those departments in which our service had hitherto been conducted abroad at an immense expense; and thus our operations would be carried on with new vigour. The Committee must see with pleasure, that even under the pressure of present circumstances, the precious metals had been reduced in

price since last April. Gold, which had then been 5*l.* 7*s.* the ounce, had been reduced to 5*l.* 5*s.*, and the price of dollars had sunk within the same period to 6*s.* 3*d.* per ounce. He stated this to show that we had been enabled, not only to meet, but in part to surmount the difficulties of our situation. Returning from this digression, he observed, that he had brought up his statement of the charges which the country must have borne, if a new war had not broken out, to 19,500,000*l.* One million more was to be added as the balance due to the achievements of our brave army, for the capture of stores. Five hundred thousand pounds of the sum called for in the present session would also have been necessary in aid of the Civil List. Thus this made up the 21,000,000*l.* he had mentioned, which were to be provided for in the present year, which did not arise from the renewal of war, and must have been borne had no such event taken place. He was aware it would be asked, if the war should continue, how would such expenses be met in a future year? He would not say that there would be no difficulties to contend with, but it was not probable that those difficulties would be of equal magnitude with those surmounted in the present year. He could hardly think it possible that this country would be engaged in an extensive naval war, while making such exertions as she was now displaying on the Continent. Either the attention of France would be so much directed to the confederated armies, that she would not be able to make any great effort with her navy: or, supposing any arrangements to be made by her with the Continental Powers, that expense now incurred for our armies would cease, and the supplies at present demanded for them could be applied to the service of our navy: so that he conceived no prospect of the war being continued at the present great expense. Up to the year 1814, a provision had been made for 140,000 seamen. These were reduced in the last year to 70,000: but this, instead of a diminution, had caused a great additional expense, as the numbers of persons returning from long voyages and claiming the arrears due to them, had made larger disbursements necessary than were called for at any period of the war. This burthen could not continue; and he thought he was not too sanguine, when he looked for a diminution in the naval estimates for the next year, to the amount of four or five millions, including the transport service. The reduction upon the whole, even if the war should continue, might therefore, in another year, be not less than four or five and twenty millions. He believed that in every stage of the late war, this question had constantly been asked, "How shall we go on next year?" The general answer to this had been, that the spirit and resources of the nation would still furnish the means for prosecuting the contest, if it should be necessary. This answer, he thought, might suffice on the present occasion; but it was happily in his power to give one more distinct and specific. The House were not to suppose the Act of 1813 would not yet furnish fresh resources from the fund in the hands of the Commissioners for redeeming the National Debt. Though when all the grants of the present session were passed, but 9 or 10 millions would remain in their hands; in the next year there would, by the

progress of redemption, be found in their care from 20 to 30 millions of stock. We had raised by loans in the present year, no less a sum than 45,500,000*l.* The House would consider the prospect before us less gloomy than it might otherwise appear when he stated that it was probable, for the reasons which he had assigned, that in the next year the loan required would not exceed 20 millions, and from 20 to 30 millions of stock would be applicable in the hands of the commissioners. But what had induced ministers to prefer having recourse to a public loan, rather than to a more onerous, though a more provident and certain mode of meeting the exigencies of the case, was this—they had reason to hope the contest might be short. In whatever light the subject was viewed, whether we supposed the government of Bonaparte was only established over France by the domineering power of a mutinous army, or whether it was assumed that he was invested with the sovereign authority by the suffrages of the nation at large in the present instance, it could not affect the measures which it had become necessary for England to adopt. Placed in that situation which we occupied, and deeply pledged in respect both of honour and of interest to support at any hazard the system upon which the peace of Europe had been restored, we could not but join with the Confederated Powers to give France encouragement to declare herself, and to enable the Royal party to struggle for the liberty of their country before its present Chief should be in possession of its whole resources. How far the enterprise might succeed, he could not say. But hearing as he did, in many parts of France, murmurs half suppressed, and seeing in others open hostilities against the ruling power, he could not but cherish a belief that the real supporters of Bonaparte were very few indeed, beyond the limits of the Army, which had been accustomed to live under his banners. But supposing, for the misery of mankind, and most of all for that of France, that, carried away by her lust for military triumphs, she should prefer a warlike chief to lead her armies to the conquest of Europe, and that for such a character, she had deliberately rejected a mild and moderate government, terrible as it might be to combat the whole strength of France embodied under such a leader, such a consideration would make little difference with respect to the measures that ought to be pursued. Greater means ought, in fact, to be put forth, and more intense energy exerted to crush a Government, in its nature inimical to all other governments. He was unwilling to believe that France had acted such a part; that she had rejected the sway of a moderate and legal prince, for one who ruled without law, and who even now trampled on the constitution he so recently pretended to establish. Such a power must be combated. It must find its end in internal discord or by external force, or it would never rest satisfied till its military domination extended over the whole of Europe. He would not however suffer himself to be led into the discussion of topics, however interesting and important, which were not immediately under the consideration of the Committee, and was not aware that he had omitted to state any thing necessarily connected with the business of this evening; but he should hold him-

self ready to offer any further explanation which might be required by the Committee. He then moved his first resolution, which was, "That, towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, the sum of 36 millions be raised by Annuities, whereof the charges of 27 millions are to be defrayed on the part of Great Britain, and 9 millions on the part of Ireland."

May 27th, 1816.

Mr. VANSITTART, before he took a view of the Supplies and Ways and Means for the year, stated the course which had been taken with the Bank; which was to advance the sum of three millions, at three per cent. on the condition that the Corporation should be permitted to extend their capital to fifteen millions; with a further proposition, that their promissory notes should continue to be received in payments made at the Treasury. By this plan, the Bank would divide something more than three millions of their own money, its capital would be increased, which he thought quite proper when such an increase in the issue of paper had taken place, and the public would obtain a large sum at the low rate of three per cent.—Proceeding to the Supplies for the year, the *Expenditure* would stand thus:—

Total Amount of the Army - -	*L.*10,564,000
——————Navy - -	9,434,000
——————Ordnance - -	1,697,000
Miscellaneous Service - - -	2,500,000
India Debt - - - - - -	945,000

To these sums various minor ones were to be added, among them, for an intended new Silver Coinage, about 500,000*l.*—all these added to the above, would leave a total to be provided for by Great Britain of 27,279,000*l.* The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to state the *Ways and Means*. He estimated the produce of

The Annual Taxes at - - -	*L.* 3,000,000
Surplus of Consolidated Fund - -	3,000,000
——— Customs - - - -	4,998,000
Additional War Duties - - - -	3,008,000
Assessed Taxes - - - -	19,200,000
Stamps - - - - - -	6,327,000
Post Office - - - - -	1,600,000
Sundries - - - - - -	122,000
Pensions, Places, &c. - - -	1,700,000
	*L.*42,956,000

The annual charge of the National Debt was 39,172,000*l.* to which sum add the Russian Loan, making a total debt of 39,302,000*l.* to be provided for.—Deducting these charges, there would remain 3,653,000*l.* from which deduct the arrears remaining of 674,000*l.*, which would leave about 3,000,000*l.* short. The Excise Duties this year might be taken at 3,500,000*l.* The Bank Advance of 6,000,000*l.*, the Lottery 200,000*l.*, and the surplus of the Unapplied Grants, which amounted to 5,663,000*l.* The right hon. gentleman here explained the cause of the magnitude of this sum, which he had on a former occasion estimated at only three millions.—The Committee, he said, knew that an arrangement was made respecting the Unclaimed Dividends with the Bank. It was found, that a sum of about 301,000*l.* was available for the public service. The Bank stood in the double capacity of agents for the public and for stockholders. They, it was clear, had no right to retain money in their hands which was not likely to be called for. It therefore appeared to him proper to transfer the sums in their hands over for the public service; meaning to include all Stock up to the last ten years unclaimed, and providing that a re-

gister should be kept, at the Office of the Commissioner, of each person's Stock, so that, in the event of a claim, not the least difficulty would occur. The next item was the small balance in the Exchequer, about 140,000*l.* this would be made available for the public service. There was no intention, therefore, to increase the unfunded Debt, but rather to decrease it. He then proceeded to recapitulate the several items of Ways and Means to meet the expenditure. Twelve millions had already been granted by the House in Exchequer Bills: and he should propose a further Vote of one million to meet the Debentures, making together 13 millions in Exchequer Bills, to meet the Property Tax deficiency and the deficiency of the Malt Tax. There would be the Bank Advance of six millions; 2,500,000 in Exchequer Bills; a further advance of three millions from the Bank; 440,000*l.* in unclaimed Dividends, and some other surplus. Thus the only new unfunded Debt which would be created—and they could scarcely be called unfunded Debt, as it would be charged on the Consolidated Fund. The whole of the new Debt created this year would be:—First, six millions advanced by the Bank, a second advance also by the Bank of three millions, and 2,500,000*l.* in Exchequer Bills, making together 11,500,000*l.*: whilst we should, in the course of the year, pay off upwards of 14 millions; and even taking the Irish Account, the sum paid off this year would exceed that borrowed by 2,951,000*l.* This, he trusted, would be found a most satisfactory view. He believed it had very seldom occurred that it had been found practicable to reduce the public debt immediately after the close of a long war, before the nation had properly got to its peace establishment. Instead of being able to do this, it had commonly been necessary to call for large loans in the first year of peace. Under such circumstances, though the state of the country was not every thing he could wish, he was so far from feeling apprehension, that he could see nothing to fear, and every thing to hope, from the wisdom, firmness, and moderation of Parliament. He had now to explain the manner in which he proposed to pay the interest of the money borrowed for the service of the year. The charge incurred by the first advance of the Bank was 300,000*l.* the second 120,000*l.* total 420,000*l.*, of this only 120,000*l.* would be charged on the Consolidated Fund. The Soap Tax would produce about 200,000*l.*, and the new duties on butter and cheese about 100,000*l.* if the trade continued as at present, or allowing for its falling off about 50 or 60,000*l.* He further had it in contemplation to submit to the consideration of the House, a new arrangement with respect to the drawbacks on sugar, the produce of which, added to the 250 or 260,000*l.* which he calculated on deriving from the sources already mentioned, would be more than enough to provide for the charge created by the interest on money borrowed. He concluded by moving that the Committee should accept and agree to the proposition of the Bank Company, granting a loan of three millions on the condition that they might extend their capital.

sketch of the finances will, likewise, serve the purposes of explanation and illustration.

II. A view of the fiscal measures during 1816.

In various communications from this department to congress, the injurious effects of the suspension of payments in coin, upon the administration of the finances, have been anxiously represented. For the immediate object of the present statement, it is proper to repeat some of them.

1. The treasury has been compelled to accept the payment of duties and taxes in the local currency of the respective places of payment.

The comparative value of the local currencies appeared, in some degree, to render this course of payment unequal; but the alternative was either to adopt it, or to abandon the hope of collecting the revenue in any convertible medium, for satisfying the public engagements. The rule was, therefore, declared that the treasury would receive and pay, in the notes of banks circulating at par, at the respective places of receiving and paying. For a time, the test of the fact, that the notes did circulate at par, was the agreement of the banks employed as the depositories of the revenue, to credit them as cash in the treasurer's accounts. But when the principal banks withdrew that accommodation, and refused to credit as cash any bank notes but those which they had themselves respectively issued, the fact of the circulation at par, was necessarily left to its own notoriety, and to the official responsibility of the collectors. Few notes, except the notes of the local banks, continued to circulate at par; and such as did so circulate were received by the banks, upon special deposit, for safe keeping: constituted a discredited fund, upon which the treasurer could only occasionally draw.

The operation of this measure was, undoubtedly, severe in many of the collection districts; particularly in the States where the banks, preparing for the resumption of coin payments, had so reduced the issues of their paper, as to render the circulating amount insufficient for the demand. But it was not in the power of the treasury to dispense with the general rule. If notes not circulating at par had been received in one district, they must have been received in every district; and there existed no mode of discriminating between notes to be received, and notes to be rejected, either as to the bank, or the place at which they were issued. The inevitable consequences must have been, that the duties and taxes would every where be paid in the most depreciated paper; and that the medium, thus received, could never be employed to discharge the demands upon the treasury, even at the places of receiving it. The revenue would accumulate in the treasury, only to perish there; while the expedient of substituting treasury notes to meet the public engagements, led to an indefinite augmentation of the national debt.

2. The treasury has been compelled to augment the amount of the national debt, both funded and floating, by issues of treasury notes to meet the public engagements, at places where it could not command the local currency. Throughout the eastern States, the treasury has hitherto failed to command an amount of the local currency, equal to the amount of

the local demands. The banks of those States, fettered by the stipulations of their charters, could not follow the example of the banks of the other States, in the suspension of coin payments; but their issues of notes have been very limited, and the necessities for a circulating medium, have been, principally, supplied by treasury notes, and, partially, by the notes of the banks of New-York. Under these circumstances, the revenue, in the eastern section of the Union, has been almost entirely collected in treasury notes. Inferior difficulties, from similar causes, have occurred in some of the southern States; where, also, the accruing revenue was less in proportion to the demands, which the arrearages of the war, as well as the current expenditures, pressed upon the treasury.

From these considerations, it is obvious that the public credit could only be maintained, and the public service could only be effected, (even with an ample revenue,) by the use of the auxiliary means afforded to the treasury, in the authority to borrow money, and to issue treasury notes. Little use, however, has been made of the authority to borrow, since the closing of the loan of 1815; but the warrants of the war and the Navy Departments, as well as the dividends payable on the public funded debt, have required a considerable issue of treasury notes. The treasury notes bearing interest, and fundable at six per cent., have been generally disbursed in payments for services and supplies; and the treasury notes, not bearing interest, but fundable at seven per cent., have been generally disbursed in payments on account of the funded debt, and the compensation of the members of congress. The effect of these measures will be more particularly stated hereafter.

Thus, it cannot escape observation, that a cause, unconnected with the late war, and which exists without the agency or the authority of the government, will probably, so augment the amount of the funded and floating debt, as to render nugatory the estimates and calculations which have been made on other occasions, in relation to that subject. The restoration of an uniform national currency, can alone terminate this evil.

3. The treasury has been involved in the difficult and delicate task of designating the medium, in which the warrants drawn by the heads of Department, should be respectively paid.

The revenue is collected throughout the Union, but the amount of the collection is very different in different places; and it has happened not unfrequently, that the demand for payment was the greatest when the means of payment were the least.

The rule which has already been mentioned, was applied, wherever it was practicable, by directing warrants to be paid at the places of rendering the services, or furnishing the supplies, for which they were respectively granted. But if the treasury possessed no funds at those places, the differences of exchange rendered it extremely difficult to locate the payment of the warrants in a manner equitable, impartial, and satisfactory. For some months after the war, the treasury was scantily supplied with the local currency of every place, except the district of Columbia, and the city of Baltimore; and consequently, during that period, the warrants which

AMERICAN FINANCE.

Extract of a Report of the late Secretary of the Treasury, to the President of the United States; accompanying a Message from the President, to both Houses of Congress, made December 3, 1816.

The Secretary of the Treasury has the honour to submit to the President of the United States the following general sketch of the finances, with reference to the 1st of August, 1816, comprehending—

I. A view of the sources of revenue, and the objects of public expenditure.

II. A view of the fiscal measures during 1816.

I. A view of the sources of revenue, and the objects of public expenditure.

REVENUE.

The return of peace enabling the legislature to alleviate the burdens imposed by the necessities of the war, congress, during the last session, discontinued, or reduced, the following duties and taxes:

1. The acts imposing duties upon articles of domestic manufacture, were repealed.

2. The acts imposing duties on furniture and watches, were repealed.

3. The duties imposed on licenses to retailers of foreign merchandise, &c. were repealed.

4. The duties imposed on spirits, distilled within the United States, were reduced, and the collection modified.

5. The rates of postage, were reduced.

6. The direct tax was reduced from 6,000,000 of dollars to 3,000,000 of dollars, and was imposed for one year only.

7. The double duties on merchandise imported were discontinued, and a new tariff established.

The discontinuance and reduction of the duties and taxes, (independent of the impost,) may be estimated at the annual amount of $8,000,000; with the contingent diminution of 3,000,000 more, if the direct tax should not be continued after the year 1816.

But, the remaining sources of revenue were ample for the maintenance of the public credit, and the prosecution of a liberal and provident policy. They consist—

1. Of the customs, including the duty upon salt, according to the new tariff of duties.
2. Of the direct tax imposed for 1816.
3. Of the internal duties on stamps; on licenses to retail; on spirits distilled; on refined sugar; on carriages and harness; on sales at auction.
4. Of postage.
5. Of the product of fines, penalties, and forfeitures, and other miscellaneous receipts.
6. Of the proceeds of the sales of public lands.

To these sources of revenue, must be added the auxiliary authority to issue treasury notes of various denominations, and to receive money upon loan. The authority was necessary, in anticipation of the revenue, throughout the year 1815, to meet the arrearages of the war expenditures; to discharge

the floating public debt of treasury notes and temporary loans, and to pay the instalments of the principal and the interest of the funded public debt. But the treasury would no longer require the aid of loans, or treasury notes, if the facilities of transferring its funds, from place to place, had not been destroyed when the national currency became extinct.

The committee of ways and means have heretofore estimated the annual product of the customs, according to the new tariff of duties, at about the sum of 17,000,000 dollars, and although, for the present year, the amount will be much greater, in consequence of the late excessive importations, the estimate of the committee may be accepted as a just measure of the permanent annual product of the customs, for the purposes of a peace establishment. The annual product of the direct tax, the internal revenues, and the sales of public lands, has, in like manner, been estimated at about the sum of 7,000,000 dollars; making, upon this general view, and supposing a continuance of the direct tax, a permanent annual revenue of about 24,000,000 dollars.

EXPENDITURE.

It is not intended, in this preliminary view of the objects of public expenditure, to embrace the temporary objects, arising from the war, but those only of a permanent nature, upon a peace establishment; and which have heretofore been estimated at an annual aggregate of about 24,000,000 dollars.

1. For civil, diplomatic and miscellaneous expenses.
2. For military expenses, including the Indian department and the armament of the militia.
3. For the naval expenses, including the annual appropriations for the purchase of timber, and the gradual increase of the navy.
4. For the instalments and interest payable on the funded public debt.

It is proper to remark, that temporary loans and treasury notes, issued under the authority of acts passed prior to December, 1814, were charged on the sinking fund; but as the current revenue will afford the means to satisfy those demands, in the course of a few months, the floating debt is not enumerated with the objects of annual expenditure.

It is also proper to remark, that the principal of the Louisiana stock is reimburseable at the treasury of the United States, in four annual instalments, commencing in 1818; and that, by the operation of the sinking fund, the old six per cent. stock will be extinguished in 1818; the deferred stock in 1824; and the Louisiana stock in 1822. The stock created on account of the war debt is charged upon the sinking fund, and becomes redeemable at various periods, between the years 1825 and 1828.

For the details connected with this general view of the sources of revenue, and the objects of public expenditure, it is sufficient to refer to the annual report from the treasury department, dated the 6th of December, 1815; the report on the subject of the new tariff of duties, dated the 12th of February, 1816; and the report of the committee of ways and means, dated the 9th day of January, 1816. The sequel of the present

sketch of the finances will, likewise, serve the purposes of explanation and illustration.

II. A view of the fiscal measures during 1816.

In various communications from this department to congress, the injurious effects of the suspension of payments in coin, upon the administration of the finances, have been anxiously represented. For the immediate object of the present statement, it is proper to repeat some of them.

1. The treasury has been compelled to accept the payment of duties and taxes in the local currency of the respective places of payment.

The comparative value of the local currencies appeared, in some degree, to render this course of payment unequal; but the alternative was either to adopt it, or to abandon the hope of collecting the revenue in any convertible medium, for satisfying the public engagements. The rule was, therefore, declared that the treasury would receive and pay, in the notes of banks circulating at par, at the respective places of receiving and paying. For a time, the test of the fact, that the notes did circulate at par, was the agreement of the banks employed as the depositories of the revenue, to credit them as cash in the treasurer's accounts. But when the principal banks withdrew that accommodation, and refused to credit as cash any bank notes but those which they had themselves respectively issued, the fact of the circulation at par, was necessarily left to its own notoriety, and to the official responsibility of the collectors. Few notes, except the notes of the local banks, continued to circulate at par; and such as did so circulate were received by the banks, upon special deposit, for safe keeping: constituted a discredited fund, upon which the treasurer could only occasionally draw.

The operation of this measure was, undoubtedly, severe in many of the collection districts; particularly in the States where the banks, preparing for the resumption of coin payments, had so reduced the issues of their paper, as to render the circulating amount insufficient for the demand. But it was not in the power of the treasury to dispense with the general rule. If notes not circulating at par had been received in one district, they must have been received in every district; and there existed no mode of discriminating between notes to be received, and notes to be rejected, either as to the bank, or the place at which they were issued. The inevitable consequences must have been, that the duties and taxes would every where be paid in the most depreciated paper; and that the medium, thus received, could never be employed to discharge the demands upon the treasury, even at the places of receiving it. The revenue would accumulate in the treasury, only to perish there; while the expedient of substituting treasury notes to meet the public engagements, led to an indefinite augmentation of the national debt.

2. The treasury has been compelled to augment the amount of the national debt, both funded and floating, by issues of treasury notes to meet the public engagements, at places where it could not command the local currency. Throughout the eastern States, the treasury has hitherto failed to command an amount of the local currency, equal to the amount of

the local demands. The banks of those States, fettered by the stipulations of their charters, could not follow the example of the banks of the other States, in the suspension of coin payments; but their issues of notes have been very limited, and the necessities for a circulating medium, have been, principally, supplied by treasury notes, and, partially, by the notes of the banks of New-York. Under these circumstances, the revenue, in the eastern section of the Union, has been almost entirely collected in treasury notes. Inferior difficulties, from similar causes, have occurred in some of the southern States; where, also, the accruing revenue was less in proportion to the demands, which the arrearages of the war, as well as the current expenditures, pressed upon the treasury.

From these considerations, it is obvious that the public credit could only be maintained, and the public service could only be effected, (even with an ample revenue,) by the use of the auxiliary means afforded to the treasury, in the authority to borrow money, and to issue treasury notes. Little use, however, has been made of the authority to borrow, since the closing of the loan of 1815; but the warrants of the war and the Navy Departments, as well as the dividends payable on the public funded debt, have required a considerable issue of treasury notes. The treasury notes bearing interest, and fundable at six per cent., have been generally disbursed in payments for services and supplies; and the treasury notes, not bearing interest, but fundable at seven per cent., have been generally disbursed in payments on account of the funded debt, and the compensation of the members of congress. The effect of these measures will be more particularly stated hereafter.

Thus, it cannot escape observation, that a cause, unconnected with the late war, and which exists without the agency or the authority of the government, will probably, so augment the amount of the funded and floating debt, as to render nugatory the estimates and calculations which have been made on other occasions, in relation to that subject. The restoration of an uniform national currency, can alone terminate this evil.

3. The treasury has been involved in the difficult and delicate task of designating the medium, in which the warrants drawn by the heads of Department, should be respectively paid.

The revenue is collected throughout the Union, but the amount of the collection is very different in different places; and it has happened not unfrequently, that the demand for payment was the greatest when the means of payment were the least.

The rule which has already been mentioned, was applied, wherever it was practicable, by directing warrants to be paid at the places of rendering the services, or furnishing the supplies, for which they were respectively granted. But if the treasury possessed no funds at those places, the differences of exchange rendered it extremely difficult to locate the payment of the warrants in a manner equitable, impartial, and satisfactory. For some months after the war, the treasury was scantily supplied with the local currency of every place, except the district of Columbia, and the city of Baltimore; and consequently, during that period, the warrants which

could not be discharged, at the seat of the original transaction, were paid in the currency of the district or of Baltimore. The progressive accumulation of the revenue, opened a wider scope for payments, enabling the treasury to draw next upon the banks of Philadelphia, and more recently, upon the banks of New York. The public funds in the banks of the southern and western states, having also become generally adequate to the local demands, it may now be considered that the active resources of the treasury are co-extensive with the Union, excepting always the eastern section. The difficult task of locating the payment of warrants, still, however, continues, and must continue, as long as the differences of exchange shall operate. It is fiscally impossible to pay all the demands upon the treasury at one place; and every holder of a warrant is naturally desirous to be paid at the place where the medium is of the highest current value. Under such circumstances, it is to be expected that individuals will sometimes feel disappointment, and express dissatisfaction; but it has been the constant and anxious endeavour of the treasury to perform its arduous task, with the exercise of a sound discretion, guided by the requisitions of the departments, by the origin and nature of the debts, and by the state of the public funds.

4. The treasury has been compelled to increase the number, and extend the range of banks employed as the depositories of the public revenue, with consequences unavoidably inconvenient and injurious.

As soon as the differences of the current value of bank notes were introduced, and particularly when one bank refused to credit, as cash, a deposit of the notes of another, the treasury was driven to a choice of expedients; that is, either to take the hazard of the accumulation of masses of revenue in the hands of the individual collectors and receivers, or to recognize, as places of deposit, the banks (being, however, banks of unquestioned solidity,) established in the districts which were most affected by the course of exchanges. Many powerful reasons, led to an adoption of the latter measure; instructions were issued to the collectors and receivers to act accordingly; and the number of banks thus necessarily employed by the treasury, from Maine to Louisiana, may be stated at ninety-four.

To the inconveniences incident to this multiplication of the places of deposit, was added the complexity inevitably arising from the various kinds of paper in circulation as money, upon some of which minute calculations were required. Generally speaking, the treasury has with each bank four accounts:

An account of cash, meaning (in the absence of coin) the local currency.

An account of special deposits of bank notes, being notes issued by banks, other than the depository.

An account of special deposits of treasury notes, bearing interest.

An account of deposits of small treasury notes, not bearing interest.

Owing to this untoward condition of the machinery for the collection, custody, and distribution of the revenue; to the great extension of the business of receipts and expenditures; and to several accidental causes; the punctual

statement and settlement of the treasurer's accounts have not been found practicable. To expedite and facilitate, however, the accomplishment of that object, proceedings have been instituted to withdraw the treasury notes from the banks for the purpose of cancelling them; to acertain the character of the bank notes upon special deposit, for the purpose of claiming payment, or an effective credit, from the banks which issued them; and to induce the banks of the interior to transfer, from time to time, the treasurer's balances, to the banks of the commercial cities on the Atlantic, for the purposes of a periodical settlement. The success of these proceedings, the operation of the Bank of the United States, the collection of the revenue in the lawful currency; and, above all, the improvements contemplated by congress in the constitution of the department; are objects of high and urgent importance, demanding constant vigilance and care.

The successive attempts made by this department to relieve the administration of the finances from its embarrassments, have been ineffectual.

There was no magic in a mere treasury instruction to the collectors of the revenue, which could by its own virtue, charm gold and silver again into circulation. The people, individually, did not possess a metallic medium, and could not be expected to procure it, throughout the country, as well as in the cities, by any exertion, unaided by the banks. And the banks, too timid, or too interested, declined every overture to a co-operation, for reinstating the lawful currency. In this state of things, the treasury, nay, the legislature, remained passive. The power of coercing the banks was limited to the rejection of their notes in the payment of duties and taxes, and to the exclusion of their agency in the custody and distribution of the revenue; but the exercise of that power would not generate a coin currency, although it would certainly act oppressively upon the people, and put at hazard every sum of money, which was due the government. Until, therefore, a substitute was provided for the paper of the banks, it would have been a measure of useless and impolitic severity towards the community, to insist that all contributions to the expenses of the government, should be paid in a medium, which, it is repeated, the community did not possess, and could not procure.

The opinion here expressed, has been the opinion of all the States except the eastern States. In the southern and western States the payments in coin had been suspended; and in most of them the notes of the local banks constituted the general circulating medium: for the treasury note medium circulated, almost exclusively, in the commercial cities. The obvious difference between the situation of the eastern section and of the other sections of the Union, naturally produced a difference of interests and of dispositions upon the question of resuming payments in coin. The eastern section urged the measure at all hazards. The other sections, and particularly the middle section, objected to it; each bank professing, nevertheless, a willingness to adopt it, upon a simultaneous and general movement of the banks, directed to that object. With respect to the eastern section, a peremptory requisition for a return to payments in coin, would

have left the circulating medium for the ordinary uses of the people, much the same in quantity and kind, whether the distant banks conformed to it or not. But with respect to the other sections, such a requisition, if the local banks did not conform to it, must have deprived the people of their only means of paying the public taxes, and of transacting the pecuniary business of life. It was not, then, an insensibility to the pernicious course of banking which had of late been pursued, nor a disposition to relinquish the cardinal policy of restoring the lawful national currency, that induced this department, during the year 1815, to acquiesce in the state of the currency, such as it was found when the present Secretary was appointed, and such as it had been left by Congress, after the deliberations of a six months' session; but the acquiescence, painful as it was, proceeded entirely from a sense of duty to the government, and of justice to the community; from a solicitude to preserve the public revenue, as well as to prevent private distress; and from a conviction, that the legislative wisdom and authority were alone competent to provide the means of removing the great evil that existed, without incurring the danger of introducing a greater evil.

The result of the proceedings of the last session of congress, has justified the opinion, and realized the hope, which were formed. The establishment of the bank of the United States will open the sources of an uniform currency, independent of the state banks; and, as the people will be thus supplied with a medium which can be used for every public and private purpose, the peremptory requisition of the resolution of congress, for the collection of the revenue in the lawful money of the United States, after the 20th of February, 1817, becomes, at once, just, politic, and practicable.

The steps which were taken to organize the bank of the United States; the early and satisfactory completion of the subscriptions to its capital, and the advertisement appointing the 28th of the ensuing October, for the election of directors by the stockholders, have been heretofore communicated to the President, together with the letter which was addressed to the bank commissioners at Philadelphia, recommending that they should provide a place, and the materials proper and requisite for commencing the operations of the institution, as soon as the directors shall be chosen. The general solidity of the subscribers, as capitalists, and the extensive distribution of the stock throughout the Union, have confirmed the public hope and confidence in the competency of the bank to accomplish the great objects for which it is established.

As soon as it appeared, upon a reasonable calculation, that the subscription to the capital of the bank of the United States would be filled, a proposition was offered to the consideration of the State Banks, for commencing the payments of small sums in coin on the first of October next, upon the principles, which, with the approbation of all the members of the Administration, were stated in the report made to the president on the 24th of June, 1816. The terms of the resolution of Congress seemed indeed to require, from the Treasury Department, an effort to facilitate the restoration of the lawful currency, even before the 20th of February, 1817; and, short

of a general return to that currency, nothing was thought more likely to be acceptable and useful, than the proposition in question. But the effort has failed. The state banks, with few exceptions, have deemed a partial resumption of coin payments inexpedient; and the banks of the middle States (New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland) have intimated that the first of July, 1817, will be the proper period, for resuming the banking operations, on the basis of a metallic capital.

The rejection of the treasury proposition is regretted. Upon principle, there is no good reason why a debtor should not pay a part of his debts, although he cannot pay the whole; nor why he should refuse to pay his small debts, because he cannot pay the large. Upon experience, Banks (for instance, at this epoch, the Bank ol England) have been in the practice of paying coin, for their notes of a low denomination, while they refused that kind of payment for notes of a high denomination. And upon policy, it is clear, that the payment of small notes in coin, would soon beget confidence in bank paper of any amount; and, consequently, render a general payment in coin, easy and safe.

The quantity of small notes abroad; the probability of a ruin through that medium, upon the Banks; and all the terrors, which bankers and brokers may feel, or imagine; will furnish no argument against the proposition, for a partial resumption of coin payments, at this time, which will not be more forcible, against a general resumption, at all times. But it is impossible to pass from disease to health, without some suffering; and the banks cannot expect to recover from the disorders of the present banking system, without encountering risks, and impairing profits. The rejection of the proposition has, however, constrained the treasury to limit its exertions to preparatory arrangements, for the general collection of the revenue in the lawful currency, after the day prescribed by the Legislature.

But referring the period for a general resumption of payments, in coin, to a day so distant as the first of July, 1817, (several months subsequent to the time prescribed by congress for the collection of the revenue, in the lawful currency, as well as to the time when the operations of the bank of the United States might be expected to commence,) is a measure of the most serious character; indicating a dangerous reliance of the State Banks upon a change in the policy, or a relaxation in the energy, of the legislative authority. Its effects, if unresisted, or if fostered by a temporizing disposition on the part of the government, must be to embarrass the Bank of the United States in the onset; to confine the issues of the notes of the National bank to the amount of the coin in its vaults; to deprive the people of the means of complying with the resolution of congress, for the collection of the revenue in coin; and to preserve to the state banks an illegitimate control over the money and currency of the nation. To the wisdom, patriotism, and virtue of congress, therefore, an appeal must be made; nor can it be supposed, that the State authorities will remain insensible to so calamitous a state of things. The powers of the government, vigorously and steadily exercised, are ample for redress and relief, and it is yet to be hoped, that the state banks will perceive and avoid the ruinous consequences, to which the threat-

ened conflict inevitably exposes them.

The second instalment of the subscription to the bank of the United States being paid; the price of gold and silver being obviously in a rapid course of reduction; the means possessed by the banks to reinstate their metallic capital, being faithfully applied to that object; a spirit of mutual conciliation and good will actuating the national and state institutions; and, in short, a solid foundation for public confidence being thus laid, what have the state banks to apprehend from a return to coin payments, when the national bank shall commence similar payments, (say in January next,) or when similar payments shall be exacted from the people, in the collection of duties and taxes, on the 20th of February, which will not be equally operative on the 1st of July, 1817? The sincerity and the honour of the directors of the state banks, who have proposed the last date as the proper period for the all-important reform contemplated, will not be impeached or doubted: but there is no legal obligation to conform to the proposition; and the occurrence of new incidents, or the perception of other views, may hereafter be thought to justify a change of council and of conduct. There is then no security for the government, or the community, but in the inflexible adherence to the system which congress has adopted.

Having reviewed the general course of the treasury, as connected with the state of the currency, it becomes proper to exhibit, more particularly, the fiscal results—1st, in relation to the appropriations and payments for the year 1816; 2dly, in relation to the receipts at the treasury in 1816; 3dly, in relation to the public debt; and 4thly, in relation to the miscellaneous business of the department. It must, however, be remembered, that until the accounts of the treasurer shall be finally balanced and settled, the statements which have been officially furnished by the register, for the immediate purposes of the present report, are to be regarded in the light of estimates, subject to such changes, as the ultimate examination of the accounting officers may produce. But it is not believed that any essential variance will occur.

1*st. Of the Appropriations and Payments for* 1816.

The demands authorised by acts of appropriation to be made on the treasury for the year 1816, (independent of the unsatisfied balances of appropriations for former years, not carried to the surplus fund,) amounted to the sum of - - - -			32,475,303 93
For the civil department, foreign intercourse, and miscellaneous expenses, the sum of - - -		3,540,770 18	
For the military department,	7,794,250 75		
Arrearages	8,935,372 00		
		16,729,622 75	
For the naval establishment, - -		4,204,911	
For the public debt,		8,000,000	
		32,475,303 93	
The payments made at the treasury on account of the above appropriations, stated to the 1st of August, 1816, amounted to the sum of			26,332,174 89
For the civil department, foreign intercourse, and miscellaneous expenses -		1,829,015 02	
For the military department	4,235,236 75		
Arrearages	8,935,372 00		
		13,170,607 75	
For the naval department, - - -		1,977,788 50	
For the public debt, (1,354,762 62, being part of the balance of the preceding year's appropriation,) - -		9,354,762 62	
		26,333,174 89	
The unexpended balance of appropriations, for 1816, being the sum of - - - - -			*Dols.* 6,143,129 04

To be credited, however, with the sum of 1,354,762 62 taken as above stated from the last year's balance of the appropriation for the public debt.

But it is estimated that the demands on the treasury from the 1st of August to the 31st of December, 1816, will amount to the sum of - - - - - - *Dolls.*		12,413,524 33
For the civil department, foreign intercourse, and miscellaneous expenses,	1,629,494 90	
For the military department, -	3,579,236 66	
For the naval department, -	2,986,432 77	
For the public debt, including the payment to be made on the 1st of January, 1817, - -	4,218,360 00	
	12,413,524 33	
And the unexpended balance of the appropriations for 1816, amounting only as above stated to the sum of - - -		6,143,129 04
There is a general deficit in the appropriations, for which provision must be made by law, amounting to the sum of - - -		6,270,395 29
Connected with these statements, it may be useful to add, that of the appropriations granted, prior to the 1st of January, 1816, there remained on that day, unexpended, the sum of - - - - -		7,972,277 86
For the civil department, foreign intercourse, and miscellaneous expenses, -	2,562,363 51	
For the military department, - -	20,222 66	
For the naval department, - -	759,310 27	
For the public debt,	4,630,381 42	
	7,972,277 86	

And at the end of the year 1816, the appropriation for the military department, the naval department, and the public debt will, probably, be exhausted; but there will remain an unexpended balance of the appropriations for the civil department, foreign intercourse, and miscellaneous expenses, estimated at about the sum of 2,642,623 77 dollars.

2d. *Of the Receipts of the Treasury in* 1816.

It is not within the scope of this report to enter into the details of that portion of the revenue, which has *accrued*, but has not become payable; nor to distinguish between the amount produced under the old or war, and under the new or peace, system of revenue. The main object is to exhibit the actual receipts of revenue at the treasury from the 1st of January to the 1st of August, 1816; and which have arisen from the following sources:

1. *From cash* in the treasury, (deducting an item of 6,692,407 55 in treasury notes, which had been paid for duties and taxes,) stated as subject to the future settlement of the treasurer's accounts, at *Dolls.*			6,298,652 26
2. *From revenue*, including what was outstanding at the commencement of the year; to wit:			
Customs, (subject to a deduction of 1,829-561 33 for debentures paid during the same period,) - -		21,354,743 74	
Direct tax, (independent of the assumed quotas,)	3,050,000 00		
Assumed (after deducting 15 per cent.) by New-York,	365,620 38		
Ditto by Ohio,	88,527 62		
Ditto by South-Carolina,	129,119 66		
Ditto by Georgia,	80,696 02		
		3,713,963 68	
Internal duties,		3,864,000 00	
Postage and incidental receipts, -		127,025 38	
Sale of public lands, (excluding 211,440 50 received in the Mississippi territory, but to be paid to Georgia,)		676,710 40	
			29,736,443 20
Total amounts of receipts from revenue and cash in the treasury,			36,035,095 46
3. *From Loans and Treasury Notes.*			
Loans, 6 per cent. stock of 1814, -		204,889 23	
Ditto, ditto,		87,902 08	
Loans, 6 per cent. stock of 1815, -		335,447 90	

Brought forward,		36,035,095 46
Loans, 7 per cent. stock by the issue, reissue, and sale of small treasury notes which were funded, -	4,289,089 00	
Total amount of receipts from loans, -		4,917,328 21
Treasury notes—		
Of the new emission bearing interest,	2,868,900 00	
Of small treasury notes,	2,004,597 00	
Total amount of receipts from treasury notes, - - -		4,873,497 00
		45,825,920 67
Making the amount received into the treasury from the 1st of January to the 1st of August, 1816, (including the cash in the treasury, at the former date,) the sum of -		45,825,920 67
And it is computed that between the 1st of August and the 31st of December, 1816, there will be further received at the treasury, the sum of - - - -		*19,876,710 40
Making the whole of the estimated receipts of the year 1816, the sum of - - - - - - -		65,702,631 07

SUMMARY.

First. (1) From the foregoing estimates and statements, it appears that the receipts at the treasury (including the cash on deposit at the commencement of the year) from the 1st of January to the 1st of August, 1816, may be stated (subject to such alterations as shall occur on the final settlement of the treasurer's accounts) at - -		45,825,920 67
(2) And that the payments at the treasury for the same period may be stated at - - -		26,332,174 89
Making an excess of receipts beyond the payments at the treasury from the 1st of January, to the 1st of August, 1816, of - - -		19,493,745 78

* From the customs, - - 16,500,000 00
the direct tax, - - 1,000,000 00
the internal revenue, 1,600,000 00
the sale of public lands (excluding the receipts in the Mississippi Territory, to be paid to the state of Georgia,) 675,710 40
Postage and incidental receipts, - - - 100,000 00
19,876,710 40

Second (1) From the foregoing estimates and statements it appears, that the receipts at the treasury, as above stated, from the 1st of January to the 1st of August, 1816, (excluding the amount in the treasury on the first date,) have amounted to - -		39,527,268 41
(2) And that the probable receipts at the treasury, from the 1st of August to the 31st of December, 1816, may be estimated at		19,876,710 40
Making the whole of the estimated receipts of the treasury for the year 1816, exclusive of the cash in the treasury on the 1st of January, the sum of - - -		59,403,978 81
(3) But from the foregoing statements it also appears that the payments at the treasury, from the 1st of January to the 1st of August, 1816, amount to the sum of	26,332,174 89	
(4) And that the demands on the treasury, from the 1st August to the 31st of December, 1816, are estimated at the sum of -	12,413,524 33	
	38,745,699 22	
Making the whole of the estimated payments and demands in the treasury for the year 1816, the sum of - - - -		38,745,699 22
And leaving an excess of the estimated receipts beyond the estimated payments and demands at the treasury, for the year 1816, (exclusive of the sum in the treasury on the 1st of January, 1816,) amounting to - - -		20,658,179 59

A general statement of the sums paid monthly at the custom-houses for duties on merchandize imported into the United States, and of the sums repaid monthly upon debentures, issued for the drawback of the duties on importation, has been prepared, embracing the period from March, 1815, to July 1816, both months inclusive. From this document it appears—

(1) That the aggregate of the duties received at all the custom-houses of the United States during the above specified period, amounts to the sum of -	28,271,143 50

(2) That the aggregate of the debentures paid during the same period amounts to the sum of - 2,624,421 66

Leaving the amount of duties, for the above specified period (subject only to a deduction for the expenses of collection) at the sum of - - - - - 25,646,721 84

(3) That the aggregate of the duties received at all the custom-houses of the United States, from March to December 1815, both months inclusive, amounts to the sum of 6,916,399 76

(4) That the aggregate of the debentures paid during the last-mentioned period amounts to the sum of - - - - - 794,857 33

Leaving the amount of duties, for the last-mentioned period, (subject only to a deduction for the expenses of collection,) at the sum of - - - - - 6,121,542 43

(5) That the aggregate of the duties received at all the custom-houses of the United States from January to July, 1816, both months inclusive, amounts to the sum of - - - - - 21,354,743 74

(6) That the aggregate of the debentures paid during the same period, amounts to the sum of 1,829,564 33

Leaving the amount of duties for the last-mentioned period, (subject only to a deduction for the expenses of collection,) at the sum of - - - - - 19,525,179 41

The districts of the United States have contributed in very different proportions to the results in the collection of the customs, which have been thus generally stated. The following abstract will afford a comparative view of the importations into some of the principal districts, (those whose importations have produced duties exceeding 400,000 dollars,) from March, 1815, to July, 1816, both months inclusive.*

Districts.	*Duties.*	*Debentures*	*Revenue, (subject only to the expenses of collection.)*
New-York,	9,926,188 30	933,394 65	8,992,793 65
Philadelphia,	5,085,206 65	423,636 72	4,661,569 93
Boston,	3,579,130 77	477,487 91	3,101,642 86
Baltimore,	3,339,101 11	396,633 42	2,942,467 69
Charleston,	1,047,546 73	86,392 49	961,154 24
New-Orleans,	732,083 13	15,669 02	716,414 11
Savannah,	521,287 58	3,690 56	517,597 02
Norfolk,	491,150 36	10,364 65	471,785 71

3d. *Of the Public Debt.*

In a supplement to the Annual Treasury Report of December, 1815, made to the house of representatives on the 28th of February, 1816, it appears, that the balance of the whole of the public debt contracted prior to the late war, amounted, on the 12th of February, 1816, to the sum of - - - 38,335,832 58

The amount which has since been reimbursed of the principal of the old six per cent. and deferred stocks, besides the payment of the interest, is the sum of - - - - 556,558 26

And at this time, the balance of the whole of the public debt, contracted before the late war, amounts to the sum of - - - 37,779,274 32

In the same supplemental Report it further appears, that the estimated amount of the whole of the public funded debt, contracted in reference to the late war, amounted, on the 12th of February, 1816, to the sum of - - - *Dolls.* 68,374,764 94

To this amount there has been since added the following items:

1st. In six per cent. stock, to pay the bank of South Carolina according to the contract for a loan made to general Pinkney, under the authority of the war department, the amount being included in the appropriations for the military service, - 43,956 04

2d. In six per cent. stock to pay the Union Bank of Charleston, S. C., according to a contract for a like loan, the amount being included in the appropriations for the military service, - 43,956 04

3d. In six per cent. stock of 1815, in lieu of Treasury notes funded at 95 per cent., under the loan of 1815, and which thus operates to reduce the amount of the floating debt, 335,447 90

* This statement exhibits the amount of money actually paid into the treasury at those ports, and not the amount of duties which accrued during that period.

Brought forward,		68,374,764 94
4th. In six per cent. stock in lieu of treasury notes funded at par, (as far as has been ascertained,) and which thus operates to reduce the amount of the floating debt, estimated at - - -	9,200 31	
5th. In seven per cent. stock in lieu of small treasury notes, funded at par, (as far as has been ascertained,) and which thus operated to reduce the amount of the floating debt, estimated at - -	4,289,089 00	
Amount of the addition since the 12th of February, 1816. to the public funded debt, contracted in reference to the war, - - -		4,721,649 29
Estimated amount of the whole of the funded debt at this time, contracted in reference to the late war,		73,096,414 23
In the same supplemental report, it appears that the amount of the floating public debt, on the 12th of February, 1816, was estimated at the sum of - - - - -		16,920,115 41
To this sum, there have been since added the following items:		
1. There has been issued, and re-issued, small treasury notes, as is estimated at	2,004,597 00	
2. There have been issued treasury notes, bearing interest, as estimated at .	2,868,900 00	
		4,873,497 00
3. There have been obtained temporary loans from the banks in the District of Columbia under the act providing for the reconstruction of the public buildings, in addition to the loan of 100,000 dollars, stated in the supplemental report,	50,000 00	
4. There has been obtained a temporary loan, from the Farmers' Bank of Virginia, to pay a warrant of the war department in favour of the government of Virginia, for militia expenses during the war, - - -	150,000 00	
		200,000 00
		21,993,612 41
But the floating debt has been diminished since the 12th of February, 1816, in the following manner:—		
1. By the subscription of treasury notes to the 6 per cent. loan of 1815, as above stated, - - -	318,675 52	
2. By funding treasury notes at par for 6 per cent. stock, as above stated, - - -	9,200 31	
3. By funding small treasury notes, for 7 per cent. stock, as above stated, -	4,289,089 00	
4. By the payment in treasury notes, of duties and taxes, estimated to have amounted in treasury notes, bearing interest, to the sum of -	7,217,853 58	
In small treasury notes,	150,000 00	
5. By the re-payment of temporary loans, to wit:—		
To the banks of Columbia, on account of the public buildings, - -	225,000 00	
To the state of New-York, on account of militia, (principal,)	350,000 00	
To the Farmers' Bank of Virginia, (principal,) - -	150,000 00	
		12,709,818 41
Estimated amount of the whole of the floating debt at this time,		*9,283,794 00

A more general view of the issues and reimbursements of treasury notes, has been presented by the register, to show the amount outstanding on the 1st of August, 1816, from which it appears:—

1. That the issues have been under the acts of congress, of June 30, 1812, - -		5,000,000 00
February 25, 1813, -		5,000,000 00
March 4, 1814, - -		10,000,000 00
December 26, 1814, -		8,318,400 00
February 25, 1815—		
Notes bearing interest,	4,422,400 00	
Small notes, without interest, - -	3,392,994 00	
		7,815,394 00
Total amount of the issues of treasury notes, - - -		36,133,794 00
2. That the reimbursements by payments where the notes became due, by subscriptions to the loan of 1815, and by		
* Outstanding treasury notes. - -	8,733,794 00	
Temporary loans,	550,000 00	
		9,283,794 00

Brought forward,		36,133,794 00
satisfying duties and taxes, have amounted to - - -	29,467,407 16	
Deduct estimated amount of interest included therein,	2,067,407 16	
		27,400,000 00
Leaving an outstanding balance of treasury notes of every denomination on the first of August 1816, amounting to the sum of		8,733,794 00
The amount reimbursed as above stated, including interest, being 29,467,-407 16, consists of treasury notes cancelled, including interest, and in a course of cancelment at the treasury, amounting to	12,904,986 00	
And of treasury notes including interest, deposited in the several banks to the credit of the treasurer, as appears from his statement,	16,562,421 16	
		29,467,407 16

The balance of $8,733,794 00 exclusive of interest thereon is still subject to reductions, for the amount of treasury notes in the hands of collectors and receivers, not deposited in the banks on the first of August, 1816. There can, therefore, be no doubt, that during the five subsequent months of the present year, the whole of the floating public debt in treasury notes, as well as in temporary loans, will be extinguished, agreeably to the anticipations which were expressed upon that subject.

From the preceding estimates it appears, that, at this time, the aggregate amount of the public debt is the sum of $120,159,482 55, consisting of the following items:

1. Funded public debt, before the late war, - - -		37,779,274 32
2. Funded public debt, contracted since the war, - - -		73,096,414 23
3. Floating public debt, outstanding,		9,283,794 00
		123,630,692 93
The aggregate amount of the public debt, as estimated on the 12th of February 1816, being the sum of - - - -		123,630,692 93
The aggregate reduction since that period amounts to the sum of		3,471,210 38

The funded public debt will, unavoidably, be augmented as long as the disordered state of the currency shall compel the treasury to make any of its payments in the small treasury fundable at seven per cent.; and the necessity of issuing treasury notes, bearing interest, from the same cause, will also, in some degree, augment the funded debt, while it retards the extinguishment of the floating debt, for which the revenue is otherwise ample. To render the funds of the treasury as active as possible, however, they have been applied to pay off the temporary loans by anticipation: those obtained in Boston and Maine, making together 550,000 dollars, being the only loans, for which the local currency could not be provided. It would have been desirable, indeed, to have employed some of the public funds in the purchase of the public stock, where it had fallen below par; but, upon examination, it was found, that the appropriation for the sinking fund did not admit of that operation:—

For, the balance of the appropriation of the preceding year, applicable to the sinking fund, and remaining on the 1st of January, 1816, was - - -		4,630,381 42
And the appropriation for the year 1816, was - - -		8,000,000 00
		12,630,381 42
Of which there was expended to the 30th of June, 1816, -	9,254,762 62	
And the probable demand to the first of January 1817 inclusive, is - - -	4,318,360 00	
		13,573,122 62
Leaving a deficit, which must be supplied as soon as the next session of congress opens, amounting to - - - -		942,741 20

Another item will be added to the public debt, by the creation of the five per cent. stock, in payment for the shares held by the government, in the capital of the

Bank of the United States. And it may be proper to bring into view the Mississippi stock, created upon the settlement of what are usually called, 'the Yazoo claims,' amounting, on the 30th of August, 1816, to the sum of $4,241,725 80. It will be observed, however, that the five per cent. stock is, in effect, an exchange for another capital, producing, probably, a higher rate of interest; and that the Mississippi stock bears no interest, and is only eventually reimbursable out of the proceeds of the sales of public lands.

For the payment of the interest both of the old and new debt, and for the reimbursement of the instalment of the principal of the old debt, due on the 1st of October next, provision has been made by the treasury. Remittances have, also, been made to the bankers of the United States in London and Amsterdam, for the payment of the interest on the Louisiana stock, payable at those places, respectively, on the 1st of July, 1816, and the 1st of January, 1817. And, so far as depends upon this department, funds have been supplied to meet all the demands upon the government of the United States, on the various general accounts, which are open there—

For the interest on the Louisiana stock;

For foreign intercourse, including the diplomatic fund;

For the maintenance of prisoners of war; and

For the support of American seamen in foreign countries.

4. *Of the Miscellaneous business of the Department.*

The several important objects confided to the department, independent of its merely fiscal duties, have received attention. Without entering into a minute enumeration of them, the following are proper to be selected for notice.

1. *The Survey of the Coast.* The necessary instruments having been procured, Mr. Hassler has been employed as the superintendant of the work, upon the principles and terms stated in his letter of instructions, dated the 3d of August, 1816.
2. *The Road from Cumberland to the Ohio.* The course of the road having been confirmed by the president from Cumberland to Uniontown, thence to Brownsville, thence through Washington and Alexandria to Wheeling, Col. Elie Williams has been employed to survey and locate the road from Brownsville to Wheeling, as well as to examine the deviations which have been made by Mr. Shriver, from the route originally proposed by the commissioners. Several plans have also been suggested for dividing the road into sections, and for expediting the work. But the difficulties which have arisen, require immediate care and attention; and may be traced in the correspondence between the department, and Col. Williams and Mr. Shriver.
3. *The Custom-House Establishments.* The 8th section of the act of the 30th of April, 1816, has appropriated 250,000 dollars for custom-house establishments, upon a suggestion from this department to the committee of ways and means, with a view to the accommodation of the five principal commercial cities; to wit, Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston. The only establishment previously owned by the government, was the custom-house at New-Orleans.

From the correspondence with the respective collectors, and reports which have been made to the President, it will appear,

That the purchase of a custom-house at Boston has cost,	$29,000 00
That a purchase has been authorized at New-York at a price not exceeding	55,000 00
That a purchase has been authorized at Philadelphia at a price, for the site and the buildings to be erected, which will probably amount to - - - -	65,000 00
	149,000 00
That a negotiation has taken place with the trustees for building an exchange at Baltimore, who offer to erect and convey to the government a suitable establishment, being part of the exchange, for	70,000 00
And that a site and building may be purchased at Charleston for the sum of	50,000 00
	269,000 00
But the appropriation only amounts to	250,000 00
Leaving a deficit of	19,000 00

Upon this statement, it is proposed to suspend the purchase at Baltimore, until an additional appropriation can be obtained; but to complete the purchase of the establishments in New-York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, upon an enlarged scale, more adequate to the growing commerce of those cities.

4. *The Legislative calls for information.* Several resolutions were passed during the last session of congress, requiring information at the next session upon various subjects; and arrangements have been made to enable the department to report. The resolutions and correspondence on file will furnish the particulars.

5. *The Case of Hoyt vs. Gelston et al.* In consequence of instructions issued from the treasury department, by authority of the president, the collector and surveyor of the port of New-York seized the ship called "the American Eagle," under the charge of being illegally armed and equipped within the United States, for the purpose of waging hostilities against a friendly foreign power. Upon a trial in the district court of New-York, the vessel was ordered to be restored, and the judge refused to grant a certificate that there was a probable cause of seizure. The owner brought an action of trespass against the seizing officers, in the state court, and recovered damages to the amount of $107,369 43. The cause has been transferred by order of the president, from the court of errors in New-York, to the supreme court of the United States, where it is now depending for a final judgment; and, probably, the judgment will be rendered at February term next. As the collector and surveyor acted in obedience to their orders, they appear to be entitled to an indemnity from the government. The subject was, therefore, submitted to the committee of ways and means,

at the last session; and a report was made by the committee in favour of the proposed indemnity. It is important that the report should be taken up and decided, early in the next session. All the facts and proceedings in the case, may be traced in the report of this department to the senate, during the session ending in 1815; and in the report made to the committee of ways and means, during the session ending in 1816.

1. *The Direct Tax of Georgia.* The legislature of Georgia assumed the quota of the direct tax, imposed upon that state for 1816; but the governor did not give notice of the assumption within the period prescribed by law, although the amount of tax was remitted to the treasury, in certain drafts, before the day fixed for paying it, in order to entitle the state to the abatement of fifteen per cent. Under these circumstances, the gross amount of the quota has been paid into the treasury, subject to the relief which congress may hereafter provide.

All which is respectfully submitted,

(Signed) A. J. DALLAS.

Treasury Department,
September 20th, 1816.

Postscript.—The secretary of the treasury has the honour to add, that certain occurrences, happening since the foregoing report was prepared, merit observation.

1st. The situation of the public credit and resources at Boston, has enabled the treasury to discharge the loan of 500,000 dollars, long due to the State Bank, in the following manner:

By a draft for cash, amounting to	$130,000 00
By a draft for treasury notes of the new emission, bearing interest, at their par value, - -	370,000 00
	$500,000 00

2d. The situation of the treasury has authorised an additional notice for the payment of treasury notes payable in New-York.

3d. The existing prospect justifies an expectation, that the treasury will be able to pay all its engagements in the eastern states, with the local currency, before the expiration of the present year.

(Signed) A. J. DALLAS.

Treasury Department,
September 30th, 1816.

BRIEF SKETCH OF SCIENTIFIC LABOURS

DURING THE YEAR 1816.

THE following notice of Philosophical papers for 1816, will be brief, because the nature of this miscellaneous volume will not admit of a detailed account; and it must be incomplete, as the periodical publications from Great Britain have arrived no later than for the month of November, and from the Continent to the middle of the year only, when this sketch was finished: but the earlier the public is made acquainted with the progress of science, the better; for needless investigation is prevented, and useful research stimulated by a speedy communication of the labours of the learned, and of the progress made by others engaged in similar pursuits.

THOMAS COOPER, Philadelphia.
December, 1816.

ASTRONOMY.

Last January, Pons at Marseilles, discovered a new comet in the neighbourhood of the Pole. The light was feeble, so that it could not be observed with accuracy. M. M. Bonsard and Arago observed it at Paris. On comparing this observation with that of Pons, M. Burckhardt determined its elements by approximation at its perihelion:

Inclination, -	43°	5′	26″
Ascending Node,	323	14	56
Long. of Perihelion,	267	35	36

Passage to the Perihelion, March 1, 1816, at 8 hours 27 seconds.
Journ. de Ph. Ap. 1816, p. 326.

Dr. Herschell in a memoir on the Satellites of the Georgian Planet, has ascertained the existence of two of these bodies. The first, which performs a synodical revolution about the planet in $8^d\ 16^h\ 56'\ 52''$: the second in $13^d\ 11^h\ 8'\ 59''$. He renders it probable that there exists a satellite nearer the planet than either of these two, and that there are several exterior satellites.

METEOROLOGY.

M. Leopold de Buch has published a very interesting memoir on the limits of perpetual snow in Northern climates. It was read at the Institute, March 1810, but not published till 1816, at the end of the French translation, by M. Eyriès, of "Travels into Norway and Lapland." The editors of the Ann. de Chimie for June, 1816, regret that they are compelled to abridge this memoir, of which the limits of this sketch will hardly permit more than a notice.

M. Buch has remarked that the limits of the pine and the birch (betula alba) differ but 245 metres (803,8 feet English); and the limits of the birch and the line of snow 578 metres. At North Cape (in lat. about 71) the lines are as follows:

	Metres.
The Pine, (Pinus sylvestris) disappears at	237 above the sea const.
The Birch, (Betula alba)	482
The Myrtle, (Vaccinium myrtillus) - - -	620
Mountain Willow, (Salix mirsinites) - - -	656
Dwarf Birch, (Betula nana) - - - -	836
Snow ceases to melt at	1060

These relative differences are the same in Norway and in Lapland, although the absolute heights may be different. Thus, if we see the pines disappear at 980 metres, we shall find the birch disappear at 980+245=1225 metres; and the line of perpetual snow will be at 1225+578=1803 metres. The absolute height of these lines, will depend, not merely on latitude, but on the vicinity of mountains, their height, and their extent. The line of perpetual snow is lower in the neighbourhood of extensive chains of mountains, than on the sides or in the vicinity of a solitary peak. The line of perpetual snow also depends, chiefly perhaps, on the temperature of those months during which the snow might melt; it does not depend merely on mesne temperature. Thus, in the interior of the Gulph of Alten, the the mesne degree of the thermometer is less than at North Cape, yet the line of constant snow is more elevated. This happens, because an *annual* mesne temperature may result from mesne *monthly* temperatures very different. Thus, at Mageroe in lat. 71½, and at Uleoberg in lat 65, the mesne annual temperatures differ but little, the first being +0,03 and the last +0,63. But at Uleoberg the summer months are greatly warmer than at Mageroe, although the winter months are colder. Hence the line of perpetual snow, being regulated chiefly by the temperature summer months, becomes in some sort, a measure of the force of vegetation, which must of necessity depend on the temperatures above the freezing point.

The line of perpetual snow in different latitudes has been profoundly discussed in Humboldt's Prolegomena de distributione geographicâ plantarum. His conclusions on this subject (on isothermal lines) are briefly these:

1st. Between the tropics from lat. 0. to 10. among the Cordillieras of the new world, the limit of perpetual snow is at 4796 metres, or 2460 toises, (15735 English feet nearly.) The mean temperature of the air at this height, is not zero, as Bonguer and some other observers after him have fixed it, but at 1½ of the centigrade thermometer.

2. Between the latitudes of 19 and 21 North, at Mexico, at the commencement of the torrid zone, perpetual snow is found, at 4580 metres, or 2350 toises, (15026 feet English.)

3. Under the temperate zone, at Caucasus in lat. 42 and 43, the height of this line, according to M. M. Engelhardt and Parrot, is at 3216 metres or 1650 toises.

4. In the Pyrenees lat. 42½ to 43, M. Raimond found the snow permanent at 2729 metres, or 1400 toises. At this height, the mesne annual temperature is — 3,5. (three and a half degrees below zero of the centigrade thermometer.)

These differences in the heights respectively at which the line of perpetual snow is found, depend on the circumstances already noted by M. Buch of the height of the mountains, the extent of the chain, and the mesne temperature of the *summer* months.

5. The mesne (average) of the observations recently published by M. Wahlenberg, gives for the line of snow in the Alps, lat. 45¾ to 46½, 2670 metres or 1370 toises. At this height, the annual temperature is — 4. The mesne of winter temperature is — 10; that of summer + 6.

6. The mesne temperature of the year, at the height where M.

Buch found perpetual snow in lat. 68, is — 6. That of the winter — $20\frac{1}{2}$, that of the summer + $9\frac{1}{2}$.

From the parallel of lat. of Popocatapec in Mexico, to Etna, the line of perpetual snow has not been determined by direct observation. It follows from the researches of M. de Humboldt that this limit at the Peak of Teneriffe, in lat. 28°. 17′. ought to be 3800 metres or 1950 toises; but the height of this mountain is only 3711 metres or 1904 toises, so that if the Peak of Teneriffe is free from snow during summer, this does not arise from any effect of volcanic fires within the bowels of the mountain, but want of height.

It may be curious to trace the progress of this branch of science of late years, by comparing the heights of Kirwan, with those of actual observation.

Latitude.	Line of perpetual snow by obser-tion.	Line of perpetual snow according to Kirwan.
0	4795 metres.	4783 metres.
20	4580	4186
45	2729	2343
61	1690	——
62	1582	943
65	——	766
67	1169	——
$67\frac{1}{2}$	1072	619
70	1060	——

In Thompson's annals of philosophy for May, 1816, where Humboldt's Nova genera et species plantarum, is reviewed at length —and in the paper of M. Mirbel, containing the results of Raimond's observations on the Pyrenees, this subject of botanical metereology is treated more at large, and with the review of M. Buch, form a very interesting series of papers on the subject of the effect of Climate on Vegetation. Mirbel's General View of Vegetable Nature in Mr. Brande's Journal of Science and the Arts, No. 3, well deserves an attentive perusal.

Mr. Daniel Wilson of Dublin has contrived a new hygrometer, which promises to be more accurate and delicate than those heretofore in use. He takes the urinary bladder of a rat, which is a small, stout, spherical body; and ties it firmly to the lower extremity of a thermometer tube. The thermometer is then filled with mercury; so that when the bladder is exposed to a perfectly moist atmosphere the mercury stands near the bottom of the tube. This point is marked zero. The instrument is now suspended in a glass vessel together with a quantity of strong sulphuric acid, so as to render the atmosphere around it as dry as possible. The dimensions of the bladder somewhat diminish, in consequence of which the mercury rises in the tube. The point at which it remains stationary is marked 100°, and the distance between 0 and 100 is divided into 100 equal parts or degrees; so that 0 on this instrument, denotes extreme moisture. and 100 extreme dryness. Mr. Thompson proposes to reverse the scale, by placing 0 at the point of extreme dryness and 100 at the point of extreme moisture. This instrument is so delicate that the approach of the hand makes it sink several degrees. Mr. Wilson has made comparative experiments with these instruments for more than a year, during which time they did not alter their nature, but corresponded correctly with each other at the end of the time. Mr. Wilson has patented this invention. Thomps. Ann. Aug. 1816, p. 154.

OPTICS.

"When light falls upon a body of a sombre hue it is partly absorbed; but when it falls upon a white substance, or a polished surface, it is more or less completely reflected. The angle of reflection is equal to the angle of incidence. The reflection of light is variously modified by the forms of the surfaces from whence it arises; as from convex, concave, cylindric, and other mirrors.

"Some diaphanous bodies possess the property of dividing the ray of light which traverses them into two points, one of which follows the law of ordinary refraction, and the other a particular law, which was discovered by Huyghens.

"Transparent carbonate of lime exerts this action in a high degree. The angle of ordinary refraction always bears a ratio to the angle of incidence: the angle of extraordinary refraction depends upon the direction of the ray with regard to the axis of refraction (a line which coincides with the axis of crystallization in carbonate of lime.) When the ray is directed in a perpendicular or parallel direction to this axis, there is no extraordinary refraction; but when it is inclined to it, the refraction is greater or less, according to the angle of inclination.

"Light thus refracted is endued with some particular properties. When it is again made to pass through a rhomboid of double refracting spar, whose axis is parallel to that of the original crystal, it passes on without suffering any division: but if the second rhomboid be turned slowly round while the first remains stationary, each of the pencils begins to separate into two: and when the eighth part of a revolution is completed, they arrive at their furthest point of division: when the fourth part of a revolution is effected, the pencil refracted in the ordinary way by the first crystal is wholly refracted in the extraordinary way by the second; and that refracted in the extraordinary way by the first, is ordinarily refracted by the second, The same phenomena occur at every quadrant of the turn. Light which possesses these properties is called *polarised* light, and its peculiarities are supposed to depend upon a peculiar relative arrangement of its particles, in which their axes and similar faces are all similarly disposed.

"This modification is not conferred solely by refraction. Malus has discovered, that light reflected from various substances at certain determinate angles for each, is endued with the same properties. This angle in glass is 35°.*

"Polarised light is affected in a particular manner by reflecting surfaces. When a second reflecting plane is placed parallel to the first, the ray is wholly reflected; but when the new plane is perpendicular to the original one, it is, on the contrary, entirely refracted. The intermediate degrees are characterised by intermediate quantities of absorption and reflection. Polarization may also be conferred by ordinary refraction. Thus, in passing through glass, light is polarized in part; and if we transmit it through a series of parallel glasses, part of the molecules which have escaped the operation of the first are detained by the second, and another portion by the third: so that at last, if the number be sufficient, a completely polarized ray is obtained.

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* 35° 25′. T. C.

"There is another modification of light which is amongst the recent discoveries of the present day. It is supposed to arise from an oscillation of the particles around their centres of gravity. If a ray of polarized light be made to pass through a thin leaf of mica, or selenite, and then analysed by a rhomboid of double refracting spar, it no longer passes through single, but two images are produced, of different colours, which are complementary to each other, that is to say, which produce white light by their mixture. The ray which falls upon the mica penetrates entire to a small depth, without the axes of its particles experiencing any deviation from their position; but at a certain depth, which is different for the different coloured particles, they begin to oscillate like the balance of a watch. These oscillations are confined to the same limits, but vary in velocity. The violet particles turn more rapidly than the blue, they more rapidly than the green, and so on to the red, which are the slowest of all. From this inequality it happens, that for every thickness of the leaf, different colours are found at the two limits of oscillation; and from hence arise the two differently coloured pencils, which are observed in analysing the transmitted light.

"Various experiments prove, that the light of the sun is composed of particles of different colours which are differently refrangible and reflexible. The separation of these particles is termed the dispersion of light, and upon it depends the beautiful Newtonian theory of colours."

The above is an extract from Mr. Brande's account of Beudant's Cours elementaire et generale des Sciences Physiques.

When a ray of light enters a crystal whose primitive form is neither a regular octahedron, or a a cube, it is generally observed to be divided into two bundles or fasciculi unequally refracted. One is termed the *ordinary* fasciculus which follows the law of refraction discovered by Des Cartes, and which is common to all bodies whether crystallized or not; the other, which is termed the *extraordinary* fasciculus, follows a different and more complicated law.

Huygens determined this last law, by observations on the double refracting spar, Iceland chrystal, or diaphanous rhomboidal carbonat of lime. La Place combining this fact, with the general principles of mechanics, deduced a general formula for the velocity of the luminous particles of the extraordinary fasciculus. This formula, indicates that the particles of light are separated by a force emanating from the axis of the chrystal, which in the double refracting spar, is repulsive.

Malus however, may be considered as the first to whom we owe the modern ideas of the polarization of light, since pursued with much success by Biot, Arrago, and Pouillet in France, and Mr. Porret, and Dr. Brewster in Great Britain.

The experiments on the polarization and depolarization of light, (its refraction and diffraction) in its passage through various transparent substances, or coloured fringes, and on the phenomena of its reflection from glass and metallic mirrors, within this twelve month have been very numerous.

It is deducible generally from the facts announced, that light in

its passage through diaphanous substances composed of laminæ—or subject to internal crystallization—or that by mechanical force, or by heat, may be altered as to the internal structure of their particles—or that may be changed in form, as by bending into a concave and convex surface, a plane piece of glass—have the property of acting upon light in its passage through them, so as in some cases to divide, and in others to reflect the rays of the fasciculi; effects which are modified by the direction in which the rays fall on the polarizing body, perpendicularly or obliquely. These experiments have been varied by the scientific observers above mentioned in a great variety of ways, as to the kind of substances employed, the employ of one or two substances, and the different directions in which they were made to receive the rays of light.

The fact first observed by Malus is in conformity with all the later discoveries; viz. that if a pile of glass in parallel plates be placed in the direction of a polarized ray, forming with it an angle of 35° 25′, the ray produces no reflected light from any of them; hence he concluded at first, that although the light of an ordinary ray or fasciculus of rays, would have been reflected, yet in the actual case the light passed through this whole series of diaphanous bodies. But having made the incident ray to revolve on its own axis, without changing its place, it was entirely reflected by the successive action of the plates of glass, and was no longer distinguishable at the bottom of the pile; but continuing to revolve it, after it had made the revolution of half a circle, it again passed through the plates of the glass pile. This experiment (Malus observes) presents the singular phenomenon, of a body which at sometimes appears diaphanous, and at others opake, while receiving not only the same quantity of light but even the same ray of light under the same inclination.

A writer in the Annales de Chimie for March 1816, p. 316 (note), probably M. Arago, observes, that most of the results announced by Dr. Brewster in his Memoir on the depolarization which light suffers, in passing through various substances of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, are to be found in a memoir of Malus published in one of the Moniteurs of 1811, and announced in the Analyse des Travaux de la 1re classe de l'Institut pour l'Année 1811. Sir Ev. Home has also been complained of, for neglecting to cite the previous corresponding observations of the continental philosophers. This shows the necessity of early information to the scientific world, concerning the subjects about which men of science are occupied, so that we may be freed from the mortification of exclaiming, pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt.

Mr. Brande informs us, that Dr. Brewster has lately discovered, that white light may be decomposed into its complementary tints by simple reflection from the separating surfaces of transparent media either solid or fluid, not only that have different, but that have the same refractive and dispersive power. The experiments that led to this discovery was placing a film of oil of cassia, and at other times of oil of cassia diluted by oil of olives, between two prisms or plates of flint glass; the light reflected from the first surface of the fluid film will

be of an uniformly brilliant blue colour, while the transmitted light has a pale straw-yellow tint. The papers are not yet published.

The French, or rather the Inventor at Paris, whose name at present I have not discovered, has introduced plano-cylindrical lenses; in which the plane surfaces are in contact, and the axes at right angles. Suppose a cylinder of glass, cut through lengthwise, and the two halves joined by their flat surfaces, but placed across each other at right angles, and then cut down to the size of the lens required. These glasses are advertised thus, Par Brevet d'Invention, conservès a surface de cylindres, Chamblant, ingenieur, opticien, brevetè du roi, Rue Basseforte St. Denis No. 26 à Paris. Chamblant is not the inventor, but the contractor.

This invention interferes so much with the stock on hand of the opticians, that it is with great difficulty the inventor could get workmen to grind or set his glasses. It is suspected that the influence of the Trade, has extended even to the Institute, whose committee were several years in reporting upon the merit of this invention referred to them; and I know not whether they have reported yet. I see by Thompson's Annals for this year, that they are likely to experience a similar opposition in England. It is pretended that with a larger field of vision they exhibit a perfect image of the object, in no wise distorted, without any of those coloured fringes which Dolland was at so much pains to correct; and that they are in these respects manifestly superior to the common lenses. *And they are so.* Some of them have been brought to Philadelphia, but the opticians will not import them, for obvious reasons. They have so much merit, however, that engravers, watchmakers, mineralogists, those who use spectacles, and all who require glasses of magnifying powers, *will* have them when they have once tried them. In telescopes they supersede Dolland's ingenious method of correcting the aberration of the rays, and no more than an eye glass and an object glass is required. The inventor (not Chamblant) in a programme on the subject, has attempted to show mathematically that glasses of this construction ought from the theory to possess these points of superiority over common lenses: I have not seen the programme, but I have tried the glasses and am satisfied.

There are some observations on the superior distinctness of image afforded by concave over convex and plano-convex glasses, in Dr. Herschell's late account of his telescopic apparatus. Month. Mag. for February 1816, p. 51.

BOTANY AND AGRICULTURE.

On the continent of Europe, the method of Jussieu founded chiefly on the presence, number, or absence of the cotyledons of plants, bids fair to supersede the Linnæan classification. In England, I believe Brown, is the only botanist who follows Jussieu; Dr. Smith, Mr. Roscoe, and the other scientific gentlemen engaged in botanical pursuits, still adhere to the Linnæan system; which indeed is so good, and has done science so much service, that it is not likely to be thrown aside even for a better. The followers of Jussieu cannot dispense with citing the Linnæan synonimes, though the natural method of the French botanist possesses many advantages.

In France and Germany, vegetable anatomy and physiology, have of late years made more progress than in England, where Ray, Grew, and Hales, contributed largely indeed to the advancement of this branch of science, but they have not had many followers of equal repute among their own countrymen, though Mr. Knight has contributed many important facts and views. On the continent, Duhamel, La Metherie, Mirbel, Decandolles, Palissot de Beauvois, and many others, were, or still are, labouring in the same vineyard; and botany now seems likely to become a science, instead of a mere system of nomenclature: an observation which may well apply also to the present state of mineralogy.

La Metherie, the respectable conductor of the Journal de Physique, a man of very extensive knowledge, and great research, but with an imagination that sometimes overruns his judgment, in his first Number, for January 1816, in giving an account of science for the year 1815, has noticed some conclusions of Palissot de Beauvois, and closed them with a brief view by himself, of the analogies between plants and animals, which I think has interest.

Palissot de Beauvois (Jour. de Phys. Jan. 1816, p. 20) has published observations on the arrangement and disposition of leaves, on the pith (moelle) of ligneous vegetables, and on the conversion of cortical layers into wood. He has drawn the following conclusions.

1st. The form of the medullary case, or envelop of the pith (etui medullaire), varies in the ligneous dicotyledons. These variations are subservient to a constant law, and depend on the arrangement either of the branches or the leaves. He has remarked in this case (etui) five different forms;

a. *Triangular:* as in the laurel rose; where the leaves are verticillated by threes.
b. The *Tetragon:* in trees, such as the linden, wherein the spiral formed by the leaves is composed of four leaves.
c. The *Pentagon:* in trees such as the oak, the chesnut, &c. when the spiral is composed of four leaves.
d. The *Polygon:* in pines, where the leaves are scattered.
e. The *round or oval:* in trees where the leaves are placed opposite to each other.

2dly. The pith (moelle) is absolutely necessary to sustain the life of the vegetable during its youth: but in old trees as in willows deprived of pith, it is supplied by medullary radiating fibres.

3dly. The monocotyledons have no pith like the dicotyledons. Yet Rumphius, Daubenton, &c. remarked in the palm tree and some other plants, a substance analogous to the pith and medullary rays. DuPetit Thouars particularly, informs us of the pandanus, the dracæna, and other monocotyledons, that differed greatly in this respect from others of the same class. The gramens, the bamboos, &c. offer some still more remarkable exceptions in this case.

4thly. The recent woody layers are produced by the *liber*, and not as Hales supposed by wood precedently formed: just as in animals, the recent layers of bone are the produce of periosteum.*

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* M. Mirbel had long insisted that the *liber* changed into wood: M. Du Petit Thouars, and Mr. Knight, opposed this doctrine strenuously. M. Mirbel has come forward in article 5 of the

The pith, (moelle) says the author, varies in its form and its colour. In the willow and in many other trees, the longitudinal fillets are coloured red or brown, of which we have not yet determined the use.

On this, La Metherie remarks, that *he* first described these red vessels in the sap of the willow, l'yeble, and the hortensia, in the great work which he published on vegetation. In raising the medullary substance of a branch of the willow, La Metherie says (Considerations sur les corps organizès t. 3, p. 454) I remarked a great number of red vessels which generally formed concentric zones. They are placed in the medullary substance a quarter of a line or more from the wood; in l'yeble they are very thick. Examined with a glass, they are semitransparent and composed of small knots like the lymphatic vessels in animals. They are perfectly distinct from the tracheæ or air vessels.

I presume they are meant to supply the circulation of the fluids in the medullary substance, like the vessels in fruits. I showed (says La Metherie) these vessels to several scavans, and to M. Palissot himself.

Duhamel (in his Physique des Arbres, t. 1, p. 38) has spoken of longitudinal fibres which he observed in the pith of the willow; they assume, he says, a red colour in the old branches: but these fibres are not the red vessels of La Metherie, which are found in the youngest branches. In the Considerations sur les etres organizès I have described (says La Metherie) with much care the different parts which form a vegetable, and I have shown that they are analagous to the different tissues or systems which Pinel, Bichat, and other physiologists have remarked in animals. I have compared the physiology of vegetables with that of animals, and all those who have observed the phenomena of living beings, have remarked the strong analogies between the organic functions of these two classes.

Such were Pythagoras, his disciple Empedocles, Hippocrates, Aristotle, Theophrastus, among the ancient philosophers of Greece. Such were among the moderns Camerarius, Leuwenhoeck, Malpighi, Grew, Gesner, Perrault, Tournefort, Linnæus, Jussieu,—all these have observed the analogy between animals and vegetables and made it a ground of their researches.

As the functions of animals are better known than those of vegetables, the physiology of the latter has constantly been referred to that of the former. In my Considerations sur les etres organizès, I have pursued the same course, and taken a general view of these beings, divided into fifteen classes.

1st and 2d classes, animals with bones and red blood.

3d, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th classes, animals without bones and with white blood.

8th and 9th classes, animals without bones or sexual distinctions; *agenist* (from alpha privitiva, and γιγνομαι gigno.)

10th and 11th classes, agenist vegetables, without known sexual marks. Cryptogamous.

Bulletin de la Societè Philomathique for July 1816, and acknowledges he has been mistaken, and is now convinced of the impossibility of such a change ever taking place.

12th, 13th, 14th and 15th classes, vegetables with manifest sexual organs, acotyledons, monocotyledons, dicotyledons, polycotyledons.

And I have shown, continues La Metherie,

1st. That between the lowest classes of animals which are void of sexual distinction, (agenist or cryptogamous) such as the polypi, the wheel animals, &c. and the agenist or cryptogamous family of vegetables, also without marks of sexual distinction, those that form the commencement of vegetable organic being, the tremellas, the confervas, &c. there is so strong an analogy, that the line of distinction can hardly be drawn.

2dly. The organization of vegetables has also the strongest analogy with that of animals; both are formed out of, composed of cellular tissue, serous membranes, mucous membranes, and fibrous membranes—of organs of respiration, nutrition, circulation, and secretion.

3dly. Vegetables, like animals, have vital powers. They have irritability, excitability,—and some of them, such as the valisneria, the mimosa, &c. have motions perfectly characterized. Others like the arums, have much sensible heat at the period of their flowering. These vital powers in animals and in vegetables, appear to be the effects of galvanic action which their different parts exert on each other.

4thly. Vegetables feed and are nourished like animals. We find in the one and in the other a great variety of fluids secreted by the vital action of the system.

5thly. These fluids circulate in vegetables, as they do in animals. (?) This circulation differs in animals who possess a heart, arteries, and veins, from what it is in animals (as the agenist tribe) who have no heart. Vegetable circulation is most similar to that which takes place in the last mentioned and lowest species of animals.

6thly. Vegetables respire; but their respiration seems most like that of the agenist animals.

7thly. Vegetables have secretions analogous to those of animals, carried on by means of similar organs, as glandular tissues.

8thly. Vegetables produce offspring like animals; for the most part by means of sexual organs and prolific fluid.

But among some vegetables, as among some animals, there is spontaneous generation.

9thly. The vegetable lives, sleeps, and dies, like the animal. (He might have said, the vegetable lives, breathes, feeds, digests, secretes, excretes, sleeps, grows old, and dies, either accidentally of disease, or naturally by rigidity of fibre, and gradually diminished excitability, like the animal.)

This analogy of vegetable and animal organic functions, shows that scientifically, they may be classed as forming one family; and vegetable physiology cannot make its due progress unless by keeping in view these relations.*

I have already referred to M. Mirbel's General view of vegetable nature: the following table of Humbolt is an interesting summary of the modern progress in botany. According to him, the species of plants described by the Greeks, Romans, and Arabians, scarcely

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* There is no doubt, I apprehend, of the existence of these analogies; still, nothing like voluntarity is distinctly made out among vegetable motions: so that for the present this seems to form a line of distinction. T. C.

amounted to 1400 (Prolegomena p. 11), at present the known species amount to 44,000. Of these, 6,000 are cryptogamous, 38,000 have flowers and several distinctions.

Of these 38,000 phanerogamous plants, the distribution according to Humbolt is as follows:

Europe - - - - -	7000
Temperate regions of Asia, -	1500
Asia within the tropics and islands	4500
Africa - - - - -	3000
Both temperate regions of America	4000
America between the tropics	13000
New Holland and the Isles of the Pacific - - - -	5000
	38000

I suspect the work of De Labillardiere and the voyage to Australasia of Peron, will add greatly to the last of these articles.

The third Number of Mr. Brande's journal contains an account of a new species of agave—of the alstenia teiformis, a substitute for tea,—and a new moss, named tyaloria splachnoides. Also a neat tabular view of the liliacèes by J. P. Redoutè: being an arrangement of the monocotyledons contained in the eight costly volumes of Redoutè.

ZOOLOGY.

La Marck has published a new edition of his Systeme des Animaux sans Vertebres, in three volumes, of which the first two only have arrived in America. There is something like neglect of foreign and particularly of French science in England; so that La Marck's system, though prevalent in France and Germany, has made no way in Great Britain yet. Parkinson, in his third volume of organic remains, has translated the generic descriptions, but we have no English translation of La Marck's whole work. In geology generally, the English keep up at least an equality with the French philosophers, but in the particular department of the investigation and classification of fossil remains, and their reference to appropriate strata, they are certainly behind hand. The defence of the Mosaic account of the Creation, by the Rev. Mr. Townsend of Pewsey, has merit in this respect.

The voyage of discovery to Australasia, of which the account was drawn up chiefly by Peron, has added so many new facts to zoology, respecting land animals, reptiles, insects, fishes, and particularly in the tribe of moluscæ, to which M. Le Sueur on that voyage paid indefatigable attention, that we must wait for an opportunity of deliberately examining the second volume recently published and now daily expected here, before a satisfactory account can be given of this very interesting voyage. But one part of zoology the most interesting, that of our own species, has been enriched by Peron and Le Sueur with a more accurate account of the *Boschesmen* than has appeared before. Something of them we knew from Vaillant and Barrow, but we now know more from the descriptions of M. M. Peron and Le Sueur, and the accurate drawings of this last gentleman, who was designer to the expedition. What the unpublished travels in Africa of W. J. Burchell, Esq. will produce, cannot yet be known.

In the peculiarities of this species of the human race, the Boschesman has been confounded with the Hottentot; but the singularities of conformation ascribed to the latter, belong exclusively to the former.

The following description of the Houzewaana of Le Vaillant, and the Boschesman of Barrow, is compiled from the accounts of these writers, and of M. M. Peron, and Le Sueur, in a former volume of the Journal de Physique and in the Bulletin of the Societè Philomathique.

1. The Boschesmen, or people of the back woods, are only found in the country, north, north west, and north east of the Cape of Good Hope, in the great Karoo, the mountains of Shewberg, and the country of Candebo. They border on the Caffres or Hottentots, with whom they are generally at war. They occupy a large tract of country.

2. They have no cities or houses; or any well characterized marks of civilization. They live chiefly in caves, and holes in the rocks; but they herd together in kraals or villages, and hunt in packs; their arms are bows and arrows, and sticks; they have no language intelligible to, or acquirable by the European; they have no marks of religion or worship; they learn with difficulty when brought to the Cape, a few Dutch words; they have no sense of modesty, either as to their persons, or the gratification of their desires.

3. They are the most homely of the human species: their eyes are small, piercing, always in motion; their stature seldom exceeding fifty-two inches English; they have the leaden colour of the Malay, and are not so black as the Hottentots; their face appears to be all forehead, and has many characters of the monkey; they have properly no nose, their nostrils are broad but very slightly prominent above the face; their lips are very thick and projecting; their eyebrows are somewhat like the Chinese, and join, being somewhat rounded and not terminating in an angle like the European; they have hair curled, but so short as to appear at first view as if they were shaved; they are active, but not equal to the white man in strength, though hardy, and capable of bearing much fatigue.

4. Their women have not, as commonly supposed, a "tablier" or flap that covers the pudenda, but a funicular appendage attached by a strait peduncle, to the upper part of the labia pudendi, which increases in thickness as it descends, and in adults is about four inches and a half or five inches in length, covering the lower part of the labia: it is of a reddish colour, in substance like the skin of the dartos, it is somewhat like a large dependent penis, soft, extensible, wrinkled, devoid of hair, slit or bifid from about the mid length to its extremity, so that the two halves can be thrown over the labia pudendi on each side, when the female lies down. This organ is not a clitoris, it is not a disease, for it is universal among them, nor is it the effect of mechanical handling or extension; young girls have it of size proportioned to their age. It covers the urinary passage, clitoris, and part of the entrance of the vagina. The females have their thighs rather thin, but their buttocks very prominent, large, and fat, and an adipose protuberance projects from behind on each buttock, so large and prominent that the feet of their infants rest upon it. These characters are lessened by commixture with men of other species, as with the Hottentots. Their breasts in the adult, swell out from the sternum, are then drawn in toward the middle, and swell out again, so as to be of the form of a calibash or gourd. On

this class of the human kind, so singular as almost to excite a doubt how they are to be classed, men of science will form their own theories. It may be observed as a curious fact, that Pallas, in his "Observations on mountains," page 33 of the French translation, mentions a people of Thibet, who derive their own origin, according to their own account, from the aboriginal monkeys, to whom they are not much unlike in their general physiognomy.

M. de Barbancois in remarking upon La Marck's division of animals into the two grand classes of Vertebral, and Invertebral, and then into the following subdivisions, viz. 1. Mammiferous. 2. Birds. 3. Reptiles. 4. Fishes. 5. Moluscas. 6. Cirrhipedes. 7. Annelides. 8. Crustaceous. 9. Arachnoids, (without wings.) 10. Insects, (having wings.) 11. Worms. 12. Radiaires. 13. Polypi. 14. Animalcula Infusoria;—offers in lieu the following division of animals:

Tableau de la Classe proposée.

Sections.	Divisions.	Degrés.	Classes.	Sous classes.
Les animaux divisés en vertébrés.	à sang chaud.	9me.	Hommes	intelligens.
				bornés.
		8me.	Mammifères	terrestres.
				marins.
			Oiseaux	jamb. garn. de pl.
				jamb. dénu. de pl.
	à sang froid.	7me.	Reptiles écailleux	avec pattes.
				sans pattes.
			Reptiles visqueux	avec queue.
				sans queue.
			Poissons	osseux.
				cartilagineux.
invertébrés.	à système nerv. visible.	6me.	Céphalopodes	avec sac.
				avec coquille.
			Mollusques	céphalés.
				acéphalés.
		5me.	Annelides	nus.
				couverts.
			Crustacés	entomostracés.
				malacostracés.
		4me.	Arachnides	antennistes.
				palpistes.
			Insectes à métamorph.	broyeurs.
				suceurs.
	à système nerv. invisible.	3me.	Vers intérieurs	intestinaux.
				viscéraux.
			Radiaires	échinodermes.
				malacodermes.
		2me.	Polypes	libres.
				agglomérés.
		1er.	Infusoires	appendiculés.
				lisses.

This subject M. de Barbancois had before taken up in a memoir on the filiation of animals, from the polypus to the monkey, in the Jour. de Phys. for May preceding, in which he defends the very dubious opinion of La Marck, (Darwin's also,) that matter, by the properties naturally belonging to it, daily forms the lowest and commencing species of organic beings, endowed only with the first and most necessary conditions of animality, as in the polypi and infusoria; without supposing that the laws of animation are distinct from, and opposed to, those which govern inorganic matter. But as there are no new facts in this paper, it demands no farther notice.

M. Cuvier's account of the zoological, anatomical, and physio-

logical labours of the Royal Institute in France for 1815. (Thomps. Ann. June, 1816, p. 462.) gives notices of observations on the lynx, the leo cornuta, and the catoblas of the ancients. The first, Cuvier thinks was not the modern lynx, but the caracal; the two latter names belong to the antelope gnu, Linn. The five unicorns of the ancients, he refers to the rhinoceros. The ancient asp, is the coluber haje, described by Geoffroy in his work on Egypt. The dolphins of the ancients were of two kinds, one our present dolphin, delphinus delphis, Linn. the other belonged to the sharks. The ancient fables respecting the hyæna and the ichneumon, Cuvier accounts for, by their peculiarity of conformation; the rigidity of the cervical muscles of the hyæna, often giving the appearance of continuous vertebræ.

Cuvier's analysis proceeds to offer us observations on the musette, or musaraigne, on the anatomy of the moluscæ, in particular of the anatifes, the balanes, and the shells approaching the patellæ, oscabria, haliotides, and ascidiæ.

M. M. Savigny, Des Marets, Le Sueur, and Lamoroux, have also pursued the subject of the pyrophoric sea animals (pyrosomata) lucernaria.

Lamoroux has formed a system of the flexible, coralligenous polypi, which he has divided into 10 families, including nearly 50 genera, and 560 species.

M. Le Clerc de Laval, has examined the confervæ, and some microscopic animals. (Have not the confervæ been found to afford an instance of a conversion of animals into vegetables? Some German author on the subject, whose name does not now occur to me, says so.)

M. de Latreille has described certain crabs of the Mediterranean sea.

M. de Savigny has also treated on the anatomy of the scolopendræ, and some other insects.

M. de Labillardiere has presented to the Class some observations on the habits and economy of bees, and the circumstances under which they put to death or spare the male bees.

He and M. de Latreille have also presented observations on the coleopterous drill-insect, the vrillete, or death-watch; already described by Allen and Durham, 20 Phil. Trans. 376. and 22 Phil. Trans. 832. This animal is the ptinus pulsator, Linn. Durham has also figured and described another animal that beats; 24 Phil. Trans. 1586.

PHYSIOLOGY AND MEDICINE.

Dr. Wilson Philips, in a paper read at the Royal Society in January, 1816, has rendered it probable that the circulation of the blood and the action of the muscles are independent of the nervous influence, and that this influence only acted on the muscles like any other stimulus. But the case is very different with the secretions. Whenever the nervous influence is interrupted the secretion is at at end. Several rabbits had the eighth pair of nerves divided, and in all of them the parsley, which they ate after the operations, remained in the stomachs quite unaltered, and exactly resembled parsley chopped small with a knife. The stomach was also much distended, and a portion of the food was contained in the œsophagus.

This was owing to the unsuccessful attempts which the animal made to vomit, which always follow the division of the eighth pair. The animal soon shows a violent dyspnœa, and seems to die at last of suffocation.

Since the experiments of Galvani on animals, it has been a favourite opinion of many physiologists that the nervous influence is the same with galvanism. To put this to the test of experiment, a portion of the hair of a rabbit opposite to the stomach was shaved, a shilling tied on it, the eighth pair was divided, and the extremities of the nerve coated with tinfoil. These were connected with a galvanic battery of 47 pairs of plates four inches square. The trough was filled with a liquid composed of one part muriatic acid and seven parts water. This action was kept up for 26 hours. No dyspnœa took place, and after death the food in the stomach was found as much digested as in the stomach of a healthy rabbit which had eaten food at the same time. The smell of the parsley was destroyed, and the smell existed which is peculiar to the stomach of a rabbit during digestion. This experiment was several times repeated with the same result. So that it appears that the galvanic energy is capable of supplying the place of the nervous influence; and that while under it, the stomach digests food as usual.

Mr. Wilson likewise made a number of experiments to show that heat is a secretion from the blood produced by means of the nervous energy. When new drawn blood is subjected to the action of the galvanic battery, it continues several degrees hotter than blood not subjected to the same process.

It should appear, that Mr. Wilson has gone rather farther than his experiments will warrant, when he concludes that the nervous influence and galvanism are the same. It is clear that the section of the nerve interrupts the nervous influence. Mr. Wilson's experiments (supposing them correct) show us that galvanism puts an end to this interruption. But it may do this merely by serving as a conductor to the nervous influence.

On Thursday, the 1st of February, Dr. Wilson Philips' paper was continued: he considers it as proved by his experiments that the ganglia communicate to the nerves proceeding from them the general influence of the brain and spinal marrow. Nerves proceeding from them supply all the involuntary muscles. But if this be the case, it will be asked, how comes the digestive power of the stomach to be destroyed by cutting the eighth pair of nerves, seeing that the stomach is supplied with nerves from ganglia? The eighth pair coming from the largest portion of the nervous matter possesses the greatest influence; but the digestive power of the stomach is weakened likewise by the interruption of the nerves proceeding from ganglia. This he proved by destroying part of the lower portion of the spinal marrow of different rabbits. In every case the digestive power of the stomach was impaired or destroyed; the urinary bladder and rectum lost the power of discharging their contents, and paralysis of the lower extremities ensued, and a great degree of cold took place. The heat of one rabbit before death sunk as low as 75°. Though the power of the stomach as an organ of digestion is destroyed by cutting the eighth pair of nerves, still its muscular power

remains; but it does not act as usual, because the stimulus of digested food is wanting; or it acts so as to throw the food out of the stomach the wrong way, in consequence of the unnatural stimulus of undigested food.

On Thursday, the 8th of February, Dr. Wilson Philips' paper was concluded. He showed that the heat of animals was in all probability owing to the nervous energy. He finished his paper with a general view of the facts which he had established in the three papers which he had laid before the Royal Society. The muscular energy depends upon the particular structure of the muscles; the nervous system is supported by the sanguiferous; but the sanguiferous can act without the influence of the nervous system. Secretion and animal heat are entirely dependent upon the nervous system. Hence the muscles cannot for any length of time continue to exert their energy if the nervous influence be cut off. The nervous influence appears the same with the galvanic energy.

On an objection being made, that these experiments ought to have been repeated on other animals besides rabbits, Dr. W. Philips repeated them on dogs, with the same results.

The experiments of Dr. Wells, Berzelius, and Mr. Brande, tending to show that the colouring matter of the blood is not iron, or any combination of iron, but animal matter, have been lately confirmed by the analysis of Vauquelin, to which, for want of room, I am obliged to refer in Dr. Thomson's Annals of Philosophy for September, 1816.

Mr. Rose has discovered that the urine in hepatitis contains no urea: hence it has been supposed, (I think prematurely,) that the only use of the liver is, to separate urea from the blood. But the phenomena of the gallstone, tend to support this opinion of Dr. Thomson.

In Annals of Philosophy for April, 1816, is a statement of several facts by Dr. Balfour, Mr. W. H. Bailey, M. Percy, and M. Jos. Baronio, on the reunion of parts *separated* from the living body, which appear to be incontrovertible.

In the No. 2, and No. 3, of Brande's Journal, are two papers by Dr. Parke on the laws of sensation, which have great merit for the condensation of known facts, and the expression of known laws of the animal economy, though he is greatly indebted throughout, to Bichat's views of the same phenomena.

From the days of Aristotle to Locke and his followers inclusively, the motto has been, Nil unquam fuit in intellectu, quod non prius erat in sensu. However this may be, we must resort to physiology to account for sensation. According to Dr. Parke, sensations arise either from the impressions of external objects on our organs of sense, or from unusual states of the internal viscera, and organs of animal function. These sensations are modified either, 1st. By the object making the impression; or, 2d, By the state of the organ impressed; or, 3d, By the state of the sensorium; or, 4th, The general state of the system; but in all cases subject to regular laws, which govern the objects and the impressions. Sensations therefore, according to Dr. Parke, have been improperly confined to the impressions of external objects; wherein he is doubtless right. He considers mechanical distention as

the only natural and habitual stimulus to muscular structure, and as the immediate cause of muscular action.

Dr. J. Want has introduced Briony root as a remedy in dropsy, gout, and rheumatism. Four ounces sliced and infused in 8 ounces of white wine; the infusion to be taken at twice in two days.

Sir Everard Home ascribes the action of specific medicines to their being received into the circulation. The eau medicinale D'Husson, which was at first supposed to be white hellebore, he considers as a vinous infusion of the roots of the colchicum autumnale or meadow saffron. Dr. J. Want thinks, it is a spirituous tincture of the roots of that plant, whereof he prescribes two ounces cut into small pieces, to be digested in four ounces of alcohol. I believe the usual dose is from 70 to 80 drops. It (that is, the medicine imported and sold under the name of Husson's gout-drop, at 3 dollars for a vial full, containing 240 drops;) has been given in Philadelphia in cases of gout, and of gout complicated with dropsy, with very good effect.

Mr. Brande having recommended (very properly) magnesia as a remedy in nephritic complaints, has published a paper on the ill effects produced by the inordinate use of it. It appears, that, when taken where the symptoms do not require it, and persisted in, accumulations of sandy matter, consisting chiefly of magnesia, are apt to take place in the bowels. This may be so occasionally, but I have seen magnesia long persisted in, when no indications called for it, without any bad effect: an acid diet for a few days, I should presume, would prove a remedy for the excess. The gout and the stone have nearly the same sources, they are very apt to alternate, and they may be considered as varieties of the same disease, like fever and ague, and dysentery. The best prophylactic remedy I know applicable either to the one or the other, (premising moderate cathartics, with perfect abstinence from wine and acid drinks,) is, alternate doses of magnesia and Castile soap, the one on one day, and the other on the next. The soap may be taken to the amount of half an ounce in two doses. I have reason to believe, that attacks may thus be prevented which would otherwise have taken place.

In the 3d No. of Brande's Journal of Science and the Arts, page 199, is the very curious case of Col. Martine, who himself *filed away* by a file made of a knitting needle, or a watch-spring, a stone in his bladder.

Dr. Bigelow, of Massachusetts, has published a very interesting memoir on the ergot of rye. This kind of damaged grain, (spurred rye,) has usually been supposed to produce (and probably when used as an article of food, does produce) the dry gangrene: in Massachusetts, the ergot is exhibited as a medicine in amenorrhœa, and to facilitate labour in pregnant women, to the amount of half an ounce a-day. It is exhibited also in retention of the placenta, and in uterine hæmorrhage, as is said with good effect.

Electricity has been found useful in a case of aphonia.

In a paper of Dr. Scott's, on the Arts of India, are some suggestions of the probable virtues of chlorine as a medicine; I take this opportunity of suggesting also, whether it might not be a very useful gargle, used in a weak state, (combined with water,) in cases of

carious teeth, and ulcerated sore throat, and as an application to ill conditioned ulcers? its anti-contagious qualities would naturally lead to this employment of it.

ELECTRICITY.

Men of science are yet in doubt, whether the galvanic and the electric fluid are identical: the different processes for obtaining and exhibiting these fluids, (if indeed they be distinct) the different sensations they produce, the different effects they have upon natural bodies, the passage of the electric shock through a circle of persons, however extended, without sensible diminution; while the galvanic effect is hardly felt in the midst of a circle of a dozen persons,—these, and some other distinctive marks that might be enumerated, have excited doubts as to the identity of electricity and galvanism. The following curious experiment of Confiliachi, tends to prove that they are the same fluid.

Surround, says he, an active galvanic pile with moist leather, or some such covering, so as to create a resemblance to the organs of a torpedo inclosed in his skin: let the pile be interrupted in some part of it, or divide it into two columns placed near each other. Communicate a long metal wire with one, and another with the other pole of these piles, and let the distant end of each of the wires dip in water in some non-metallic vessel; these wires should be a few inches asunder in the vessel. Dip the hand in the water, and bring it in contact or very near to the wires; when a communication is made between the two columns by means of a good conductor, a shock is felt in the hand. Hence he concludes, that electricity and galvanism are the same, the shock in question being similar to that of the Leyden vial.

There are three theories afloat to account for electrical facts: 1st, Franklin's; one fluid, which may exist either in its natural quantity, in less than its natural quantity, or in more than its natural quantity; electric phenomena depending on the efforts of the fluid, or the substances that have an affinity for it, to regain its natural equilibrium when disturbed. 2. Du Fry's, Symmers; two fluids, vitreous and resinous; the one producing the effects ascribed to positive or surplus electricity, the other to negative or deficient electricity: this is nearly abandoned by modern electricians. 3. Sir Humphry Davy's; that there is no specific electric fluid, any more than a specific matter of heat; but that the phenomena arise from peculiar movements in the bodies affected by what is called caloric and electricity. An opinion that does not seem well calculated to explain the phenomena in either case.

It seems established that oxygen and its compounds are positively electrified: potassium, hydrogen, and combustible bodies negatively electrified.

Bodies may be electrified, 1. By friction, as glass, sulphur, &c. these are bodies *idio-electric*. 2. By communication, as metals; *an-electrics*. 3. By heat, as the tourmalin; *pyro-electrics*. 4. By superposition, as in the pile of Volta, and that of Zamboni; *sunapto-electrics*. 5. Bodies positively galvanic naturally, as oxygen, the acids, &c. which are attracted by the positive wire. 6. Bodies negatively galvanic naturally, as potassium, hydrogen, &c. which pass to the negative pole.

J. P. Dessaignes has published

a memoir on the influence of temperature, pressure, and humidity, on electric phenomena. Jour. de Phys. May, 1816. The experiments and observations are too long for insertion or abridgment.

Electricians are much occupied in accounting for the operation of the dry piles of De Luc and Zamboni, of Verona. These attempts at explanation, it is useless to detail: we want facts before the theory can be established; when Gay Lusac thought the explanation very simple, he knew nothing of the experiments of Mr. Brande. In the Annals de Chimie for May, 1816, p. 76, the priority of discovery of the dry pile instead of being given to De Luc, and Zamboni, is attributed to Messrs. Hachette and Desormes, but Brande (Journ. No. 3.) well remarks, that the report of Guyton, Lacroix, and Biot, puts an end to this pretension; " cette quantite (d'electricitè) diminue à mesure que le colle se seche" shows that this could not be considered as a *dry* pile, permanently electric.

The reader doubtless knows that these piles are made of discs of paper, covered with Dutch foil on one side, (this metallic foil being sometimes copper, sometimes silver, zinc, or tin,) and the under side with manganese in very fine powder, made to adhere by thin glue, or gum arabic. The discs are from half an inch diameter to an inch, and in number, from 500 to 2000. They are well made by Mr. Lukens, a very ingenious mechanic of Philadelphia. When two of these piles or columns are used, a ball or a pendulum suspended between them, is alternately attracted from the one to the other, the poles at the top and bottom of the two columns being of opposite electricities. They do not seem to act in moist weather so well as in dry. The phenomena seem to me to be rather electric than galvanic, for air is more indispensable than moisture; but their theory is not yet understood. The series, is, metal, paper, manganese. The discs are pressed very close together. Zamboni, in 1812, introduced as a covering to the underside of the silvered paper, either olive oil, a dilute solution of honey in water, or a saturated solution of sulphat of zinc, and then sprinkled the powder of black manganese on the unsilvered side of the disc thus treated. Mr. Lukens says, the sulphat of zinc answers best. De Luc's construction was six hundred discs of very thin zinc, alternating with paper covered with Dutch foil, that is, copper; so that the series was zinc, copper, paper. The manganese was employed by Zamboni, in consequence of some experiments of Volta, on the great electro-motive property of this oxyd. M. Schubler says, the activity of the pile is increased by atmospheric humidity; I think I have remarked the opposite fact. But Gay Lusac considers the effect of this pile as dependent on some humidity still retained in the paper, and is weak and slow in consequence of the small quantity retained. This is not inconsistent with a weak action of the pile in a humid atmosphere.

The following observations of Mr. Brande, however, deserve much attention:

" One fact we will venture as
" certain, that the continued action
" of two considerable piles of Zam-
" boni has produced, among many
" electric phenomena, one che-
" mical effect, viz. the abstraction
" of nineteen parts of the oxygen
" present in the portion of atmos-
" pheric air wherein the columns

" had been hermetically confined, " and the cessation of all electrical " phenomena, and of all oscil- " lations of the pendulum after " the absorption of the oxygen. " We shall also venture to assert, " from what we have observed, " that the oscillations of the pen- " dulum are not in the least af- " fected by atmospherical modifi- " cations, and that, therefore, the " pile cannot be considered either " as a barometrical or hygrome- " trical instrument. The oscilla- " tions in our case were twenty- " two in a minute, (the columns " being placed at the distance of " six inches from each other,) and " continuing at the same num- " ber till the moment when they " ceased altogether, the pendulum " *remaining in a perpendicular po- " sition.* On cautiously admitting " a fresh supply of atmospheric " air, without moving the appara- " tus, the pendulum was instantly " attracted to the positive pole, " and the oscillations renewed in " the same number and progres- " sion." Journ. of Science and the Arts," No. 3. p. 101.

In a paper by Mr. Alexander Walker, in the Annals of Philosophy, for Sept. 1816, a theory of electricity is proposed as depending on the decomposition of atmospheric air into oxygen and nitrogen—and of galvanism on the decomposition of water into oxygen and hydrogen. The memoir is too condensed to admit of abridgment, but it is a very plain and neat collection of the leading facts, in a short compass; and so plausible in its conclusions, as to deserve much consideration.

MINERALOGY AND GEOLOGY.

It is most unfortunate, that these branches of knowledge in proportion as they improve by the accumulation of facts, are obscured by the accumulation of names. It is literally true, that it requires more time and attention to become acquainted with the modern synonimy of mineralogy and geology, than with the substances themselves which are meant to be designated. Hauy and his followers, have done infinite mischief by the motley jargon, half Greek and half French which they have introduced without any meaning characteristic of the mineral intended. With pretensions equally well founded, may the Americans borrow from the Creeks or the Choctaws. The nation that first discovers a new country has a right to name it, and if we do not adopt chemical names expressive of the component parts of a mineral, we cannot do better than adhere to the nomenclature of Werner, who is entitled to be considered as the father of mineralogy. In this country his language will be convenient, from so large a part of our population being German. The perpetual changing of old names, amounts at present, to a most oppressive nuisance. Not content with changing the mineralogical nomenclature, the French, rejecting at first the transition rocks of Werner, have at length been compelled to admit them as intermediaires between their primitive and secondary; but they have given them new names as usual; the grauwackes are now psammites, and the shistose rocks of primitive or transition origin, are now phullades: I suppose, as containing vegetable impressions. Primitive, transition, and secondary, are certainly appellations founded on theory, which a single shell in a granite rock would

overthrow: I grant that compound, chrystallized, inclined rocks, void of organic remains,—compound inclined rocks of mechanical mixture by deposition, imperfectly or minutely chrystallized with very few organic remains,—and horizontal rocks containing animal remains in abundance, would be freer perhaps, from objection; but, until Werner's theory be actually overthrown, I see no good reason for quitting either it, or its language.

The whole of Hauy's theory of chrystallization, which threatened to confine mineralogy to mathematical formulæ, and microscopic investigation, and convert a cabinet of minerals into a plaything for young gentlemen and ladies, has received a shock from the dissonance between similarity of primitive form, and similarity of chemical composition in many cases, particularly in the arragonite, which the late analysis of Bucholz and Meissner, in Schweigger's Journal, Ann. de Ch. June, 1816. p. 176, show to be very frequently void of any trace of strontian, and in many cases, containing this earth in quantities so small, that it can only be considered as accidental; contrary to the statements of Stromeyer and Gehlen, whose discovery of strontian in the arragonite was supposed fully to account for all its anomalous chrystallization. The late analysis of the Rev. Mr. J. Holme, affords little assistance. The angles of many chrystals determined by Hauy, have been corrected by the more accurate goniometer of Wollaston, as in the chrystals of quartz, and of sulphat of barytes, by W. Philips, Esq. in his paper before the Geological Society, noticed in Thomson's Annals, Feb. 1816. To these may be added the remarks of La Metherie on the augite, cocolite, sahlite, allalite, massite, and erzolite,—and on the sulphurets of silver, lead, and iron; Journ. de Phys. Jan. 1816. 27.

To a Geologist, a specimen of a country continuing the same for fifty miles together, is a good and valuable specimen: to a modern mineralogist, a specimen is valuable, if it be so beautiful and so rare, as to be a curiosity in these respects; it is esteemed in proportion as it is useless; and it is considered as still more valuable, if it require the skill of a lapidary to cut it, a microscope to discern its external figure, a goniometer to take its angles, and a complex mathematical formula to express in how many possible ways its external form might have arisen by additions to, or defalcations from, its primitive chrystal. I am aware, that, in many cases the chrystal aids in determining the mineral, but so seldom chrystals are perfect, that the man who wishes to be a mineralogist, must principally rely on geognostic situation, on the Wernerian characters, and on chemical analysis. Chrystallography is best fitted for amateurs, and to be employed on a lady's cabinet.

But the most serious obstacle to Hauy's system, is, a late paper of M. Methuon, abridged by Mr. Grenville, in the first number of Brande's Journal. The author insists, that chrystals are not the result of undisturbed solution or fusion, but the produce of a peculiar decomposition of amorphous chrystallizable matter, in contact with air, and the ordinary atmospheric moisture; the particles of this matter during decomposition arrange themselves according to certain laws of attraction, not yet

accurately determined; the process is carried on in the dry way, in the air. M. Methuon gives a history of his discovery of such chrystals gradually formed from chrystallizable matter during his residence at Elba: of his pursuing the same investigations with full success, by the gradual formation of chrystals from shapeless chrystallizable matter, on the chimney-piece in his own apartments, on his return; such as alalite, garnet, green idocrase, pyroxene, peridot and pyrites. He describes how any one else, by a few months patience, may obtain the same results. He deduces from these facts the following corollaries; 1. Chrystals begin to form at their summit edges and solid angles. 2. Nature produces, by direct process, all simple and compound chrystals, *without first forming any nucleus.* 3. The matter serving to form chrystals, is in the state of a solid mass before, and continues in that state during the whole process. It is the chrystallizable matter. 4. This matter is that, which, by infiltration, has filled the chasms and clefts of mountains, and the cavities of rocks; which composes veins, stalactites, and stalagmites, and, in general, all that is found in the form of blocks and nodules, in the midst of large masses.

To hasten artificially the production of chrystals out of his chrystallizable matter, he makes it into balls, incloses a number of them in a space surrounded by a slight wall of loose bricks, waters them once in two or three days, so as to keep up merely a state of constant but moderate humidity, and examines them every fortnight, and changes their places, putting those above that were before below.

Every person who has attended to the phenomena, and the growth of drusy chrystals of quartz, on the surface of quartzose stones lying loose on shistose and secondary mountains, and of the veins of calc spar in limestone, will readily agree to the probability of M. Methuon's statement. One of our best and most accurate mineralogists in Philadelphia, has assured me, that he has repeatedly observed similar facts, and possesses similar specimens in his own collection.

M. Hauy has published (Ann. de Ch. April, 1816. 447.) some observations on pyro electric minerals, the oxyd of zinc, some Spanish tourmalins, and Siberian topazes.

Thomson's Annals for April, 1816, has given the analysis of a flexible small grained sandstone from China; flexible when wet, silex 95.40; lime, with a trace of iron 3.10; alumina 0.50 = 100. Dr. Meade, of Philadelphia, has a specimen of course grained flexible sandstone, which he found last summer in the neighbourhood of Lebanon, New York state. Quere, are not all the granular dolomite limestones elastic when wet, as well as the Pittsfield marble? (Pittsfield, Massachusets.)

Dr. Thomson is a strenuous supporter of the atomic theory of Dalton: I know not where two men more able are to be found; and what they urge is truly entitled to respectful consideration. But, the proposition that the particle A has a strong affinity for, a violent inclination to combine with 4 particles of B, but not the slightest for 3 particles, is, at first blush, so revolting to common notions, that it requires strong proof to make it out. This proof has not been given; we have a few coincidences and more approxi-

mations; nor is it settled, whether we are to calculate by weights or volumes. When Sir H. Davy assumes all his numbers as settled and proven, even in his Elements of Agriculture, where the reader is left to find out the use of them, he certainly somewhat outsteps the line of demonstration. Chemistry seems fast verging into a science of arithmetical and mathematical calculation instead of experiment; and questions are now decided by the Rule of Three, that ought to have no test but the weight and measure of actual analysis.

Mr. Brande has, in his second number, reviewed with some sharpness the "*Attempt to establish a pure scientific system of* MINERALOGY, *by the electro chemical theory, and the chemical proportions, by J. Jacob Berzelius, of Stockholm.*" Perhaps Mr. Brande's able review of this work may be too vituperative, but I confess, I read the work of Berzelius carefully, without deriving from it any clear ideas, so confused did it seem in its facts and applications, and so needlessly abstruse throughout. It contains no mark of the clear head, the distinct and manifest application of facts to the theory, which distinguish the writings of Dalton and Thomson.

Dalton, Thomson, and Davy, seem to insist on the atomic theory as regulated by the *weights* of the atoms; Berzelius in solids, and Gay Lusac in gases, insist on the *bulk* or *volume* as a regulator of the multiple combination. The whole of the atomic theory is extremely ingenious, and perhaps its defenders have rendered it probable; but we have not yet a sufficient induction of *accurate* facts to establish it fully.

Mr. Hume of Long Acre was, I believe, the first chemist that assigned oxygen as the basis of silex; and numerous facts look that way. Berzelius in his new system of mineralogy treats silica as an acid, and speaks with perfect decision of the siliciates, bisiliciates, trisiliciates, &c. The facts have not yet duly prepared us for this language.

In geology, A. H. de Bonnard has given a geognostic description of the Erzgebirge. The rocks observed are,

1st. *Granites*, six varieties: one like that of Cornwall alternating with mica-schist, and containing tin. Another passing into eurite (weisstein, white stone). Another alternating with psammite and phullade (grauwacke, and primitive and transition schist). Another also containing tin, forming a transverse mass in gneiss. Another alternating with mica-schist, and gneiss. Another forming veins (filons) and shooting into the mica-schist and gneiss. He is inclined to consider these as so many distinct formations.

2. *Eurite*, weisstein, white stone, usually confounded with gneiss. It consists of

a. Very fine granular feldspar, sometimes almost compact, colour grayish-white or yellowish.
b. Brown mica in various proportions: when this is abundant the rock is stratified, fissile, the feldspar friable like dolomite; it is otherwise when the feldspar is compact, and the mica in small proportions.
c. It incloses garnets generally, sometimes disthene, and other mixed or disseminated minerals.
d. Sometimes this rock incloses a granitoid, passing into gra-

nular eurite, and which alternates with the eurite.

The eurite is accompanied in the Erzgebirge by subordinate blocks of ophiolite or serpentine. It does not shoot out in filons. The gneiss lays on it conformably. It is is surrounded by mica-schist and phyllade, which rest on it also conformably. Eurite loses part of its feldspar, and then contains quartz; it passes into mica-schist. Eurite is of age next to granite.

3 *Gneiss.* It rests either on granite or eurite. It passes into mica-schist or phyllade, and its youngest portion sometimes alternates with these, appearing in them in thin beds (bancs). It contains as subordinate rocks, beds (bancs) of porphyry, amphibolite, quartz, primitive limestone, and pyrites. It contains many thin metallic strings, of the ores of silver, copper, lead, cobalt, bismuth, antimony, arsenic, &c. It encloses a transverse mass (stehenderstock) of granite, containing tin. Two warm springs were observed in the gneiss near amethyst.

4. *Mica-schist* (glimmersheiffer) rest conformably on the gneiss; sometimes on the eurite or on the granite, wherewith its lower strata sometimes alternate. Encloses as subordinate rocks, beds (bancs) of serpentine, schistose diabase (grunstein scheiffer hornblende schist?) and limestone, talc steatite, oxydulated iron, pyrites and blende.

5. *Hyalomicte* (graisen or greiss) forms mountains at Zinnwald: encloses blocks of granite, and stanniferous quartz.

6. *Ophiolite:* serpentine. Two formations; one in beds stratified on eurite, alternately therewith and with the mica-schist: the other forming a powerful and extensive mass, not distinctly stratified, reposing unconformably on gneiss. Both contain asbest and oxydulated iron.

7. *Phyllades and schists.* Several formations. a. Primitive schist,* follows gneiss and micaschist, conformably. They enclose ampelite, jasper-slate, amphibolite leptinite. Sometimes pass into psammite (grauwacke, killas). They also enclose as subordinate rocks, blocks of porphyry, quartz, granite, syenite, gneiss, granular diabase, schistose diabase, calcair; also ores of copper, lead, and iron. These ores are more abundant in the passage of primitive phyllade into mica-schist, schistose amphibolite (hornblende slate) or slaty jasper In this case, the rock contains wacke. b. Transition phyllade: lies on the primitive conformably. It is difficult to determine the limits. It is distinguished principally by its alternating with psammite, (grauwacke,) of which, and of calcair, (primitive limestone,) it contains beds (bancs). In the Hartz, organic remains are found in the slates generally called primitive by the German mineralogists. It is also to be observed, that conformity of stratification is one of the principal characters of rocks of the same class. This character belongs to the primitive and what are called the transition phyllades: hence it is doubtful whether there be sufficient foundation to divide them into primitive and transition. The last species of phyllades, contain blocks of diabase, schistose jasper, and schistose granular quartz. If we follow the schists into the newer formations, we shall find the slate clay, often called clay-slate, (scheifferthon,) alternating

* Primitive slate or schist has been found, as is said, to contain vegetable impressions, hence it is a phyllade.

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with micaceous psammite or sandstone of the coal formation in Zwickau and other places.

8. *Syenite.* This is found in blocks subordinate to the primitive phyllades, in unstratified masses, much like the third-described granite of which it is a suite, and seems with it to constitute one formation. Syenite is various in the proportion of its constituents, and sometimes puts on the character of granite. It is accompanied by beds (bancs) of porphyry, gneiss, amphibolite, calcair, strings or veins of diabase, basaltic hornstone, and metallic veins.

9. *Pyrites.* This mineral occurs in such abundance in the Erzgebirge, as to merit separate consideration. It forms beds in the gneiss and mica-schist. These pyrites are of iron, copper, arsenic, zinc: sometimes oxydulated iron, with ores of copper and lead, unite in the limestone which forms a gangere for all these minerals.

10. *Amphibolite*, micaceous and schistoid. (Hornblendgestein, hornblendscheiffer). In subordinate beds in gneiss, mica-schist, and primitive phyllade, which often pass into this rock.

11. *Schistose Jasper* (keisel scheiffer, leidischerstein) lapis lydius? This is met with in primitive phyllades, in psammites and transition phyllades.

12. *Quartz.* In beds, in gneiss mica-schist, and primitive and transition schist. In strings or veins in almost all the older rocks. Generally found in beds on the surface of mountains.

13. *Porphyries.* a. In beds in gneiss. b. In primitive phyllade, c. covering gneiss unconformably (abweichende übergreiffende lagenung.) d. Sienitic porphyry. e. Reposing on gneiss and containing anthracite. f. Newer porphyry, probably belonging to the old red sandstone formation (gres rouge, fodte liegende). When the paste becomes coarse they pass into clay porphyry, and argillolite (thonstein). Sometimes they contain rolled fragments of agate, jasper, gneiss, &c. In Germany the miners generally suppose porphyry accompanies coal. In Saxony and Silesia it reposes on the coal strata.

14. *Calcair.* Primitive limestone. In beds in gneiss, in mica-schist, in primitive phyllade, in syenite. It is sometimes compact, sometimes granular, sometimes saccharoid, often accompanied by mica, talc, amphibole, pyrites, quartz, diabase, &c. When these are in blocks they contain iron and other ores worth working. It is also found in transition formations Here it often contains sparry veins, which seem to have been organic matter destroyed and supplied by chrystalline infiltration. (?)

15. *Trapp.* a. Schistose diabase (grunstein scheiffer). In powerful beds in mica-schist, and primitive phyllades. b. Granular diabase (grunstein) in the preceding rocks and in calcair. c. Granular diabase in the transition rocks. d. Diabase and hornstone (corneenne) approaching basalt, in strings or veins in syenite. e. Variolite (mandelstein, toadstone) between the transition schists and the coal. f. Wacke and Wackite, in transition formations, and in the red sandstone. Sometimes it is found in basalt, and sometimes resting directly on granite. Sometimes wacke is found in phyllade with many vegetable impressions. g. Basalt, forming the summit of many mountains in the Erzgebirge; sometimes reposing on granite, on wacke, on calcair, on white sandstone.

16. *Psammites and Sandstones.* a. Fine grained Psammite (feincornige grauwacke) and psammitic phyllade (grauwacken scheiffer) in the primitive phyllades which are sometimes found under our third granite. b. Quartz psammite (grauwacke) of all sized grains passing into grauwacke schist (scheiffrige grauwacke), sometimes into argillaceous pudding stones in extensive strata covering conformably primitive country. It includes transition schists, jasper schists and calcair. In the Erzgebirge this is not traversed by any metallic vein, while in the Hartz, and other countries, metallic veins abound in it. c. Micaceous Psammite or sandstone of the coal formation, alternating with slate clay and coal, covering either concavely, common porphyry, or the transition country conformably, so that the formations extend from the mica-schist to the coal. (Terrain houiller.) d. The red psammites, the psephites, the psammitic pudding stones, I consider as belonging to what is called the (old) red sandstone formation, whose relation to the coal formation is not accurately determined. e. White sandstone (quadersandstein) containing fossil shells f. The sandstone in the neighbourhood of Carlsbad. This covers (not the coal like the quadersandstein) but the lignite of Carlsbad.

17. *Coal Formations.* Combustible carbons, steinkohle. a. Anthracite. Scheiffrige Glanzkohle, in beds in the porphyry over the gneiss. b. Coal of the principal formation, scheifferkohle, pechkohle: sometimes covering porphyry concavely, and sometimes covering transition strata conformably. Sometimes in contact with the red sandstone, and sometimes with variolite or mandelstein. c. The coal of the white sandstone. d. The brown coal, lignite is not found in the Erzebirge.

The preceding memoir I consider so interesting as to induce me to give this long account of it.

M. Menard de la Groye, in a memoir on the geognostic appearances at Beaulieu in the department of the mouths of the Rhone, has entered into a comparison between the secondary trapps, basalts and volcanic products, and concludes that the secondary trapps are of two kinds, the soft and the hard, (doux et aigres). That the former may be of neptunian, the latter of submarine volcanic origin, in this manner. When the lava was first formed, the basalt with peridot, forming the summit of this district was formed exposed to the air only, while the rest of the lava spreading over a soil covered with water formed what the Germans call the flœtz trap; and that a complete passage can be observed between the grunstein and the basalt. The supposed flœtz trap of Beaulieu, like the undoubted volcanic strata contains, peridot, titanium, idocrase, pyroxene, obsidian, and the balls in concentric layers, frequently found in volcanic soil. Primitive trap contains none of these, being composed of amphibole and feldspar in confused mixture.

This memoir, published in the Journ de Phys. for February and March, 1816, has been contested by J. Andrè de Luc, in Journ. de Phys. for May. M. de Luc contends that the pyroxenes, the leucites, the oxydule of iron containing titanium in the ferrugineous sand of volcanoes, have been ejected in the state in which we see them and not formed in the lava which surrounds these substances. That this has been frequently the case

with Ætna and Vesuvius, and that the leucites that almost cover the road between Rome and Frescati, have been ejected from the extinct volcano of Monte Cavo or Monte Albano.

But the most important essay on this subject is that of M. P. Louis Cordier, of which La Metherie has given Brogniart's analysis, in the Journ. de Phys. for April, 1816.

Cordier, took volcanic stones (laves lithoides) and by strong pressure (not trituration) he broke them down into pieces of from $\frac{1}{100}$ to $\frac{1}{20}$ of a millemetre in size. He washed away the dust, dried the subsiding particles, and examined them with a microscope. The general result was, that volcanic rocks presented particles of various appearances, white, bottle green, brown and reddish brown. The white grains, were either referable to feldspar, peridot, or amphigene. The yellowish, greenish, or blackish green grains, he refers to amphibole. The opake black grains are titaniferous iron, magnetic.

2. The volcanic stones that melt into a black glass, contain chiefly pyroxene, sometimes as much as 45 per cent.

3. The principal component parts of these rocks, are pyroxene and feldspar. The latter melts into a white glass or enamel. Hence he divides volcanic stones into *leucosthenes* that afford a white glass or enamel, and *basalts* that afford a black glass.

4. Basaltic rocks treated like volcanic rocks offer the same appearances exactly to the microscope, and by the usual tests and analyses.

5. This mode of examining rocks, presents marked difference between primitive and basaltic or secondary traps, which the Wernerians refer to neptunian, the French and Italian mineralogists for the most part to volcanic origin.

Primitive traps, petrosilex and hornstone, frequently enclose and are mixed with diallage, serpentine, talc, chlorite oxydulated, and sulfuretted iron: volcanic rocks, never. These last enclose and are mixed with, peridot, amphigene, pyroxene, titaniferous iron; substances which the first named rocks never present.

6. Whether the volcanic rock be antient or modern, vitreous in appearance or stony, bruised and viewed with a microscope, it always presents similar substances, consisting chiefly of pyroxene, feldspar, peridot and titaniferous iron: (frequently also leucite or amphigene.) Hence there is no analogy between primitive and basaltic traps.

(On this it may be observed that pyroxene, amphibole, and diallage scarcely differ in chemical analysis except as to a little more or less of magnesia; diallage seems to be hornblende with chrome: its geologic situation, being in the immediate neighbourhood of chromated iron.)

Dr. Thomson's account of the basalt over the coal at Dudley, containing augit or hornblende, seems to confirm Cordier's account, Ann. of Ph. Sept. 1816.

M. Cordier in the Journ. de Phys. for May, 1816, has also given an account of the salt mountain at Cordonna in Catalonia, 16 leagues from Barcelona. It is about 100 metres high, but a third larger at the base than Montmartre. It is washed at its base by the Cordonnero. There is no vegetation upon it. The minerals it contains, are coarse grained white and coloured

common salt, grey clay, common and anhydrous gypsum. The common salt consists of $\frac{7}{10}$ of the whole mass. Impure salt mixt with argillaceous matter $\frac{2}{10}$, gypsum and pure common salt about $\frac{1}{1}$. There is no regularity in the form of the masses, in their position, or stratification. The mountain rests upon grey and red micaceous sandstone, argillaceous shist, and grey limestone, not bituminous, and containing few or no organic remains. In the opinion of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood the mountain has suffered no diminution, but that can hardly be the case, as the salt is soluble. Upon the whole, appearances indicate that the rock is based on transition strata, (intermediaires) covered by secondary layers, and that we must allow of a transition gyps and rock salt formation.

Mr Mornley has found a block of meteoric iron, near the bank of a river, about 50 leagues from Bahia in the Brazils, in a barren granitic country. It measures six feet by four feet, contains about 28 cubic feet, weight about 14,000 lbs. A specimen sent to Dr. Wollaston was found to contain nichel.

M. Beudant has found that the moluscæ of salt and of river water may be gradually accustomed to live within the one or the other. This will account in some degree for the mixture of marine and fresh water shells in the same rock.

CHEMISTRY.

M. Buchholz, in the German Pharmaceutical Almanack, has noticed the property of honey to promote the solution of borax; equal parts of honey and borax form a substance like gum arabic soluble in three waters. It greens the syrup of violets and browns turmeric; muriatic acid decomposes it, alcohol has little action on it.

In a memoir on the combinations of azot with oxygen, whereof Daltz admits 3 acids and Davy two, we find

Oxyd of azot,	100 volumes azot with	50 oxygen.
Nitrous gas,	100	100
Pernitrous acid,	100	150
Nitrous acid,	100	200
Nitric acid,	100	250

M. J. F. John has found a peculiar acid in stick lac.

Gay Lusac has found that sulphuric ether, kept for two years in a bottle with a glass stopper, half filled and occasionally opened, is converted into acetic acid, alcohol, and a peculiar oil which is not the oil of wine. M. Planche had made nearly the same observations.

The memoir on a new classification of simple bodies, by M. Ampere, seems to add to our knowledge nothing but names, wherewith we are overwhelmed already.

R. Dulong has distinguished four distinct acids formed by phosphorus and oxygen.

M. Theodore de Saussure from experiments on the atmosphere, calculates the proportion of carbonic acid in winter at 4.79 parts, in volume in 10,000 parts; or 7,28 parts in weight.

In summer the proportions were 7,13 parts in 10,000 by volume, and 10,83 by weight. The experiments were made in the open air, near the lake, a league from Geneva.

Journal de Pharmacie. M. Kirchoff who published the method of converting starch into sugar by means of dilute sulphuric acid, has made experiments on the conversion of starch into sugar by means of gluten. He concludes that sugar is formed in grains during germination by means of

gluten, at a temperature beyond 40 of Reaumur. 2. The fecula undergoes no change during fermentation. 3. The quantity of alcohol depends on the fecula. 4. By germination the gluten acquires the property of converting into sugar more fecula than the grain contains. 5. The formation of sugar in grains after germination is a chemical, and not simply a vegetative process. 6. The fecula in malt is in a state of sugar, and not precipitable by gall nuts.

Royal Institute of France. Gay Lusac by decomposing the prussiat of mercury by muriatic acid, has found it to be a hydracid, containing carbon 44.39; azot 51.71; hydrogen 3.90; or vapour of carbon one volume, hydrogen and azot half a volume each. He calls the radical of this acid, cyanogen, and the acid itself hydrocyanic acid. Cyanogen may be procured by exposing prussiat of mercury to a lamp heat; it comes over in the form of a gas of spec. gr. 1.8 absorbable in water which takes up four volumes, a sharp taste, the gas burns with a (blue and) purple flame.

Heat from pressure and friction. Thomson's Annals, vol 7, p. 241. Dr. Thomson observed the drag wheels of some loaded waggons on Blackfriars bridge, excite so much heat on the wet pavement, that the moisture was raised by it in manifest steam.

Composition of alcohol. Ib. 243. Alcohol, olefiant gas and vapour of water, of each one volume. Other, olefiant gas 2 volumes, vapour of water 1 volume, according to Gay Lusac.

H. Chevreul has found the sugar of diabetic urine to possess all the characters of sugar of grapes. Ann. de Ch. xcv. 319.

Dr. Thomson in the same volume has given an analysis of his own paper on the constituents and combinations of the phosphoric acid, which he finds composed of 100 phosphorus, and 123.46 oxygen. Of the phosphats of lime, he notices,

		Acid.	Lime.
1 Quadrasteo phosphat,		5	1
2 Binosteo phosphat,		5	2
3 Bige phosphat,		5	3
4 Osteo phosphat, or bone earth,	infusible before the blowpipe.	5	4
5 Phosphat,		5	5
6 Gephosphat or apatit,		5	6

In an experiment on the strength of iron used for cables at Blackwall, near London, an iron wire of 1.25 inch diameter was broken by a weight of 40 tons. That is an iron wire of *English* iron of .078 inch diameter, requires 348.88 lbs. to break it, whereas in count Sickengen's experiments a wire .078 of an inch of *Swedish* iron, required 549.25 lbs. to break it.

M. H. F. Link, (Thomson's Ann. June, 1816,) has ascertained that the chemical properties of gluten and albumen are extremely alike, not differing more than different varieties of resin or gum.

In the Annals of Phil. for Aug. 1816, Dr. Thomson gives a memoir by himself on phosphuretted hydrogen gas discovered in 1783, by M. Gingembre.

The usual methods of obtaining this gas, are 1st, dissolving phosphorus in a boiling alkaline solution: or 2dly, mixing together 2 ounces of fresh slacked lime, a quarter of an ounce of phosphorus in grains, and half an ounce of water in a retort, which produces much gas for a long time: or 3dly, putting phosphorus into a mixture of sulphuric acid, water, and zinc, in the common proportions for procuring hydrogen: or 4thly, decomposing phosphuret of lime previously made by heat in a glass tube, with water, to which Dr. Thomson adds a new process: 5thly, fill a tubulated retort, holding about 12 cubic inches up to

the tubulated mouth with a mixture of one part muriatic acid, and three parts of water previously boiled. Drop into this half an oz. of phosphuret of lime in lumps. Put in the stopper, fill the neck of the retort with water previously boiled, plunge the beak of the retort in a tub of water previously boiled; apply a gentle heat, and you will get about 70 cubic inches of pure phosphorated hydrogen gas.

It is colourless—an onion-odour—not decomposed by contact with pure water, but speedily by water containing common air—burns spontaneously in common air if the heat arises to 148 Fahr. otherwise the phosphorus only combines, and the hydrogen in equal bulk with the whole remains behind—decomposed by the electric spark, &c. Contains $\frac{1}{13}$ by weight of hydrogen, and $\frac{12}{13}$ of phosporus. Spec. grav. 902. Phosphorous acid 1.5, phosphorus, 1, oxygen: phosphoric 1.5 phosph. 2. oxyg. The paper deserves attentive perusal.

D. Wilson, esq. has proposed an oxymuriat of alumine for discharging colours in dyed goods, in lieu of oxymuriat of potash or lime.

Mr. John Henderson has found a new acid in rhubarb.

I believe Mr. Robert Hare was the first person who applied the flame of oxygen and hydrogen gases to the fusion of metallic and earthy substances: this apparatus was so complicated as to be with difficulty constructed or even comprehended, but it produced effects much greater than before known.

Mr. Cloud of the Mint of Philadelphia, greatly simplified the apparatus for this purpose by a copper cylinder divided by a soldered partition in the middle, so that one side holds hydrogen, and the other oxygen. A pipe divided in the middle with a funnel to admit water poured in, two stop cocks to regulate the issuing of the gas, and a common tube where the gasses are mixed and whence they issue, constitute the whole of this very neat and effectual apparatus, which has for many years been in use in this city among experimenters, and fully answers the purpose.

Dr. E. D. Clarke of Cambridge, in England, has lately mixed in a bladder or oiled silk bag, two measures of hydrogen with one of oxygen; and attaching the bladder to a condensing engine fixed in a copper reservoir, the gasses are condensed, and in this state are made to issue out of a small aperture. The idea first appears to have suggested itself in England to Mr. Newman, and the apparatus goes by the name of Newman's blowpipe. The effects of this machine are much the same with Mr. Cloud's blowpipe, but stronger. In Mr. Cloud's, platinum melts when a thin edge is exposed to the flame, but not so readily as it is described to do, in Newman's apparatus, which certainly promises to be an important improvement on the method of exciting artificial heat.

Mr. Donovan proposes to obtain pure silver thus: dissolve 240 grains of standard silver in just enough of pure nitric acid of sp. gr. 1.2: filter, wash with distilled water, precipitate by a bright plate of copper, weighing more than 64 grains. Wash the precipitate in distilled water, boil in liquid ammonia, again wash and dry on a filter. The quantity of copper necessary to precipitate 100 grains of silver is 28.7 grains. The loss of silver by this process amounts to about 3 per cent.

Mr. Hume of Long Acre proposes the following method of making emetic tartar. Boil the

common black sulphuret of antimony in nitric acid largely diluted with water. Wash the oxyd produced; then boil it with supertartrite of potash, filter, evaporate, chrystallize. Tilloch. Ap. 1816.

M. Gehlen found that sulphat of soda in a glass pot was decomposed by the silex which united with the soda. He says, an excellent composition for drinking glasses, is, 100 sand, 50 dry sulphat of soda, from 17 to 20 of quicklime in dry powder, and 4 of charcoal. He says,

1. The sulphat of soda may be employed in making glass without any other flux.

2. Its vitrification is greatly assisted by lime, but is not perfect without charcoal.

3. The charcoal is necessary to decompose the sulphuric acid.

4. In flint glass, metallic lead may supply its place.

J. Murray, Esq. has sent to Dr. Tilloch an account of indigogene. Phil. Mag. for June, 1816. Indigo projected on red hot iron emits a blue vapour, condensible into acicular chrystals of a copper colour. It is soluble in sulphuric and nitric acids, given to *each* a green colour. It is not soluble in muriatic acid, or in caustic potash, or ammonia. Soluble in cold olive oil, in hot naptha, and cajeput oil; from the two latter it may be procured again unaltered. Soluble also, in hot alcohol, and sulphuric ether, and by camphorated alcohol. It detonates with nitre, and explodes with flame on being struck by a hammer, with oxymuriate of potash. It forms an amalgam with mercury by heat. Scintillates and inflames in a platina spoon, with violet vapour, and a blue shade on the platina.

(I should suspect it to be merely indigo in vapour, if it did not give a green colour to nitric acid, which usually turns indigo yellow.)

Dobreiner has amalgamated hydrogen with mercury, by introducing a globule of this metal in a vessel of water, and placing it near the negative pole of a galvanic battery. Oxygen was given out by the positive wire, but no gas from the negative; the mercury however, was attracted by it, and gradually converted into an amalgam. (We see above, that indigogene is also said to amalgamate with mercury: otherwise than hogslard?)

So many descriptions of Sir H. Davy's safety lamp have been given, and may be found in so many publications, that I do not think it necessary to give a full account here of this important discovery, of which, the merit appears to me, exclusively owing to that very able man's scientific researches. It manifestly however, labours under the hazard of being broken by falling substances,—of being choaked with coal dust,—and being soon burnt away from the thinness of the wire, and the smallness of the meshes; but these are inconveniences that practice will correct, and the ingenuity of the discovery remain to the lasting honour of the inventor.

MISCELLANEOUS.

I omitted to mention under the article Mineralogy, a discovery of native caustic lime in the ancient bath of Santa Gonda, by Dr. Giovacchino Taddei. The bath is a laguna in the corner of a field near the high road to Pisa, which divides the plain La Catena from the mountains Cigoli and San Miniato. It has been examined by Mr. Faraday, and Sir H. Davy.

The dry matter sent to England, contained per cent. lime, 82.424, silex, 10.57, iron, 2.82, alumina, 1.34, loss, 2.846. 2 Brande's Journal, 262.

Wine. Wines are found to be ameliorated, and when new, to acquire the properties of old wine in a short time, by being kept in glass vessels with the mouths covered with wet bladder, tied on. The bladder dries, keeps out the air, though perhaps, not perfectly; keeps in the alcohol, which will not escape through the bladder, though water will. By degrees the tartar of the new wine is deposited. The process takes 3 or 4 months according to the surface so exposed. The process is recommended by Mr. S T. Von Sœmmerring, in the Memoirs of the Academy at Munich. 3 Brande, 148.

Cookery. On the 17th Feb. 1816, a communication was read at the Wernerian Society from Dr. H. E. Holder, on the effect of the juice of the papaw tree (carica papaya) of the West Indies, in lessening the cohesion of muscular fibre, which is used for the purpose of rendering meat tender. It is in many cases sufficient to hang the meat for half an hour on a branch of the papaw tree. The wholesomeness of the meat is not affected by it. (The papaw tree of Pennsylvania is not the carica papaya, but the annona triloba, porcelia triloba, or the orchidocarpum arietinum of Michaux.)

Sugar-bakers or refiners, would do well to examine the new process of refinery invented by Mr. Howard, and detailed in the Annals of Philos. for Sept. 1816.

Explosion of coal gas. In the same number of the Annals of Philosophy, is given an account of two coal vessels blown up by the carbonetted hydrogen emitted from the coals, having probably been set on fire by a candle

Standard of weights and measures. The English Parliament seems occupied in some degree with this subject. Dr. Wollaston, Professor Playfair, and the men of science generally, in that island, are of opinion, that the best standard is the length of a pendulum vibrating seconds, which at London is taken at 39.13047 inches.

Mr. Watts of Plymouth, which is in lat. 50° 22′ 28″ has made experiments on the length of such a pendulum at that place, and finds it 39.154187 in vacuo. No. 46. Thoms. Ann. 284. Col Beaufoy's proposal of a falling body, does not seem so eligible.

Colours. In the same number, page 292, is a table of colours, that appears to me better imagined than any I have seen. By T. Gottlob Hayne, of Berlin.

T. C.